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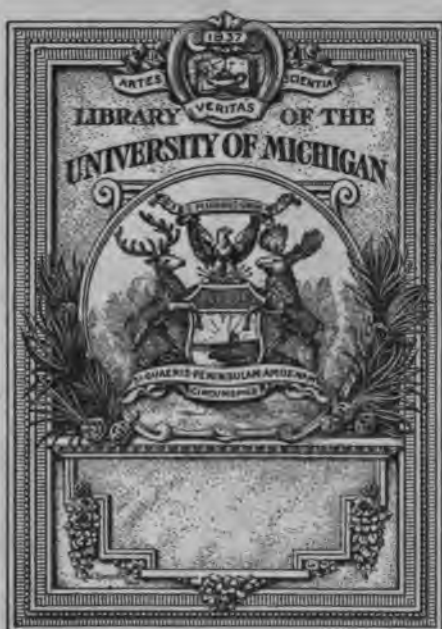
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JULY, 1877.

ART. I.—IS THE ROMAN QUESTION AT AN END?*

Allocution of Pius IX. on the Persecution of the Church and the Holy See by the Italian Government, delivered March 12th, 1877. (Authorized translation.) London: Burns & Oates.

Discorsi del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX. Raccolti dal P. DON PASQUALE DE FRANCISCIS. Roma. 1872-3.

L'Eglise Romaine en face de la Révolution. Par E. CRETINEAU JOLY. Paris: Henri Plon. 1859.

La Civiltà Cattolica. Quaderno 648. (16 Giugno, 1877.) Firenze: Mannelli.

PIUS IX. has had great sorrows, but they have not been greater than his joys. He has had many enemies, bitter, and relentless, and successful; but he has had more friends, and these have approved themselves, according to the grand old German motto, "*treu und fest*"; they have ever been faithful and true; they have shown unwavering trust in him, love, and reverence, and tenderness, as of sons to their father. Never had the Universal Pastor so devoted and obedient a flock to govern. And those who do not belong to the fold have stood by, wondering that in a century like ours enthusiasm should still be possible, but constrained to acknowledge that the Roman Pontiff has wrought this miracle, and that multitudes beyond reckoning have come up, as in the Middle Ages, to Rome, "*videre Petrum*," to venerate the authority of Christ in the humility of His vicar. But a few weeks have passed since the whole Catholic world kept, with solemn festival, the fiftieth anniversary of the date on which Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, now our Holy Father, was consecrated Bishop. "It was kept," he himself tells us, "in such manner as to demonstrate that all Catholics are most closely united to the Pope and the Apostolic Chair." "This fact the faithful have

* Since this article went to press, Cardinal Manning's most impressive little volume on "The Independence of the Holy See" has made its appearance. We have subjoined a few comments on that volume.

meant openly to affirm, and they have given splendid proofs of it." But they have wished to do even more. In the Allocution we are quoting from (June 22nd, 1877), the Holy Father asks, "What is the real force and significance of these great events? What does this great ardour on the part of the faithful, this alacrity and perseverance, this unanimity of theirs in alleviating the afflictions of their common Father, in aiding the Apostolic See by their subsidies, and in defending its cause; in deploring the wrongs by which it is afflicted, and in imploring the divine mercy on its behalf; in undertaking these continual pilgrimages; what do all these acts of zeal and earnestness intimate to the world?" He answers in words to the energy and the grave import of which nothing can be added. "What these facts obviously demonstrate," he says, "is that which, on another occasion we remarked, namely, the anxiety under which the faithful labour because their common Father is made subject to the rule of an enemy; and they have the force of one universal, real, and solemn pronouncement, by which the whole of Catholic Christendom signifies, in contradiction of the pretended pronouncements, or rather falsehoods of the world, that it desires that the Supreme Pastor of the Lord's flock may preside over the Church with dignity and with liberty, being subject to the power of no man." Therefore, the unprecedented succession of deputations and addresses, the offerings of costly gifts, the services of thanksgiving in all the churches and sanctuaries of the world, the rejoicings public and private, have had this twofold aim; to prove that Catholicity is one and cannot be divided, and to give a new vigour to those loyal convictions which will some day restore Rome to the Pope and the Pope to Rome. They amount to a protest from all the faithful against the injustice of those acts which have brought the Italians into the Capital of Christendom. They warn the Piedmontese to prepare for departure; and they emphatically deny that the Roman question is at an end.

The occasion is one of which we are glad to avail ourselves, for the purpose of explaining the real nature of this momentous question, and of justifying the course which Catholics have taken with regard to it.

The Roman Question is a growth of the present century. For an historian it must date from the year 1819, when a famous document, extant in the volumes of M. Crétineau Joly,* was issued as an instruction and plan of operations to the men who led the Italian secret societies. For the diplo-

* "L'Eglise Romaine," &c., vol. ii. p. 88.

matist it assumes a recognizable shape from the conference of European powers held in Rome during the April of 1831, to demand certain reforms (as they were styled), internal changes of policy and government which Gregory XVI., who had just been elected, undertook to carry out, sooner or later, as circumstances might permit. The secret memorandum of the Carbonari proposed measures somewhat more radical than those which Baron Bunsen, in the name of his diplomatic brethren, laid before Cardinal Bernetti, Gregory's minister. But, spite of conventional reticence, Europe—that is to say, the heretical powers, Russia, Prussia, and England, and the anti-Catholic power of the day, Louis Philippe's government—had, in truth, committed themselves to the Revolution. Called upon, if indeed they were called upon, to judge between the Roman Pontiff, whose rights they had guaranteed at Vienna, and the insurrection which had for a moment surged up in the States of the Church, they decided once for all that the Pope was in fault and the conspirators justified. England was at that moment keeping Ireland under martial law; Russia had put an end to the unhappy kingdom of Poland and established "peace at Warsaw"; and Prussia was dictating the terms of a Protestant evangelical alliance, and welding into one monarchy the provinces and cities which had been wrested, during the great war, from their ecclesiastical princes. Evidently, the motives at work were not, and could not be, zeal for liberty, or loyalty to the Vicar of Christ. The Carbonari had a clear view of what they desired to accomplish: they attacked the Christian world in its most vital part, feeling that when the Pope was gone, no other principle of authority could long resist them. European diplomacy, amenable only to secular and sensual reasoning, had nothing ideal in prospect; but the natural antagonism between the world and the Church, the essential antipathy of unbelievers towards the Roman See, was motive sufficient to give a decisive vote at the Conference, not to kings or governments, but to the unknown plotters against society.

It is not in our power to trace here the strange dramatic vicissitudes which the Roman Question underwent, from this beginning, so ominous to Catholic interests, until the day when it seemed to have finally closed. But the end was worthy of such a beginning. An independent sovereign, holding his dominions by a tradition which dated beyond Charlemagne, Gregory XVI. was yet obliged to witness a meeting of non-Catholic ambassadors in his own city, and to receive their dictation. He was humbled in the face of the whole world, though no case had been made out which would bear investigation. And

Pius IX., on September 20th, 1870, at a time when his people were tranquilly engaged in their daily pursuits, and there was no one in all Europe who could say that the Pope had wronged him, suffered the bitter agony of seeing an excommunicated army draw near to the gates of Rome, break down its walls, assail the Lateran Basilica and the Vatican, and, amid the roar of cannon, enter the streets and churches from which an Ecumenical Council had but just departed. "Seven years ago," says our Holy Father, "the usurpers of our civil power, trampling under foot Divine and human right, in violation of solemn treaties, and taking advantage of the misfortunes of an illustrious Catholic nation, seized by force of arms what remained of our provinces, and stormed this Holy City." In 1831 the Pope ruled from Terracina to Ferrara, and across central Italy from sea to sea. In 1870 Pius IX., of all his possessions, retained, in uncertain and precarious tenure, the Vatican palace and its garden. Diplomacy, which had made this a great question, which had so proposed it that one only solution could possibly be entertained, looked on at the accomplishment of its own enterprise in gratified silence. It was a matter of mere etiquette that the discrowned king should be declared a person of sovereign dignity: he could not well have a prison-cell and prison-fare assigned him, nor could he be driven by open force out of the Vatican. But from every window of his palace he was doomed to see the Italian colours floating over Rome, and at every door were stationed the foreign guards who might arrest his exit thence, and prevent the faithful from approaching him. A sovereign person whom any captain of the watch may warn back within his limits is usually understood to be a prisoner, but it seems we ought to speak otherwise. The phrase does not very much signify, we think: every one can see what is the reality.

Standing upon that historic balcony at the Quirinal, where, for so many hundreds of years, the new Pope has been proclaimed to the faithful, Victor Emmanuel has said, "We are here at Rome, and here we mean to stay": "*Siamo a Roma e ci staremo.*" He did not explain what power had thus made itself master of the Apostolic Palace. But Pius IX. has been more frank and more clear-sighted. To the French general who, in 1867, was conveying back to France the imperial regiments, he said, "Do not let us deceive ourselves; the Revolution will come hither." He was a true prophet. The Piedmontese king has no influence, except as representing the aspirations of those who would abolish religion altogether; he was made by the secret societies, and, when he ceases to serve them, they will unmake him. On Monte Citorio there

is assembled a Parliament which has despoiled the Church throughout Italy, turned adrift thousands of consecrated and cloistered nuns, put an end to monastic institutions, done its best to secularize education, given every encouragement to Protestants, unbelievers, and atheists, connived at the systematic attempts to corrupt public morality which it is notorious have been set on foot in the larger cities, and accustomed the people to hear language of the most sacrilegious violence uttered day by day against the clergy, the Holy Father, the mysteries of the Faith, and even the divine Person of our Lord Jesus Christ. Rome, as the capital of united Italy, has become a centre of modern thought and modern impiety. That is the great gain which the enemy may boast. The Roman Question has been solved in both its meanings. If it demanded, "Who shall be the Sovereign of Rome?" an answer is given in the spectacle of a so-called constitutional king and parliament, fashioned according to the most approved pattern. If it demanded, "On which side is Rome, and by consequence, Italy in the contest between Catholicity and the Revolution?" no less positive is the answer in the new legislation. Thus has the nineteenth century resolved one question at least which need trouble diplomacy no more. It is not a solution by way of treaty, cession, agreement, equivalent, or any of the methods formerly employed: it is a modern solution, by the logic of facts. But in the present Europe facts are everything.

Are they indeed? That is sad. But suppose there is a logic of facts, perhaps we may ask what the word "solution" means in that science. It must mean, surely, the satisfying of difficulties in such a way, the bringing in of such a harmony that peace and unity are the result; it must mean the reconciling of those elements which first were at war. A final solution cannot mean that certain rights which claim legitimately to exist are to be forcibly suppressed for the sake of others in no wise superior. Solution means peace; not the victory of brute strength, but the acquiescence of those concerned in an arrangement which does justice to all in proper degree and manner. Solution does not mean an armistice, but the end of the whole controversy; not the breathing-space between two wars, a merely armed and suspicious truce, but the agreement of all (morally speaking) in what is for the good of all. Are then the elements of the Roman Question reconciled?

Diplomacy may feign to say yes, but we know by this time that words go for nothing amongst its professors, and that, if we trust it at all, it must be after narrowly observing the men

themselves, and taking them off their guard. We may be quite sure they are watching the course of affairs in Italy with curiosity to see how they will end, but with no sort of belief that the end has already come. Every year makes the contrary more evident. A constitution and a parliament have governed from the Alps to Sicily for nearly seventeen years, and for the last seven have governed without a rival anywhere within Italian borders. The character of the new régime is plain for friends and enemies to see. It is no longer a matter of prophecy or conjecture. The Revolution has had its way, and the present state of things has followed. And we say no one believes that it will endure. Why not?

Because the Roman Question involves three different questions, and the new rulers have solved none of them correctly. There is question of Italian freedom, and of the happiness of the Roman people, and of the Pope's independence. The latter is an element of the great problem, as the Italian Government has itself, in the law of the guarantees, borne witness.* So that it will not do to say, "By this means and that we can secure a free Italy and a happy Rome," and then to boast that we have arrived at a solution. The Catholic millions, east and west, will still be asking, "But by what means do you secure the independence of the Pope? Tell us that." Hence, though it should be granted that two elements of the problem have been treated successfully—and we do not grant this in any sense—the third would remain to embarrass Europe. For the Holy Father has said with undeniable truth that, "to sum up all in a few words, the Church of God in Italy is suffering violence and persecution, and the Vicar of Christ has neither liberty nor the free and full use of his power." So conclusive is the evidence for this statement, even when given in outline only, as in the late Allocution, that our English journals have been unable to explain it away; and some, with a generous honesty for which we thank them, have repeated and enforced the Pope's charges against the Italian Government. Should it, then, be necessary, in order to end the Roman Question, for the Roman Pontiff to enjoy a real and solid independence, we need not prove that the end has yet to come. Catholics and non-Catholics alike confess

* Cardinal Manning says: "On Sept. 8th (1870) King Victor Emmanuel wrote in these words to Pius IX.:—'The Government of the King will protect that interest which the whole Catholic world possesses in the entire independence of the Sovereign Pontiff.' 'The Government of the King is firm in assuring the guarantees necessary to the spiritual independence of the Holy See, and that the head of Catholicity shall preserve on the banks of the Tiber a place honourable and independent of all human sovereignty.'"

that in losing his kingdom our Holy Father has fallen under the power of an enemy ; that he is, to use once more his own accurate expression, "*sub hostili constitutus potestate.*"

We have spoken of reconciling elements which may be, or may seem at first sight to be, antagonistic ; and we have said that to reconcile is not the same thing as to destroy. But it is not so that Englishmen are accustomed to view the Roman Question. To them it is a dilemma, the alternatives of which are never at the same time possible. Englishmen, and with them the Liberals of all countries, tell us that we must choose between the independence of the Pope (if he is to remain at Rome) and the independence of Italy ; we cannot, they say, have both. Catholics in general, they add, are likely to desire that the Holy Father should be sovereign of Rome, let Italian freedom fare as it may. But this runs counter to the prevailing ideas, and is no less impracticable than unjust. Italy has been enslaved long enough ; it is time that a nation with glorious traditions and of a genius which deserves to contribute towards European culture, should assert itself as it has begun to do ; time that it should find a place in the commonwealth of peoples, and, no further held down by Croat, Frank, or Teuton, should look with the tranquillity of ancient Rome "*oltr' Alpi e mare.*" The Pope must descend from his high place ; he must submit, in the interests of modern life, to become a patriarch like the Greek prelate at Stamboul and the English one at Canterbury. No one, they calmly tell us, will refuse to Pius IX. a certain feeling of commiseration for his dethronement, a passing regret that the glories of the triple crown have had their day. Even Brutus wept for Cæsar, but he slew him ; and that is exactly the position we are in : "had you rather that he were living and die all slaves, than that he were dead to live all free men ?" It is a dilemma which priests may solve in one way, but patriots and enlightened statesmen must solve in another. The patriots, such as Mazzini, and the statesmen, such as Cavour, have triumphed. Englishmen think it would have been a misfortune for Europe had they failed.

But we are, perhaps, giving the adversaries of the Civil Princedom credit for too much. They hold, yes certainly, that the twofold independence, Italian and Papal, cannot exist at the same time. But neither will they allow any reason why the Roman Pontiff should claim to be a sovereign ; and they scoff at the idea that he could make out a case before modern Europe. "To what principles which find favour in the eyes of Liberal ministries and parliaments could he appeal ? In the Middle Ages he was a part of the existing and necessary organism ; he was the head and front of a hierarchy in which

"many rulers like himself were to be found. But in these days a Pontiff not subject to the national government is a mere antiquity, and out of all likeness or relation with the age. He is an anachronism, a relic of the feudal system, which has long been swept away. And so, to restore the temporal dominion of the Pope would be to inaugurate once more the ancien régime, to set up Don Carlos at Madrid, Henri de Bourbon at Paris, and even, after all we have heard from Mr. Gladstone, the son of King Ferdinand at Naples. The thing is impossible. Only a universal conspiracy of the 'clericals,' and a moment of weakness on the part of European governments, could furnish a chance to realize so wild and perilous an adventure. Of course, it is not within the limits of discussion amongst reasonable men. If ever there is a Liberal Pope, he will see that a *modus vivendi* is inevitable, unless we are to endure for ever the anomaly and the mischief which the non possumus of Pius IX. has occasioned. *He* may feel bound by his engagements and his coronation oaths; but the next Pope will have none of these things to fetter him."

This is, pretty nearly, the train of thought which has led Englishmen to justify the violent annexation of Rome to the Italian kingdom. Certain of the arguments may have exercised an influence also on Catholics here and there, tempting them to question whether, in the present state of the world, our Holy Father has any likelihood of being restored.* For our own part, we have ventured to put the objections in their strongest form, chiefly because we think they can be answered in every iota. We have desired also to convince such non-Catholics as may do us the honour of reading our pages that, if we are fanatics, it is not for want of knowing what the other side has to say. Our position is that which the Holy Father has clearly and emphatically expressed many times since the Italian entry into Rome, and which he has once again formulated in his letter of a recent date to the English hierarchy.†

* Although we are not dealing with the Roman Question for the sake of its theology, we cannot forbear recommending the earnest study of those declarations which, in one capacity or another, but always as the supreme authority, the present Pope has laid down for our guidance. Reference is made in the Syllabus to as many as Six Allocutions and Apostolic Letters, "which clearly teach that doctrine concerning the Civil Principedom of the Roman Pontiff, *which all Catholics are bound most firmly to hold.*" Any one who studies these pronouncements thus emphatically enforced on the Catholic's interior acceptance, will be surprised at the extent and stringency of their teaching.

† The original text of the Letter is in the *Tablet* of June 9th. "Do not," the Holy Father asks, "all the faithful in the world believe that the Sovereign Pontiff ought not to be subject to the power of any human authority; and that on this account Divine Providence bestowed on him a civil

We say that the true and solid independence of the Roman Pontiff is necessary for the good government of the Church and for the welfare of the State all over the world; and that there is only one practical means of assuring his independence—the means which Providence itself has ordained—a territorial sovereignty, having Rome for its capital and centre. On the other hand, as we do not for a moment deny that Italy has every right to be free from foreign rulers; as, moreover, it consorts with the Christian idea of Providence and with the good fame of the Apostolic See, that its subjects should enjoy a rational amount of happiness and prosperity; we think the reconciliation of these various interests must be, from the nature of the case, possible. But what is more, we affirm that history shows us the interests of the Papacy, of Italy, and of Rome, not as conflicting, but as identical. So much for the position we maintain. Until the Revolution came, with its childish theories and its ignorance of the past; until men were content to reproach the Papacy without looking at home to their own evils, or asking whether there might not be two ways of estimating civilization and progress, this position of ours could not seem paradoxical. As we have said, the present mode of condemning the Papal Government is an invention of the century. We think it as unphilosophical as it is false.

To the Liberal arguments what we reply is this. The Pope's civil principedom has nothing in common with the feudal system or the ancien régime. Our loyalty to him does not require that we should consider feudalism to be the perfect social state; neither does it compel us to aim at restoring the Bourbons. We may take which side we please, the Legitimist or the Constitutional, and in neither case will the rights of the Holy See be diminished or modified. There are principles which always must avail in civilized societies, principles of which no diplomatists can explain away the force, and no alteration of circumstances can bar the application. To these we make appeal, and not to political exigencies which may cease at any moment to be felt. Whether Europe be broken into a number of federal republics, or continue under the rule of military chiefs and chancellors of the empire, it is still essential, both to the world and to the Church, that the Roman Pontiff should enjoy perfect freedom in Rome. What need, then, is there to parade "clerical" conspiracies, which every one knows do not exist? The Catholics, laymen as well

principedom? Do they not believe that these considerations, irrespective of the oaths taken to preserve in its integrity the temporal dominion of the Roman Church, utterly exclude all conciliation with those who have invaded the possessions of the Supreme Pontiff?"

as priests, of Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and we must add of France itself, have been undergoing persecution and trial for several years past; and now we may challenge their respective governments to prove that Catholics have committed one solitary act of violence, or uttered so much as one word which could be interpreted as a menace. Our brethren on the Continent have refused to do wrong; they have shown their nobility of mind by a splendid and unanimous resistance, but their resistance has been passive, and they have claimed only the privilege of martyrs and confessors, to speak the truth before their judges. At this hour, the loyal submission of Catholics to the authorities in Europe is more than unimpeachable; it is conspicuous. Even if we take Italy for an example, we shall not have to qualify what has been just said. Much as the people suffer in all its provinces, they observe the laws enacted by the oligarchy; they have no skill in political organization, but they pray and wait for better times. It was not the people that drove out the legitimate princes; and as they kept aloof from public affairs twenty years ago, they have hardly begun to mix in them yet. Certainly they do not contemplate an insurrection. As for the Holy Father, speaking in a public audience on the 20th of July, 1872, he said: "Why have they imagined that there is any desire to attempt an armed reaction? The thought is an absurdity, and to say that it has existed is a calumny." The general tenor of his words, as we read them in the volumes before us, would indicate a totally different issue out of the present troubles from any which military force can determine.

Seeing that politicians have a great respect for facts (by which we presume they mean established and unquestionable realities), we will ask them to consider certain facts touching the Catholic Church and the Pope, which are beyond denial, and are capable of apprehension even by unbelievers. We need not remind the thoughtful that, in religion, opinions often have the weight and the worth of facts. And the sturdiest of practical men knows, from his own experience, the way in which facts seem, now important, and now insignificant, according as the view shifts. Hence, what we ought to take into account, when discussing the Roman Question, are those facts in the nature, scope, and constitution of the Catholic Church which are likewise fundamental doctrines in her Creed. What the Church declares she always has been, and by her very essence, must be, deserves the closest attention, for her children will strive their utmost to save that from destruction. Now the Pope's civil principedom is an expression of many such doctrines, and its value therefore, is chiefly reli-

gious. To understand this is to be convinced that the problem admits of only one perfect solution, which does not take from Italian freedom, and does not suppose the presence of any "barbarians" in Italy.

First of all, the Church professes to be, not a merely spiritual and invisible community (the Church of the elect or the predestinate), but "a city on a hill," which all the world may see, and cannot help seeing. In theological language, we say that the Church is "a great Sacrament," something which is matter and spirit, a divine life manifesting itself as a polity and kingdom upon earth. It is the embodiment of the religious principle, the organism in which religion develops its activity and exerts the widest influence on human life. And as religion aims, before all things, at the eternal, at the absolute good—for this very reason (not, as some think, in spite of it) religion must make laws which affect material interests, such as politics, commerce, war, police, and whatever else of the kind there may be. Each order of things has its own rights, but all have a reference to the highest order, and so to religion. Questions which are important for the State are questions for the Church as well, so far as the morality of them is concerned. They belong, in a certain sense, to her jurisdiction.

The facts which we thus briefly mention explain what the Church is, and what liberty she asks from the world. Her one purpose, as all who know her must confess, is to teach the revelation of Christ, and to provide mankind with all they need to live up to, and find comfort in, His ordinances. She seeks to maintain Scripture and tradition in their purity, and to open a fountain of grace to her children in the Sacraments, Holy Mass, the Liturgical observances, the community life. Therefore she must have a visible priesthood, orders of religious men and women, the means of educating those who belong to her by baptism, the power, likewise, to expand into all that beautiful life of charity and beneficence which has made her so like her Divine Spouse. These demands she is justified in putting forward; this independence she cannot but claim; for it is simply the liberty to elevate and purify society; and no government may lawfully forbid what is so plainly harmless, and so unmistakably moral. It is a mere matter of course that the Church should have the right of acquiring temporal possessions and territorial interests, not for their own sake, but because she is composed of men and addresses herself to men. And that this must be the case with any religion admits of no doubt; for even Quietism and Quakerism, which professed to be the quintessence of spirit-

uality, have grown into visible communities. They could not but lay claim to the right of association, and that includes the right to hold property, to appoint officers, and to regulate the conduct of members.

But the Catholic Church is unlike all pretended religions because of her unbroken unity and her universality in time and place. To her, age after age, has been confided the secret of life and development:—

Still doomed to death, but fated not to die.

She has spread into every nation and tribe, and has won disciples belonging to every race, climate, and tradition, to every grade of civilization and form of government. She has fulfilled the prophecy which gave her the Gentiles for an inheritance; and she has perpetuated to this day the miracle of Pentecost. We need not delay to insist upon that wonderful success, which Protestant writers have magnified, but have not attempted to explain. The Church lives and thrives because she is at one with herself, and is "careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." But who will declare to us the source of her unity, which is so active, so intellectual, so diversified? There is but one explanation. Sixteen centuries ago, it was given by S. Irenæus in words which are too famous to quote; and the same words accurately express what we have all seen at the Vatican Council, and every day since, down to the celebration which has so taken the world by surprise, the feast of our Holy Father's Episcopal Jubilee. "*Propter potentiorum principatatem*," said Irenæus, because she has the kingdom and the power given her by Christ—must every local Church resort as to the unfailing source of faith and charity to the Roman Church. The secret of the widest universality must be sought in the deepest, truest, and most vital unity; and as the Church could not be from Christ were she not Catholic, so she could never be Catholic had she not always been Roman. Thus the visible reality of the Church, the unceasing activity of the Church, the world-wide expansion of the Church, the living and unconquerable unity of the Church, all carry us, as along so many vistas, up to the Chair of Truth at Rome in which from Apostolic periods the Vicar of Christ has sat.

Rome, therefore, as the See of S. Peter, is divinely appointed to be the centre, the source, the stay of Catholic unity. And the Rome we mean is not a city in the clouds, not a name which may travel upon this road and that, like a caravan through the desert, but a visible city and territory, the very place where S. Peter established his power, where

he preached, and where he died. As the Church is visible, and her priesthood, so is the head of the Church, so is the city which he governs as its own bishop. Rome, too, is sacramental; an earthly reality with a significance not of earth and a divine jurisdiction,—the gate of Heaven, where the spiritual opens out into the material world. This is its unique privilege, not that it once drew all the nations under its temporal dominion, nor that it gave birth to Julius and Augustus, but that it has been made “the immemorial and supernatural throne” of a greater than Cæsar. The poet Virgil, not knowing what he said, was in marvel at the unexampled history of this city:—

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

But his more gifted disciple, Dante, has interpreted the thought for us. *Æneas*, he proclaims:—

*Of Rome, and of Rome's empire wide
In Heaven's empyreal height was chosen sire:
Both which, if truth be spoken, were ordained
And stablished for the Holy Place where sits
Who to great Peter's sacred Chair succeeds.*

And Providence, which had decreed that the meekness of the saints should eclipse the triumphs of pagan Rome, executed the design by a series of events which have not their parallel in history; or, if anywhere, in the miraculous chronicle which relates how the God of Israel led His people through the sea and the river, and gave them a land of which He was to be the king for ever.

Here, now, is the Catholic Church, an immense spiritual organization, the members of which acknowledge only one supreme head on earth, a bishop, and the Bishop of bishops. Here is a sacred hierarchy, consisting of numerous states and conditions, in which the faithful and the clergy of every land are gathered under the bishops, and these are princes who hold their authority of the Roman Pontiff, and cannot in spiritual things be subject to king or emperor. The faithful claim a certain right to practise their religion, to obey its laws, and to keep clear of sin, without hinderance from the State, whether it be absolute or constitutional, monarchical or republican. In like manner the bishops must condemn, no less in action than in doctrine, the Erastian heresy which makes the king head of Christ's Church. And, moreover, though national religions may allow the State to govern them, yet the true Church cannot, for the very reason that she is international and universal; not confined to any one region, and still not a mere confederation of sects, but absolutely the same body, governed

by the same essential laws, and claiming for all the Christian liberty which she claims for any. But the power which directs and controls the religious, moral, and social interests of the whole Church, is no other than the power of the Pope. He has, therefore, spiritual prerogatives which are unequalled in extent, and which by far the majority of professing Christians venerate as given to him by our Lord; and he has an indirect temporal power and influence which we cannot easily reckon. In whatever country "mixed" questions arise, whether in Australia or in Canada, in Germany or in China, there the voice of the Holy Father is heard, and his faithful children obey. No other human being has such a power of affecting the destinies of mankind. And the power of the Roman Pontiff cannot be taken from him; neither, if he wished, could he resign it to another. The world may respect his power, or assail it; one thing the world cannot do, it cannot bring it to an end. And this ruler of "the changeless Church," changeless himself, is irrevocably Bishop of Rome. There is his place, his See, his natural and proper residence, from which he may, indeed, be absent, but to which he never can become foreign.

These premisses furnish us with a plain argument. Since the Church, everywhere, must be free in her bishops, priests, and laity; free to hold the faith and practise the law which Christ the King has appointed; since the supreme direction of faith and morals, of the entire religious life, belongs and always has belonged, always will belong, to the Roman Pontiff; it follows that he has a divine right, for the good of the Church and of all Christian peoples, to be absolutely independent. The most powerful ruler upon earth cannot be a subject. The man endowed with the highest prophetic office must be, at all events, the equal of those sovereigns with whom he has to treat, and whom he may, in his apostolic dignity, have to rebuke. The one authority in whose power it is to command the Church from east to west, from north to south, cannot possibly be under the dominion of a king, or a king's minister, who might coerce him at will. The final judge of appeal, in whose court is often the only refuge from local tyranny and injustice, may not be himself exposed to the danger or the suspicion of fearing man rather than God. The governor, whose it is to have the care of all the churches; to transact affairs in all parts and amongst all nations; to appoint the bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs; to examine into the way that laws are kept, discipline enforced, temporal possessions administered all the world over, must be able to choose his own servants, to bind them to him by a double loyalty, to correct their faults with sovereign authority, and to give

them support and shelter when they have done their duty. Not only he himself must be exempt from the law of an earthly superior, but his chief officers and ministers must be free likewise from every law of man except his. The Roman Pontiff must needs have his Cardinals, his Congregations, his Legates ; he must have a court, not for its splendour, but to assist him in the work of government, and therefore a large executive with which no one else can interfere. All this, collected into a single sentence, means that the Holy Father is, from the nature of the dignity he holds, an independent sovereign ruling over subjects.

And he is a sovereign, is intended to be such, and for fifteen centuries has been virtually or actually such *in Rome*. He is not a king to whom Providence has assigned no territory. Though the "*orbis terrarum*" be the sphere of his spiritual jurisdiction, yet Rome is his capital, the place of his sovereignty, of his court, his executive, his government. The city bears such an appearance as we might expect. It is a city of ecclesiastical palaces, and is the home of the many authorities who watch over the religious interests which the Holy Father has allotted to their care. It is also the centre of Catholic life ; and wherever the stranger passes he lights upon colleges, monasteries, the halls of some great university, the churches of religious orders, the shrines of God's saints. There is no other city like it in Europe, none *really* like it in the world. It shows outwardly what it is inwardly, and no more reminds one of a secular capital than Jerusalem can have reminded one of Athens. It is not a fortified place, nor a commercial emporium, nor a city of pleasure, and its treasures of art are less visible than its treasures of religion. It is not an antiquity dating from the Middle Ages, nor a manufacturing metropolis of the nineteenth century. It is simply the Eternal City. To dream of converting it into something new and brilliant—an Italian Paris, or, perhaps, an Italian Berlin—is to forget that spirit defies matter, and that traditions cannot die unless the spots over which they brood be sown with salt and made desolate. There is a spirit in Rome which Victor Emmanuel will not banish.

But has any one ever heard of two sovereign powers, two sovereigns dwelling face to face in the same city, and remaining mutually independent ? Not in Europe, certainly ; not at Constantinople or Moscow. And not in Asia, as all know who have read how the Khalifs gave way before the Sultans—for we will not go further East, though it would be possible to quote for our instruction from the mere heathen. Unless the Pope is sole king in Rome, we shall see a King-Pontiff there

in his stead. Alexander I. said to Napoleon at Tilsit, "I experience no difficulties in affairs of religion, I am the head of my own Church." These are words that should not be forgotten. But there are others more memorable still, which Napoleon himself wrote in explanation of his conduct towards Pius VII. "By keeping the Pope *at Paris*," he said, "and annexing the Roman States to my dominions, I had obtained the object of separating his temporal from his spiritual authority. *Paris* would have become the capital of the Christian world; I should have directed the religious world as well as the political. I should have had my religious sessions; my council would have been the assembly of the representatives of Christianity, and the Popes would have been nothing but its presidents. I would have opened and closed these assemblies, *approved* and *published* their decisions. That emancipation of the Church from the Court of Rome (!), that union of the spiritual and temporal powers in the hands of one sovereign had been long the object of my meditations and wishes."* Here is a confession that the civil principedom of the Pope has been a bulwark of Europe against a second Byzantine servitude. But, further still, here is a plain prediction of what must come to pass when the supreme spiritual ruler lodges as a guest in the capital of a secular prince. If we do not desire that an emperor's aide-de-camp shall dictate the articles of our faith, we must do what in us lies to support the Pope's temporal sovereignty. As Bellarmine said most truly, when it is question of the Holy See, "*agitur de summa rei Christianæ*." The territorial sovereignty to which Pius IX. will not surrender his claim, is the only effectual guarantee of Christian liberty in every nation, first securing liberty in what regards the spiritual life, and then contributing not a little to social and civic freedom.†

And in truth, the *non possumus* of Pius VII. was a main cause of Napoleon I.'s overthrow, for it kept alive a conscientious resistance to him, not only in Catholic Austria, but in every European country where his sacrilegious persecution of the Holy Father was known. The *non possumus* of Pius IX. has accomplished yet more. As we saw lately in the rejection of the Clerical Abuses Bill, it has preserved to Italy a modicum of its ancient freedom; and it has increased throughout Europe the force and the spirit of that anti-Erastian movement from which we may look for deliverance later on. If Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Austria are at this moment rejecting the State-cultus with which Liberal govern-

* Alison's Europe, vol. xiii. cap. 60, p. 133.

† The argument upon which we have here touched is finely and effectively drawn out in the Cardinal's volume, especially in his second chapter.

ments have tried to indoctrinate the faithful, and if the Revolution itself finds, in attempting to destroy religion, that it is baffled by an incomprehensible but most evident revival of Catholic piety everywhere, that is due, after the grace of God, to the noble unflinching attitude which the Pope has maintained. That encouragement, that invincible morale would suffer a great reverse the instant Pius IX. gave up his sovereign rights. If any one doubts that such would be the result, let him call to memory the one sad hour at Fontainebleau, when Pius VII., driven to the verge of insanity, put himself in the power of the French Emperor. It was a stroke under which the Church seemed to reel. Nor could the event be judged otherwise. Reflect upon the figure which an Archbishop of Canterbury, or even of Constantinople, would present, were he to think of beginning an anti-Erastian reform in his Church. The thought must raise a smile upon the gravest face. A subject Pontiff cannot deal with his superiors on an equal footing, he is not raised high enough even to dispute with them.

For, why do Catholic Bishops take upon them such an Apostolic mien, except because they have the Holy Father to appeal to? The controversy is removed from the lower courts, it becomes a matter to excite European and even worldwide interest; and the unjust sovereign, the brutal premier—Pombal, or Bismarck, or whatever name he may bear for the short space of his life—finds that he cannot suppress the Church as he would close a college or dismiss a prefect. He is brought across the one Church which lives and energizes wherever man inhabits, and a cry goes up against him from all lands. What is yet more ominous for him, at the word of the Holy Father there is put forth universal and unselfish prayer from the whole body of the faithful to implore the Everlasting that He would deign to pity and protect His inheritance. So that, like the seer in the Book of Kings, the humblest priest can say to the Russian or the German Chancellor who persecutes him, “I do not fear, because there are many more with me than with thee.” But the spiritual kingdom is united in these bonds of faith and love through the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and he governs and defends it fittingly then only when he has a real substantial immunity from violence. His independence is the keystone of the Church; but he can be independent only as *a king* or as *a prisoner*. But the one state is normal and becoming, the other is unnatural, violent, hateful to heaven, a scandal upon earth.

So far, then, from the extinction of the lesser ecclesiastical
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principalities (such as the Bishoprics and Abbacies in Germany) being a reason why the Pope's civil authority should cease, it is a reason why he should be more than ever a king. Whilst there were many to shelter the persecuted, and remonstrate, as their equals, with crowned heads on behalf of the Church, it did not matter so immediately whether the Holy Father was or was not free; though, of course, it always mattered in the end. But, now, Rome is needed to be the one city of refuge for all the earth. The Bishops', nay the Church's independence is summed up in that of the Pope; he must speak for the Hierarchy and the faithful alike. For this he does not require great military forces, which he never had and never will have; what he requires is a sanctuary from which he can utter his warnings and protests with the dignity of a sovereign rank. But the dignity must be real, not fictitious. There are many persons in Europe, thanks to the Revolution and Prince Bismarck, who acknowledge no temporal superior. But they are kings and dukes by courtesy, and their worth in diplomacy is precisely nothing. That is not the status which the Pope seeks to recover. The common sense of mankind, the experience of history, the sagacity of the Church's enemies, whether we consult the secret societies or Napoleon I., declare that if the Pontiff is not a territorial sovereign, he is condemned inevitably to be a subject.

"But the force of enlightened public opinion, the solemnity of guarantees, and of rights secured by international conventions and treaties, are not these a better security than the crumbling walls of Rome, and the defences of a small kingdom?" Apparently not. Upon treaties and guarantees it does not need that we should spend a word. The Italian Government has shown, since the time of Cavour, how lightly it regards such obligations. "*Perfidia plusquam Punica*," said Livy describing Hannibal, and we may add thereto that Italian statesmen of the present day are falser than Machiavelli. Never were human lips more defiled with lying, or human speech more foully abused, than during these thirty years of Piedmontese conspiracy and annexation. The fact is notorious and disheartening; we had rather not dwell upon it any longer. A plain man is apt to forget the world's courtesies at the sight of such hypocrisy.

But "enlightened public opinion" is a favourite topic, urged always by Liberals, and from time to time by those Catholics who think the Holy Father would be really more independent without the care of temporal dominions than he could be as their ruler. The expression is not very definite. In the first place, public opinion might not be enlightened, as

we understand the word; it might hesitate to pronounce in favour of the Holy See, or it might pronounce against it. Opinion making itself felt through the newspapers is not generally remarkable on the score of wisdom. But, suppose public opinion held that the Pope ought to enjoy perfect immunity, would this be quite the same thing as bestowing immunity upon him? Opinion may be of the greatest assistance to an established order of things; but it has no prompt or effectual means whereby to resist a tyranny. Opinion has neither armies nor police; it may condemn, but it cannot proceed to execution. It is no safeguard against oppression. Revolutions may be due to its force in the long run, but it never causes them immediately. Those who talk of public opinion as an instant and sufficient help to freedom do not understand its nature; they give it credit for more than it can effect, or has ever claimed to effect. And they judge of Italy and Italian affairs by an analogy which does not apply, taken from what they see in England, and, perhaps, in France; whereas the Italian character and tradition are wholly different from our own, and the Italian way of conducting politics requires a peculiar study if we would not misinterpret everything that is done. Italy has suffered more than any other country from the habit our statesmen have of viewing the world at large through home-made spectacles. Public opinion has not saved the Church in Italy from spoliation, and it will not save the Holy Father from persecution. Let those who think so highly of its efficacy propose that it shall be the only defence of Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland against Prince Bismarck's desire to include them in the German Fatherland. None of these small communities are invincible, but so long as they can be overcome only by marching armies across their borders, they feel sufficiently safe. To brave "public opinion" is one thing, to violate a frontier, besiege cities, and compel soldiers to lay down their arms is quite another, and the difficulties of the two courses will not bear comparison. Public opinion has less weight than diplomatic expostulation, and we know the latter does not reach far. Even the Vatican blockaded as it is up to the very gates, and so hard pressed that Pius IX. could not issue from it without being deemed to make an unconditional surrender, has yet more of real security in its walls than the public opinion of all Italy could provide without them. Once more, unless the Pope be sovereign of Rome, he is independent only by force of resisting.

And that conflict, we may be sure, which the Italian Government commenced, and obliges the Holy Father to carry on with such pain to himself and to the Church, will not

last for ever. Persecution is only for a time. There are intervals during which Christianity enjoys peace and prosperity. We may be nearer to such a wished-for period than we think. Look at the Holy Father's speeches, frank and noble, divinely courageous and tender as they have been all these weary years : we cannot help feeling that the heart kindles into hope whilst we read them ; we say to ourselves, things must change for the better before long. And though such a hope has not the assurance of prophecy, still it will seem reasonable to one who knows history, for it is the simple expectation of seeing effects where causes adequate to them are at work. The Italian Government and the Italian people have a great controversy to settle. But they take different sides, and time will bring out, more and more clearly, how thorough is the antagonism between the nation and its rulers. For the nation desires freedom, and security, and the restoration of the Holy Father to his dominions ; whilst the ministers of whatever shade have done all they could to degrade Italy and the Pope. To our mind the Roman Question is not yet closed, because Providence has yet some happiness in store for the country which a faction is now trampling upon. But the beginning of a change must be taken low down, not on the political surface, but where life and death have their roots. And from all we can perceive the Government is condemned to die, and the people are promised salvation.

Englishmen, we may suppose, would wish Italy to decide for itself whether it will receive the Papacy as its best inheritance. They would say that the decision of the country ought to be respected. We are willing to take them on their own ground. Italy distinctly asks for the Holy Father's return ; and Rome, which cannot but have a voice in the matter, asks for the Pope as the one guarantee of her existence. Having to elect between the Church and the Revolution, Italy prefers the Church, and, in doing so, manifests emphatically her desire to see the Piedmontese evacuate the holy places which they have desecrated. Upon this point there cannot remain the shadow of a doubt for those who read what passes every day at the Vatican and in Rome. After the surprise into which they had been cast by the events of September 20th, the Italians and Romans thought only of protesting against the sacrilege, and assuring Pius IX. that it was the work of a handful of miscreants, not of the country at large. Day by day the Catholic newspapers have published to Europe the names, numbers, and offerings of those who came up to the apostolic throne from every town and city, we had almost said from every district, in Italy and the islands. The deputations represented an immense ma-

jority of the Italian people; they included men and women of every class and profession in society; they conveyed gifts from rich and poor, from clergy and laity, and often their munificent presents of ten or twenty thousand francs were a collection from those who could severally offer only a few pence, but were anxious to show their love of the Holy Father, and their hope that he would be delivered from the oppressor. For all the addresses which they uttered were expressions of sympathy, of regret, of indignation, and always of earnest hope in God for the freedom of their common father. It has been a spontaneous plébiscite, very different from the infamous piece of chicanery which made a united Italy. Liberal politicians have not been able to deny it, and therefore they have affected not to know that the people were voting, daily and hourly, for the end of Piedmontese tyranny. But we trust the facts will make themselves known, sooner or later, to the English gentlemen who celebrate what they call Italian independence.

As regards the Roman people, our Holy Father has said proudly and affectionately of them, that "their faith is known throughout the whole world." Nobles and commonalty, they have returned, year by year, on the old anniversaries, to renew their fealty, and to promise their sovereign that they would pray for his deliverance. All the parishes of the city have sent representatives, not in tens, but in hundreds and thousands. Of the Roman patricians, not half a dozen have ascended the steps of the Quirinal to the new king. Almost the whole body of employés, who might easily have taken service under the Piedmontese, have chosen to risk starvation rather than desert Pius IX., and he has shared with them the alms of the Catholic world. Hundreds of young men, at his bidding, have relinquished their studies at the Roman University, rather than attend the Government lectures; thus barring themselves from a career, but saving their loyalty. The religious orders, the secular clergy, have endured the spoiling of their goods for religion's sake. The lower and middle classes, whose honour was questioned by the Liberal newspapers, have borne themselves worthily, and every trade has sent its address and its offering. We merely record a fact, when we say that, apart from the officials who came down from Florence, and a very few discontented persons (hardly one of them eminent in society), the inhabitants of Rome are thoroughly attached to the Pope, and thoroughly hostile to the new Government. The Piedmontese *occupy* Rome, but in the eyes of its people they do not own it. We believe the feeling everywhere else is the same; and even Bologna, which, in comparison with other

cities, had a sort of anti-Papal tradition, has been converted to loyalty by the sufferings of the last seventeen years.*

And what wonder? Let any candid person ask himself how much the Roman States can have profited by coming under the sub-Alpine rule. In a religious and moral point of view they have gained nothing; that we may take for granted. But in any point of view? Taxes are we fear to say how many times heavier than they were formerly; and yet what used we not to hear about Papal exactions? The silver currency has disappeared, and even copper has become scarce (notes are issued for five halfpence); and meanwhile the taxation affects the most necessary articles of sustenance and hampers business at every turn. There is a ruthless conscription, which does its worst to outrage the laws of the family and of the sanctuary as well. Charitable institutions have been ruined, and their ruin has caused, in many parts, a most pitiable distress. The demand for labour is getting scarce, and, at the same time, strikes, which were unknown till lately, have been introduced into the chief towns. Not only the Roman States, but the country is suffering these enormous evils; and, in consequence, thousands of Italian exiles are leaving its shores to find a home in America. The social organization of Italy is, in one word, falling to pieces.

As a social experiment, therefore, the new Italian régime has brought nothing but disaster. The former state of things may have been bad, but the present state is intolerable. Nor has the promise of political liberty been kept, except to some slight extent in Venice and Lombardy. The Romans have none of it. The Government is a faction, an "omnium gatherum" of Piedmontese lawyers, returned conspirators, professors of heterodox philosophy, and worn-out literary adventurers. It is like the *dramatis personæ* of the "Beggars' Opera." The Florentines were shocked at the Gallicisms of their new masters, and the Romans scornfully mimic their barbarian pronunciation. But the men themselves are

* From p. 69 to p. 75 the Cardinal proves, in greater detail than our space would allow us, what we have advanced above. He has likewise pointed out the causes of those troubles and discontents which preceded the overthrow of the Roman States, and shown that the Popes were not answerable for them, but the French Revolution and the Code Napoléon. If, however, any reader wishes to thoroughly search into this matter, we would advise him most strongly to get a small German volume by Prof. Hergenroether, called "The States of the Church since the French Revolution." There is a French translation under the title, "*Histoire des Etats de l'Eglise depuis la première révolution française jusqu'à nos jours*"; but it does not give the German with complete accuracy. Hergenroether's own book cannot be too highly praised.

not content with talking bad Italian. Ignorant of history, and without an atom of that political prudence which long experience alone can give, they mismanage every department of public affairs. The country is plunged into debt, and there is no result to show for it, except the venal and dishonourable riches which private individuals have acquired. The treasury has been robbed by its legal guardians, and repeated scandals, involving persons of the highest rank, have been forcibly hushed up or compounded in the courts of justice. On the whole, the Government of Italy is about as respectable as the Government of Mexico ; and the twenty-six millions, who are supposed to elect a parliament, and to have the power of checking a ministry, are represented on the electoral lists by, perhaps, half a million of voters, who, for the most part, absent themselves from the poll. Less than two hundred thousand persons, bribed, or driven, or intimidated, or depraved, choose a house of deputies which insults God and plunders the Church. It is not surprising that the prisons are full, or that the average of crime in Italy has risen like a flood-tide since the kingdom was made. For in almost every town the syndic and the municipality follow the example set them at Monte Citorio. This last evil Catholics might sometimes remedy ; but there is an ancient discipline which the Government has not abolished, the law of the stiletto ; and men whose nature is more refined than courageous shrink from a danger which they know is not imaginary. So the faithful may not go on pilgrimage to Assisi or Loreto because the syndic forbids them, and none can hold a meeting without leave from the authorities, or, at any rate, without exposing themselves to surveillance. This is the farcé which they call Italian independence, and which true universal suffrage would end in a day.

End, some time, it must. The only question is, what will come after it, the open Revolution or the Restoration ? No one can tell, but that is not a reason for abandoning hope. We see an entire nation waking up to the sense of its duty, frequenting the churches, rallying round the Sovereign Pontiff, praying and encouraging one another to suffer in the good cause. We see their Catholic brethren on both sides of the Atlantic displaying the most affectionate sympathy towards them in their troubles, sending alms to furnish the empty sanctuaries, to clothe and feed the indigent, and to provide against future spoliations. We see the Catholic world protesting in Rome itself that Pius IX. is the true king, and Victor Emmanuel a sacrilegious usurper of his throne. We see that Apostolic old man undaunted after his thirty years of combat for the Church of God, high-spirited, unshaken, vigo-

rous in mind and body, always august, always invincible. We see that it is not the Roman Church but the Italian Government which has lost its prestige, and must defend itself in the face of Europe, and that its defence is not reason, but military force and unblushing effrontery. We see that the Italian people has come over to Pius IX., if it ever wavered in its allegiance to him. And, lastly, we see the beginnings of united action which does not propose to exceed the law—such law as it is—but to work within its limits, for that freedom to worship God and live in peace which was promised, but has never been bestowed. It is not too much to believe that a cause which has these elements of success will, by patience and perseverance, at length succeed.

The article we have just brought to a close was in the press when we learned to our gratification that His Eminence the Cardinal was publishing the work, which many of our readers will have already studied, on "The Independence of the Holy See." Cardinal Manning has never addressed his countrymen without compelling their attention; and though his present theme cannot appear very welcome to them, we make no doubt that they will consider the arguments by which he recommends conclusions hitherto neglected or put aside with contempt. He might have expanded into a large volume the hundred pages which he has actually written, but in a few pages it is possible to say much; and brevity of statement may here, in spite of Horace, contribute towards a very definite impression even upon those who (as is only too common) read everything in a hurry. Passages of unusual beauty occur; we would instance that (p. 44) in which the Cardinal shows us how Pagan Rome has long ago vanished from the earth, and how the Rome of to-day is a city which the Popes have built up from the foundations; and that other (p. 96), which brings into relief the majestic figure of Pius IX. The whole book, we need hardly say, has the eloquence which befits a calmly-sustained logic employed in advocating a great and an affecting cause, such as the world itself recognizes in the Papal independence. Moreover, it is at once loyal to the Holy See and outspoken as to principles; it offers no compromise, because none can be made between the antagonists, between the Revolution and the Vicar of Christ. The Holy Father must possess sovereign authority; he must possess it in Rome; and this being so, it follows that the Italian Government must, sooner or later, retire from the position it

has taken up. One of the parties to this contest never can and never will retire, and that is the Supreme Pastor, whose office keeps him at the Confession of the Apostles. The violence of the world must yield to the Church's voice.

Many writers in the newspapers, and political chiefs who call themselves Protestants, members of the Church of England, or Dissenters, as it may happen, will glance at the Cardinal's pages only to turn from them with dissatisfaction. They will say that the pamphlet proves nothing, because it assumes everything. In saying so, they betray what perhaps it might have been well to conceal. For what is the real force of their objection? It is simply this; that the Cardinal views political facts, and especially the recent changes in Italy, by the light of one set of principles, and they (the critics in newspapers and in the clubs) by the light of another. But here is the Cardinal's advantage—*his* principles are Christian, *theirs* are not. So far as we have been able to gather from his works, Cardinal Manning has ever shrunk from lending a hand to the policy which subverts; he prefers appealing to what sincere Protestants have, or ought to have, in common with Catholic Christians. He would take the "fragments" which Englishmen still retain of the faith, and prove that they belong to a supernatural whole realized and perpetually living in the Roman Church. The Revolution, he considers, ought to be withstood by all who reverence Scripture, who believe in our Lord's divinity, who are sure that this world of sense is a shadow of the spiritual and everlasting world. Therefore he does not say that the principles or the genius of what is termed Modern Thought will justify a sovereignty like that which he claims for the Pope. He is not arguing with the Revolution; he does not work from any of its premisses to the conclusions which he enforces. And therefore, again, the entire argument, beginning and end alike, must seem to a Comtist or other antitheist merely irrelevant. But who would attempt the task of persuading such men that they ought to give the Church her liberty? The plea is addressed to Christians; its efficacy and appositeness can be properly calculated from no other point of view. It may seem preposterous or even out of date to derive any consequences from the supposition that Christianity, as a religion, is true; but who are they to whom it will seem so? Not the majority of Europeans, nor of Italians, nor of Englishmen, but a noisy, vehement, and audacious minority, composed of some literary, more scientific, and a still larger number of purely uneducated fanatics, who describe themselves as the élite of civilization. The Cardinal lets them pass with a single remark, that revolutions do not

abolish the tribunal of God's judgment. These men deny God and morality; but what difference can that make? Do not God and morality exist as always?

Grant, accordingly, that Christian principles ought to determine our thoughts and sympathies in this matter, and the Cardinal's argument will be seen to be unanswerable. He can say that the political order of Europe, since it has been Christian for more than a thousand years, requires the Papal Independence at Rome as its foundation and its perfection. He can say that the Popes created and sustained within and without the only civilization which looked to man's eternal interests as well as his temporal. He finds ample grounds in history to assert that, as the right order of states and peoples is due to Providence, the Roman Sovereignty of the Pope is, in a deeper sense than any other authority, a divine ordinance. He can rely upon the axiom that things are preserved in existence by the causes which first gave them their being, to show how, as from Rome the Christian social life was disseminated over Europe, so it will decay and perish unless Rome continues to be its centre. All this demonstrates that the visible supremacy of the Pope, his complete independence of every government, cannot be imperilled without shaking the European order to its base, and threatening it with destruction; that, consequently, the cause of the Pope is the cause of all non-revolutionary authorities. Upon serious men in England he would urge that conclusion by recalling what Liberal and Conservative statesmen have said in reference to it. He does not plead for the ancient régime. Indeed, we may be permitted to say that, on this point, Catholics receive no sort of justice from the world. Louis XIV., and several of his successors in France, persecuted the Church; the Bourbons all united in suppressing a great religious society, against which they could prove not the slightest charge of evil-doing. Joseph II., and many besides him, wished to ruin Catholicity in their dominions; and we are credited with the desire to restore their principles and their atrocious despotism! The Cardinal truly says that the Church alone is the mother of "fruitful and temperate liberties," and is the "guardian and protector" of all freedom worthy of the name. His argument, therefore, stands clear of partisan politics; its strength is to be sought in the religious principles of all who have any religion left, not in devotion to an historical past. It is characteristic of one whose life has been an unbroken toil at restoration, that he will not give up his hopes in the advent of a brighter future when the anti-Christian movement shall

have worked itself out. Should, however, the world return to Paganism, then the first ages of the Church will return likewise, and the Pontiffs will again suffer martyrdom for their flock. But the subjects of any man *they* can never be, upon whom the power of the Keys has been bestowed.

Our own argument, it may be worth observing, has not been quite the same with, though neither, of course, has it been contradictory of the Cardinal's. That the Papal Sovereignty is the corner-stone of that political system which we know as Christendom cannot be denied. All Catholics see that; so do the very many Protestants who hold that there was meant to be a union of all Christian Churches, and that in the normal state of things the Bishop of Rome has a primacy of honour, if not of jurisdiction. So, again, do the many more who advocate complete freedom and toleration amongst all bodies of professing Christians. But our argument has gone a step further back. We maintain that no thoughtful politician will dream of attempting to extirpate the Catholic Church in any country of Europe or America; that all wise governments will legislate upon the supposition that there is such a Church, and that the Pope cannot be hindered from exercising the large influence which his place gives him over the faithful. Hence, by an implicit concordat between the Holy Father and the Cabinets of whatever creed, or of no creed, it will be understood that he enjoys a sovereign rank, and has the real possessions which are required to make that dignity real. This, in the concrete, comes to his being guaranteed a peaceable hold on the States which he has inherited from the eighth century. We have argued simply from the principles of natural order and civilized peace, and have asked for no concession except one which could not be refused, viz., that the Catholic Church is a world-wide organization which no assignable degree of violence seems likely to destroy. The Cardinal makes an appeal to far higher principles, and he demands of his fellow-countrymen that they should act up to the Christianity which they profess. Are they really impartial as they say? Then let them examine whether Italy is governed according to the popular will, and whether it is the Italian people who have handed over Rome to the Revolution. Are they Christians? Then let them consider how they are going to justify rebellion, open and undisguised robbery, sacrilege, shameless mendacity, and the violation of treaties which Europe has solemnly ratified? The case presented and proved in Cardinal Manning's pages admits of one rejoinder alone; if it be said, namely, that the Revolution is absolutely in the right, and that towards the accomplishment of so excellent an end

means are justifiable. But, then, what has become of English Christianity?

We will conclude with a passage from which readers may gain some notion of the spirit which animates this appeal to the sound sense of the nation. In the preface, Cardinal Manning says :—

All I hope is, that English statesmen will not lend a hand to foster a work of anarchy, and that they will take as much diligent care to know accurately what they are doing in the Roman question as they are wont to use in their public duties towards our own country. They must go deeper for their knowledge than the letters of newspaper correspondents, and leading articles inspired, if not written, by hands that have been united in the conspiracies of Mazzini. Englishmen have hitherto sympathized with events in Italy, believing them to be the work of the Italian people. When they come to see that they have been the work of a minority which declares itself every day more and more visibly in its antichristian and republican colours as the lineal and legitimate offspring of the French Directory, they will revert to the broader and deeper political wisdom of our earlier statesmen, and will desire to see the great Italian people deliver itself from the yoke of a minority which has broken from the Christian traditions of Italy and takes its inspiration from the Falck Laws and the Government of Berlin.

ART. II.—THE AGE OF ELIZABETH.

The Age of Elizabeth. By M. CREIGHTON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. (Longmans, Green, & Co.)

THERE are certain assertions respecting history which have become stock phrases, traditions to be handed down to future generations, not on any distinct authority, but as something which it will be useful to those generations to believe. Sometimes the conclusions which these assertions indicate are rudely overthrown by a raid into an archive chamber, and for their very respectability and general acceptance they are occasionally made objects of attack by historians of eccentric genius; but they still keep their hold on the multitude of histories, and especially of educational histories. One of them at least has, so far as we know, mostly gone unchallenged. Those who, like Thackeray, are fond of riding with their backs to the horses and looking over the expanse which the coach of Time has traversed, all point to the brilliant Greenwich of the later sixteenth century—where

the fantastically haughty figure of Elizabeth moves amid the crowd of smirking and apprehensive courtiers, already half-beheaded by their stiff ruffs and trembling at her frown—and proclaim that the age which centred in that unscrupulous, yet polished court, that rough and subtle, hard-hearted and popular, imperious and imperial Queen, was an age of Progress.

We are far from denying that in some sense it was so, though not altogether in the sense of the historians. There was certainly much material progress in England, for did not “glasse come to be plentiful,” and “stooves begin to be made in diverse houses of the gentrie”? Were not the orchard-gardens replete with

The early cherry, and the later plum—

Fig, grape, and quince. . . .

The blushing apricot and woolly peach,—

while flower-gardens, in spite of much mingling with lentils and culinary herbs, began to bloom in quaint and formal imitation of those which, in the beginning of the century, the delighted eyes of the Spaniards beheld glowing around the magic cities of the New World? In fact, it was about this time that, in the phrase of a statesman who wrote flighty but acutely-worded novels, comfort began to be mistaken for civilization. Great and commendable advancement was made in the conveniences and amenities of life. Houses became embellished in proportion as churches were stripped of all beauty except the ancient grandeur of their fabric, that silent protest which the new creed and the new ideas of making things useful could not take away. If the vestments and altar-cloths were transferred from the sacristies to the trunks of clergymen's wives, fashionable houses were bright with the glow of tapestry and painting. If the altar-slabs were laid in the pathway to be trodden underfoot, and the new communion tables were “bare boards laid on trestles,” gentlefolks took pride in their furniture of foreign woods, their chimney-pieces carved in classical devices, their rich plate and Venetian glass. English commerce made vast strides in the time of Elizabeth, when half the world was but newly opened out, and every merchant and adventurer was eager to explore its recesses; and, though the Queen showed herself neither more nor less of a political economist than her predecessors, she plucked profit from such explorations; and, therefore, generally encouraged them. Of course, all the advantages which then accrued to England, together with the whole material and scientific progress of the world since Luther published his “Tract against the Popedom,” are attributed

by respectable English tradition to the Reformation. It is pronounced to be no wonder that Englishmen made great advances in commerce, geographical exploration, and literature, now that an enlightened queen had decided on making England Protestant; it is taken for granted that a man floundering in a marsh has a better vantage-ground in the fight of life than a man walking on a firm road. Yet a devout Catholic had discovered the New World, and it was in the wake of his adventurous keels that all the doughty seamen of the sixteenth century followed. Printing preceded Protestantism by sixty years, and had far more to do with the outburst of literature which naturally grew with its growth. England shared in this outburst with Germany, Italy, and Spain, though in the fresh exuberance of her northern genius she far outstripped them, chiefly in that she produced the central orb of all profane literature—Shakespeare. There is no reason to suppose that she would have shone with less of this intellectual glory had she remained Catholic; rather it seems likely that it was much shorn of its rays by the censorship of the press vested in the Queen's Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, and exercised, as Hallam says, "with little moderation."* Probably there will always be a doubt whether he was not a Catholic who wrote in a strain of satire on the sectaries of his time—

In religion

What dammed error, but some sober brow

Will bless it, and approve it with a text,

Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?

(Merchant of Venice.)

While, as to the lesser world of English letters, Catholicism would have imparted to it that supernal element which is ill-supplied by the Puritan moroseness of whatever religion leavens its boundless waste of incongruous conceits and graces. That element is to be found amid the extravagances of Cervantes. Laughable as Don Quixote is, and twisted his intellect, there is always a refinement, a respect for virtue, a love for religion, in the last of the knights errant which arouse a feeling of indignation against the Duke and Duchess and others who amused themselves at his expense. In the clutches of his mania he is still a Christian gentleman, he is the creation of a Spanish *caballero*, of one who had known and served at Lepanto and Tunis under the mirror of Christian chivalry. There is nothing in Cervantes of the fanciful

* "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 239, n.

fairy beauty which sparkles in the English literature of his day. No fairy ever traced its circlets in the scant woodlands and scantier meadows of a land where Don Quixote could find no gleanings of pasture by the roadside for Rocinante. The fresh northern genius, like the rosy northern complexion, depends on a moist and changeable climate, on hazy summers and dripping woods, and vistas of rich greenery. But writers imbued from childhood with Catholicism have an element which is above fancy. It is more than the intellectual; it is the spiritual. Of course, the Elizabethan literature was not without its religious side. Some of Sir Philip Sidney's pieces are distinctly religious, and have the ring of a high moral feeling. But the religion of Spenser's great work is Puritanism, the crude growth of that spirit which at its culmination in the ensuing century was the negation of all poetry. As to the mass of Elizabethan dramatists and poets, they were as devoid of ethics as the Queen herself; and it is much to be regretted that the right reverend fathers did not exercise their censorship on this kind of literary offence, instead of pouncing on a touch of Puritanism in one author, and a touch of Catholicism in another.

The age of Elizabeth was certainly an age of material progress. It was also progressive in an intellectual sense, though we maintain that it would have been more grandly so had England been united to the Church. For this was a time of immense progress in the Catholic world. It was the time when the Council of Trent separated the cockle from the wheat, and solidified the resistance of the Church to heresy, so that, polemically at least, there could never be the least semblance of mutiny in the presence of the enemy. Even the selfishness of Catholic monarchs only brought out more strongly the unconquerable principle of vitality in the Church. The Emperor of Germany and greatest monarch of the earth had desired that the Council would abstain from dogmatic definitions; its definitions became a standard of faith. Modern history began more truly then than at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. This, too, was the time when the phalanxes of S. Ignatius carried their peaceful arms into all countries, spreading wedded learning and religion; expounding, showing good example, making all things clear. Good and gifted Popes occupied the chair of S. Peter; the Cardinals were austere; abuses were not suffered. If the end of the fifteenth century brought forth the Revival of Letters, the middle and end of the sixteenth century were the time of the Revival of Piety. England's share in that revival was not represented by the easy-minded Catholics who went to the Protestant churches

to avoid the Sunday tax, and salved their consciences by keeping aloof from the Protestants as they returned home, but only in the priests and people of more vigorous mould, who lay in dark infectious dungeons, triumphed over the rack and the bracelets, and shed their blood at sacred Tyburn.*

Yet how easy it would once have been to avoid that isolation from Catholicism which soon became a distinctive mark of England! Looking back on what we now see to have been in itself an epoch of awful import to this country,—the end of 1558 and beginning of 1559,—we discern how only one step in another direction would have sufficed to make England for ever Catholic; and Elizabeth, with her keen intellect, her wide opportunities, her immense power for good or ill, a Catholic queen. We see where the paths diverge, and that immediately before they were but one. We think we see that at the outset, when she paused looking at their divergence, Elizabeth might almost as easily have taken the one as the other. That her choice was evil was certainly not the fault of the Head of the Church. It is astonishing to find brand new histories still retaining the story† which makes Elizabeth hasten to acquaint Paul IV. with her accession, and Paul, under the joint influence of France and his own sharp temper, drive her from the Church by his unfatherly harshness. That story was long ago exploded by the discovery of letters written by Sir Edward Carne,‡ the English ambassador at Rome. They show beyond a doubt that Elizabeth sent no message of any kind to Paul; and that the only sign she gave of her accession was a prohibition to Carne to take further steps in an English matrimonial suit then going on at Rome.§ In the face of this ungracious symptom of an anti-Catholic policy the Pope displayed a surprising forbearance towards Elizabeth. He was now no longer the keen politician he had been when at war with Spain and leagued with France; he had dismissed his nephews, and devoted himself to reform and the welfare of the Church.

"I thought good to send," writes Carne to Elizabeth, on the 16th of February, 1559, "that the French here can obtain nothing at His Holiness's hands against your Majesty, and that His Holiness hath such respect to your Majesty and

* That the lower orders, notwithstanding their submission, suffered much privation through the loss of the ancient faith, is well illustrated by the case of the poor almsmen whose petition has been published among the Domestic State Papers.

† "Age of Elizabeth," p. 44.

‡ Quoted in Tierney's edition of Dodd's "Church History," vol. iv., Advertisement (n.).

§ Strype, "Annals," ii. 36.

to your realms that he will attempt nothing against you or your realms, unless the occasion be first given therefore, as I am credibly informed. One of the cardinals that is greatest with His Holiness showed me that he, and other that be chief with His Holiness, do mind to move His Holiness to send his nuncio to your Majesty thither, but that they stay till your Majesty doth send hither first to His Holiness, whereof I thought good to advertise your Majesty of."

So much for French influence. So much also for Paul's temper, to the charge of which a great evil is ignorantly laid. It is certain that Paul was not of a gentle disposition; he had not the amiability of his successor; but his passions were not so dominant and so little under the control of his conscience, that he would lightly sacrifice to them the religious welfare of a whole kingdom. He was much displeased when, without a single message to himself, Elizabeth summoned Carne home, but he had done nothing to hasten her severance from the Holy See. The only sufferer from his wrath was poor Carne himself, who was not allowed to depart the city, though anxious to get away before the "extreme heats," and who died there in the following year. But in face of this clear evidence we protest against the currency of so strong an accusation as that Paul made it impossible for Elizabeth at once to remain Catholic and to retain the throne to which she was welcomed by the English nation. Although he might have hesitated on the ground of Mary Stuart's just claim, Carne's despatches prove that he was even anxious to recognize Elizabeth if she would give him an opportunity of so doing. There is no doubt that if in the time of her prosperous accession Elizabeth had been faithful to the dispositions she professed when she "wished the earth would open if she were not a true Roman Catholic," Christendom would have overlooked the illegitimacy of her birth. There had been illegitimate sovereigns in Europe before. The founder of the Norman rule in England was one of these, and John I. of Portugal, and Henry II. of Castile. In Elizabeth's own day, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. would gladly have seen a natural son of Charles V. king of Northern Africa; nay, according to some accounts, king of England itself. By a stainless career he had effaced the stain on his birth. Even so might Elizabeth have done.

There were several circumstances of the time which seemed to render it natural and expedient to mount the throne as a Catholic prince ready-made alliance with Philip II., with

proved useful to her. Philip, though not a chivalrous, was a steady-going ally, and one whose name carried great weight; and it is a singular fact that Elizabeth, whose name has been chiefly associated with mortal enmity to Spain, should have commenced her reign with Philip as her chief mainstay on the Continent. In 1558-59 it seemed that a remarkable friendship existed between this very diverse pair of monarchs—the little, slow, observant king, whom nothing escaped except his opportunities, who never spoke a hasty word though his hand crushed heavily; and the vain young queen, quick, versatile, irascible, who was like him only in her determination to dominate. Philip can hardly have been deceived by Elizabeth's assurances to the Duke of Feria that she meant to be a good Catholic, and by the orthodox manner in which she solemnly celebrated the obsequies of her sister and of his father; even before the Supremacy Bill was brought into the English Parliament, in March, 1559, he must have known that she had forbidden the Elevation of the Sacred Host in her chapel, that she had retired at the Gospel when unable to prevail in that matter, and that she chose her Lent preachers among the votaries of the new religion. That he should have wished to marry Elizabeth may well excite surprise, unless he considered that such a marriage would be a pledge that all double dealing in ecclesiastical matters would be laid aside. Well might Paul IV., who was, perhaps, more of a politician than is usually imagined, disapprove all idea of a match so unreasonable and so likely to embroil Europe; well also might Elizabeth, to whose life Mary's recent experience was too near not to be a warning, waive the thought of matrimony with the foreign potentate whose neglect had insulted and hastened the death of her sister. But whatever Elizabeth's character and her relations with Philip, he was certainly bound to stand her friend at the termination of that war with France into which England had been drawn on his account. That war had been disastrous to England, and though English troops fought at St. Quentin, the glory all accrued to Spain. But Philip did not neglect the interests of his ally at the conclusion of the treaty of Cateau Cambresis, in April, 1559. If the provisions of the treaty concerning Calais and other strong places had been carried out, England would have been no loser, though Spain was the chief gainer at Cateau Cambresis. But Philip's heavy pusillanimity in war was disadvantageous to both his lieutenants and his confederates. Paris would have been an easy prey to him after the Duke of Savoy and Count Egmont had won the battle of St. Quentin for him in his absence; but he appeared on the scene only to forbid an

advance on Paris. It was ever so with Philip. He had no decided objection to some one else gaining a splendid victory on his behalf, but his whole slow nature revolted ponderously against all dashing projects of turning that victory to good account.

Although both honour and prudence bound Philip to befriend Elizabeth in her direct dealings with France, political selfishness, that weakness of Catholic monarchs from which he was by no means free, is shamelessly apparent in his interference with Scottish affairs. In Scotland, as at Geneva, the Reformation had already run to seed, and Mary of Guise was vainly trying to hold her own against the author of "*The Monstrous Regiment of Women*." It was not the part of Philip's ambassador to urge on Elizabeth's expedition on behalf of the Scottish Protestants; but though Philip restrained himself so far as to ask her to raise the siege of Leith in 1560, a request which she boldly refused, in general he forgot his Catholicity in a profound consciousness that the young Queen of Scotland was also Queen of France. But it was inevitable that Philip should not always forget his Catholicity, and that this close friendship with Elizabeth should not stand the test of her becoming a persecutor of the Church, and a hope of Protestantism. Otherwise he would probably have remained an enemy to the pretensions of a semi-French claimant to her throne; whereas her later conduct towards Catholics in general, and Mary in particular, gradually turned him into their correspondent, ally, and refuge. France was much more what used to be called the natural enemy of Spain than England was. Between France and Spain there was the enmity of near neighbourhood, of a recent war, and of another war rather less recent, which the combatants with tender consideration for their own countries had fought out chiefly in Italy. But a friendship of old date existed between Spain and England; seriously shaken in Mary's reign as this friendship was, twenty-seven years of gradually increasing differences and preliminary skirmishing of a rather underhand nature elapsed from the time of Elizabeth's accession to the time of open war with Spain.

Had Elizabeth chosen to be a Catholic sovereign, her policy must in several respects have been what it actually was. It would still have been her right course to avoid chaining herself to the car of any foreign power. She would still have had to play off against each other the oppressive inert weight of Spain and the distractions of France. All her diplomatic skill would have been taxed. But she would also have occupied a magnificent position as allied with the Roman Pontiffs

in their great political task of holding the balance of power between France and Spain. Elizabeth would have been great as a Catholic Queen. She was great in a sense, even though non-Catholic; albeit there is no greatness to be seen in the details of her career, only in its general results. She was mean in diplomacy, mean in war, mean in her private conduct; and yet by a paradox all these negations of grandeur combined to produce grandeur, in the preservation to England of a proud independence amid all the snares and dangers of the time, and in an unexampled national prosperity.

It is clear that Elizabeth's foreign relations by no means rendered it a matter of especial political expediency that she should raise once more in England the tattered standard of the Reformation—tattered not in glorious fight, but in the mutinous contentions of the Reformers. Her internal relations with her people certainly did not make it so. England at large had gladly sunk back into the repose of Catholicity after the first accessions of that delirium which men call the Reformation in England. Sorely perplexed in the times when the crucifixes and images were taken from the churches, while the sacrifice of the Mass was still offered—sometimes in English—when every priest's rule of conduct was his own humour, and "one Sir Stephen" advocated abstinence on any day but Friday, and preached out of a high elm instead of his pulpit; still more perplexed when the First Liturgy of Edward VI. came out for their guidance, its only definite mark being that it defined nothing; most of all perplexed when the Second Liturgy was promulgated by the authority of the same boy-pontiff, and chiefly in obedience to the wishes of two or three foreigners, abolished nearly all the Catholic doctrines which the people had before been permitted or instructed to believe; the English felt the certainties and realities which form S. Peter's bark a relief from the chopping and changing of the Reformation. Of the hearty Protestants, to whom such chopping and changing were full of vivacious interest, those who remained in England would probably have died out by degrees had not Mary warmed them into exuberant life by her Smithfield fires. Those who had gone abroad were already split into three or four squabbling sects. Moreover, the English nation had a convenient propensity to obey the civil power in spiritual matters, and Pius IV., in the fatherly letter which he wrote to Elizabeth in 1560, had good reason to urge that in returning to Catholicism she would "draw along with her all the people of England."* The English, following their sove-

* Quoted in Tierney's Dodd, vol. ii, Appendix, No. cccxxxi.

reigns about in their ecclesiastical gyrations, must have produced on the minds of lookers on much the same impression that the "citizens" in the play of "Coriolanus" produce on the mind of the reader. Shakespeare evidently had a strong idea of the versatility of "citizens." Still it seems as though the easy way in which a semi-Catholic people gradually slipped into the lifeless Protestantism of succeeding years was greatly due to those priests who outwardly conformed, while they stealthily administered the Sacraments to Catholics. They familiarized the mind with a combination of conformity and orthodoxy, and with the idea that the new religion could not be so bad a thing after all. They died out, were succeeded by *bonâ fide* Protestants, and the transition had no shock for the lukewarm and the ignorant.

To return to the Queen who caused so much confusion of ideas. Mundane reasons for restoring the Reformation, or rather shaping a new one, were not so cogent and so numerous that Elizabeth's worldliness need have severed her from Rome if she had been at heart Catholic, or even indifferent. We do not think she was indifferent. We do not think she possessed that entire freedom from inward bias attributed to her by some modern historians. We think that nothing less than a very great and evident worldly advantage would have induced her to remain Catholic. She had, as Mr. Creighton says (p. 44), "inclinations towards Protestantism." Nor need we look far to find in her character the root of such inclinations. Elizabeth obeying would have been Elizabeth no longer. And not only would she recognize no voice that spoke through human lips as divine; her subjects must recognize the divinity of her voice. She must not only refuse to accept dogmata, she must dogmatize herself; for although she had the common sense not to assume her father's title of Supreme Head of the Church, she it was who decided what the religion of the country was to be, or rather what it was not to be. Elizabeth was born with that love of dominating the conscience which came to her father with the habit of domination begun for convenience sake. In all things it went against her grain to be practically less than supreme. If she really escaped all taint of political rebellion in her sister's reign, she lived a spiritual rebel for the rest of her days. But it was characteristic of her whole career, that though she aspired to an independent position at the head of her Church, she trimmed and felt her way to discover whether any powerful obstacle or great advantage might make it expedient to be Catholic, at least for a time. She began with the greater the

course which she was to continue with the less, and dallied in the spiritual order as she afterwards dallied in the political.

But she who contrived the second Reformation in England could hardly be other than a cynic all the rest of her days. She saw with a nearer view than any one else that spectacle of unrivalled absurdity, the raising of modern Anglicanism on its sandy basis by the united efforts of herself, Cecil, her committee of seven divines, and the lay portion of her Parliament* in direct opposition to the will of the English bishops expressed both in Convocation and in the House of Lords. Can it be wondered at that throughout her course Elizabeth never showed strong feeling for religion in any sense? Yet though more than a Gallio in action, she showed a skilful inveterateness in her manner of setting herself without suddenness or éclat in antagonism with the Catholic Church, while at the same time she avoided falling into the arms of Geneva or any other of the "foreign churches." Not only was her taste for magnificence at variance with the shabby austerity which the foreign reformers displayed in their worship, though certainly not in their lives; she saw that a decided junction with any of them would diminish her supremacy, and drag her into too familiar consultation with "Master John Calvin" and "Master Theodore Beza." Her supremacy should be complete; it should not be interfered with by any of the black-gowned, cambric-banded dominies who were flinging their infallible dogmata at each other's heads more fiercely than they flung them against the invulnerable armour of the Pope. By setting up her new system, from which she was careful not to expunge all Catholic doctrine, and fencing her pontifical throne with new bishops and clergy to supply the places of those who, as Strype complains, were "sovery wayward and disobliging," she surrounded herself with a sort of railing which precluded all overt active fellowship with the miscellaneous sects of the Continent, while it left ingress for every one of their doctrines to filter into her church and make it more miscellaneous than any of them. The kind of connection which the new establishment then had with continental Protestantism was well

* Hallam suggests two ways of accounting for the subserviency to the diverse wishes of the Tudor sovereigns displayed by the Parliament, of which the creed, "from the time of Henry VIII., had been always that of the Court" (*"Constitutional History,"* vol. i. p. 110). This applies only to ecclesiastical matters; since Hallam shows, at pp. 44, 45, that under both Edward and Mary the Commons were not a little unruly. These sovereigns, however, created several new boroughs.

illustrated by the "Dutch Church," whom Elizabeth somewhat reluctantly accommodated at Whitefriars, and who forthwith elected Grindal, Bishop of London, their "Superintendent."

Between the 23rd of January, 1559, when Elizabeth caused Charles V.'s requiem to be celebrated with Catholic solemnity, and the 8th of September, when she commemorated the decease of Henry II. with a strange medley of rites which offended both Catholics and fervent Protestants, she had made it clear to the world that she had chosen her path. She had leaped out of St. Peter's ship, dragging with her half-reluctant, half-obedient England. She had built her church, and succeeded in giving it that undefined character which has plunged it ever since into the "Waters of schism, sects, and divisions"* with which Archbishop Heath threatened it. It is true, its sects are its boast; but it seems strange that those who must have studied the history of the Reformation should boast of them, and that a cultivated English gentleman, writing history for English students of his own class, can trace these beginnings with approbation, and rejoice that "Archbishop Parker's moderation, caution, and good sense did much towards preserving the balance of parties, and establishing the English church upon the broad basis of concession which so strongly marks it."† "The English Church" has certainly, in some sense, justified the boast of those who claim for it a return to "primitive times." It returns to the most primitive time of all, the state of chaos.

In this first year of her reign Elizabeth had tested the powers of her intellect, and she never ceased to have full confidence in them. Her mind was of an Italian rather than an English type; keen, not noble; but the success of her calculations, and the divinity which hedged a Tudor sovereign, prevented men from despising her weaker points, such as her manifest saving of her own purse at the expense of her courtiers, her wish to be thought an agile dancer, and her insatiable appetite for gloves.

In two more years Elizabeth was flaunting her rejection of the Catholic faith in the eyes of Christendom. To the gentle invitations of Pius IV. she was as the deaf adder. She refused his request, made through the Spanish ambassador, that she would receive the Nuncio Martinengo. Yet Elizabeth was not without faith in something; it is not long before we find her expecting much profit from the divinations of one

* Strype's "Annals," i., Appendix 8.

† "Age of Elizabeth," p. 48.

Cornelius de Hooghe and one Lucas de Hallye, to whom she granted permission to exercise the occult art in her dominions.*

It is curious to observe the gradual cooling down and re-heating into rank hostility of the first friendship between Elizabeth of England and Philip of Spain. Philip not unfrequently made the interests of religion subservient to his one grand object of being the Catholic King of kings in Europe. In his efforts to be supremely royal and supremely Catholic he was not always mindful of the dignity of the Popes, still less of their advice. Still that object was with him the main chance, and it debarred him from continual close alliance with a sovereign who already forbade the Catholic worship in her realm under pain of fine and imprisonment. It fell in quietly with his train of thought that her defection might at length give him the opportunity of acquiring another kingdom. But everything was to be "at length" with Philip. Nothing could be immediate; both his nature and his circumstances forbade haste; and an act seemed to him hasty when done after only five years' deliberation.

From 1561, the year when Elizabeth closed English ports to Martinengo, England and Spain were slowly drawing towards that state of deadly feud which has made the last twenty years of her reign a heroic tradition of resistance to a foreign power. At first the hostilities were only those of pirates like the Hawkins brothers,† and were always disowned and sometimes punished by their own government; but they did much to raise a bitter feeling between the two countries. Still the outward calm was unbroken, and in 1567 the Queen gave orders that the King of Spain was to be received with all honour if he should touch at a Hampshire port on his way to Flanders. Yet even in this year alarms were raised of preparations by Philip II. for the invasion of England; and in 1568 the apple was thrown on the board in the shape of those coffers of Spanish treasure which were seized at Southampton and Plymouth on a false report of William Hawkins that his brother had been killed by the Spaniards. Then was committed, not by a rough and roystering buccaneer on the far-off seas, but at home by the "Maiden Queen" and her divan of sleek-bearded, grave-eyed councillors, that burglary which Spain never forgave, but rather made the

* See licence granted to them for this purpose, March, 1568, in the *State Calendars (Domestic)*, vol. ii. p. 306.

† A strange and probably treacherous offer to serve Philip was made to him by John Hawkins in 1571. See *Gachard*, vol. ii. p. 196.

occasion of a constant traffic of annoyances. The act was not only dishonest but foolish, unless Elizabeth had intended immediately to declare war against Spain. In point of fact the two countries were not actually at war till 1585, though long before that time they were virtually in conflict. From 1568 onward the ministerial correspondence abounds with reports of Spanish armies and galleons destined for England, and of political traffic with the captive Queen of Scots. That Philip moved no hand to aid the Northern rising, and confined himself to a half-avowed, half-undefined intention of some day taking offensive measures against Elizabeth, was considered by the English malcontents a fine instance of Spanish procrastination. Philip was becoming a keen sympathizer with Mary of Scotland. But two circumstances of which her adherents took no heed crippled his enmity to Elizabeth; these circumstances were his proverbial want of money, and the war with the Turks, which is the grandest feature of his reign.

Whatever accusations have been brought, and justly brought, against Philip II., it is undeniable that he defended Europe from the Turks at the moment when their destructive power was at its flood, and that he struck the blow which set it slowly but surely ebbing. In resisting the advance of that strange Empire, the foundation of which was the Tartar horseman, and the superstructure a medley of Syrian, Greek, Slav, and Caucasian, he stood alone among great European princes, and therein not only had to contend against the gigantic power of Mahommedanism, but also against the intrigues carried on in the name of the Most Christian King. Not long before the siege of Malta, Catherine de' Medici received at her court an ambassador from Solymán the Magnificent. When remonstrated with by her daughter Isabel and the Duke of Alva, during the diplomatic interviews of Bayonne, Catherine showed herself docile, and made magnanimous proposals of achieving that good thing which was perpetually hung up like an unattainable prize before the pious eyes of Europe—a general league against the Turks. But Catherine was more than a match for the amiable young Queen of Spain and the rugged soldier who understood no diplomacy except that of the sword and faggot. Cardinal Granvella alone saw through her, and told Philip that under cover of her noble offers she was secretly inciting the Turks to war with Spain. While Catherine extended her mines and countermines even to the seraglio of that Eastern capital which outrivalled her own palace in iniquity, the Turkish armaments appeared before Malta, and were held at bay by the knights. Then, while Catholic Europe,

and even Protestant England,* shuddered at the thought of so strong an outwork and bulwark of Christendom borne down by the power which was the object of all terror, Philip II. began his course of opposition to the menacing advance of Turkey along the Mediterranean. The energies which he would have reserved for aggressive schemes were necessarily called into action for self-defence against an imminent danger; for how could he extend his power in Europe when a barbarian foe might cut it down at the root by overwhelming his own coasts? Mingled with this instinct of self-defence was a certain amount of crusading spirit: it was one of the vocations of the Catholic king to prevent Moslem hordes from overflowing Europe. Of course it was but gradually that Philip realized the position he occupied towards the Ottoman Empire, and the forces which he sent to relieve Malta were characteristically inadequate. Still he did send them, and the Turks, fortunately thinking them greater than they were, raised the siege with a needless haste, seeing that even after their own losses they were still twenty thousand to Philip's twelve thousand men. But they recognized in the Spaniards their natural and most redoubtable enemies. The abhorred and dreaded Moslem repaid all hate and fear to that Celto-Gothic nation who, with a mighty patience that outlasted centuries, had overthrown the gorgeous Saracenic empire of the West. That nation, if any, was destined to oppose the progress of the new Mahommedan autocracy, to which the Saracens were now tributary, and prevent the transformation of the Mediterranean into a Turkish lake, and half the countries of Europe into Turkish colonies. Moslem pride and power, swelled by the talent of a crowd of European renegades, had grown to their height under Solymán; it was their nature to overflow westward and suffocate southern Christendom with the most desolating of all barbarisms. But at the other end of the Mediterranean stood the sworn foe of all Mahommedan domination, whether Arabic or Tartar. A tremendous conflict was inevitable between Spain and Turkey. Philip II. at last accepted the position, and formed a resolution to treat with the Ottomans only through the canon's mouth.

Turkey knew where to look, not only for an enemy, but also for an ally. In 1569 the Grand Vizier, Mahommed the renegade, through the appropriate medium of William of

* A feeling of sympathy with Christendom was still alive in England in 1565, when Elizabeth ordered prayers to be offered up for Malta.—Strype, i. 302, n.

Nassau's brother Louis, suggested to Catherine de' Medici that one of her sons should aim at becoming Emperor on the demise of Maximilian II., and that Turkey, in close alliance with the united powers of France and the Empire, should attack the Spanish possessions in Italy. But Catherine, who loved to restrict her operations to mining work, shrank from this overt opposition to Philip, perhaps also from appearing publicly in the arena by the side of Selim II., though such a part would not have been unsuitable to a princess who would have had a Gallican council deliberate on the acceptance or rejection of the doctrines of Trent. But while evading an armed alliance with the Sultan, she continued her subterranean work. Selim II., who succeeded Solyman in 1566, was such a monarch as the régime of Turkey since Solyman has often brought forth—stupid, as well as profligate,—and setting his own religion at defiance by indulging in the vice which it forbids. But the astuteness and enterprise of Eastern statesmen and Western renegades could turn his drunken fancies to advantage. Failing the Franco-Imperial alliance, they determined to pick a quarrel with Venice and to seize Cyprus, which the Sultan wished to bestow as a present on one of his boon-companions. Though only a fantastic scheme in the mind of Selim, and one opposed by his clever Greek vizier, in the eyes of his more restless ministers it was all in the way of Turkish conquest to seize this advanced post of Christendom, gifted with much more beauty, though much less prestige, than the invincible Malta. Peace had, indeed, lately been concluded with Venice by Solyman, and Selim was bound to consult his mufti on the lawfulness of breaking it, who decided that the advantage to the Faithful of taking Cyprus outweighed the Sultan's obligations to Venice; for "a peace was only legitimate while it was beneficial to Islamism." It was probably by instigation from beyond the Straits of Gibraltar that the Moriscoes of Grenada were in insurrection at the time when Turkey attacked Cyprus. The Duke of Alva himself, engaged with a much more formidable rebellion, observed sadly that this Moorish war lasted long, "to the great dishonour of the King." Hampered with rebels as he was, Philip's efforts on behalf of Cyprus were, as usual, inadequate; and the Venetians themselves, though certainly the most interested party, made but feeble and dilatory attempts to retain their fairest dependency. It is to Philip's credit that he at once consented to aid Venice, notwithstanding old grudges and the mutual distrust which overspread Europe like an unwholesome mist; but the Spanish and Venetian admirals were jealous of each other, and only

cruised weakly about the island, inspiring the Turk with amusement rather than dread; and Count Martinengo, who was first sent with 3,000 men to succour Cyprus, had died of an epidemic, with a large portion of his troops. The spectacle of weakness and envy is exasperating, even as we look back at it across the centuries, and the more so because we know what were the sufferings which ensued. The Pope S. Pius alone felt the immense importance of time, which went for so little with the cabinets of the sixteenth century; but his legates could not rouse the courts of Europe from their selfish dreams. The Emperor, who was remarkably impartial to all religions, thought himself fully occupied in watching the Turks by land; France was their secret ally and hope. Spain alone, though at first but feebly, responded to the grand historic summons of the Vicar of Christ to conflict with the infidels.

The agony of Cyprus was long and terrible. Nearly a year elapsed between the taking of Nicosia and the untold horrors which marked the fall of Famagosta in August 1571. By that time Philip II. had made up his mind as he only made it up once again in the course of his life. His ordinary path lay among vague intentions and small details. In the summer of 1571 he decided on a great action; yet he was just then oppressed by many troubles. The Moors of Granada had been suppressed by Don Juan of Austria; but there was the trouble of the Netherlands, improved into a standing rebellion by Alva's mad system of taxation; and there was the trouble of considering what should be done with regard to the Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy in England. Philip's mind was in a state of unprecedented activity. He had finally resolved that the crown of England must be transferred from Elizabeth's head to that of Mary Stuart; but the immediate results of such a resolution were only to perplex the Duke of Alva and to behead the Duke of Norfolk. It is not the fashion to pity Alva, who was then pursuing in the Netherlands the course which lost half of them to Spain for ever; but he is certainly an object of commiseration when receiving letters from Philip on the subject of the Ridolfi plot. The King directed him at once to prepare an army, and to keep the preparations secret, to invade England, and to avoid an open rupture with the Queen. While the Duke was making blunt objections, and the King giving contradictory orders, the vigilant, energetic action of Cecil, quicker than Philip's thought, at last convinced the impracticable monarch that he must postpone the "enterprise of England" *sine die*. It was fortunate, though most astonish-

ing, that Philip showed himself more practical this summer in Turkish than in English matters. He always had a great end in view, but not the least idea of proportion between ends and means. Immured in the Escorial, he confused together the exigencies of that outer public life which he directed from his inner world, sometimes seeming to attribute supernatural powers to his perplexed lieutenants, and even to credit them with the gift of bilocation. But in the moment of supreme danger from Turkish aggression he suddenly showed common sense, and achieved a great victory.

In that terrible summer of 1571, when the Mahomedan fleet rode triumphant in the Mediterranean, none knew whether the coming winter might not see the vineyards of Italy overrun by those terrible locusts whom the east wind brought, and her cities reeking with all the horrors of Famagosta. As yet the capital of Christendom raised her temple-crowned hills in peaceful splendour to the summer sky ; but none knew whether in a few more months a renegade Pacha might not be lording it in the Vatican, and a Pope dragged captive to Constantinople. Southern Europe was possessed by a preternatural terror of the Turks, which was not altogether misplaced. The Eastern question then was a question of life and death. Till the overthrow of the Greek empire by the long advancing Turanian power, Mahomedanism had been exemplified to Europe chiefly by the Arabs, who, though warlike, were learned, grave, and even gentle compared with their Turkish co-religionists. But here was a nation professing the same aggressive faith of the false prophet, occasionally practising cruelties unknown to the Tower of London, abounding in craft and power, and attracting to itself the clever renegades of all neighbouring peoples ; and the renegade was much more fearful than the native Turk, who had his virtues. Greece and Bosnia supplied the greater part of this class. Sometimes the renegade was a poor Neapolitan by origin, baptized and taught the Catholic faith in childhood, but burning with a fierce ambition which could not be lawfully sated, and possessed of unsanctified talents, which grew to resemble the skill of evil spirits. Then he fell in by capture or by intention with Turkish ships, and was carried to Stamboul, where he renounced his faith ; his masters perceived and rewarded his talents, for it must be admitted that the Turks always gave fair play to the talents of other nations. He rose to command and wealth on the ruins of Christian cities and on holocausts of Christian slain ; his galleys were worked painfully by his own countrymen, who were strong to resist the temptations to which he had suc-

cumbed. Accustomed as we now are to think of Turkey as a state existing only on the mutual jealousy of other powers, we can hardly realize the dread which she inspired in the sixteenth century. All dangers, spiritual and temporal, lurked in the cloud which loomed in the East and spread along the northern coasts of Africa, studded as they were with the pirate-haunted cities of the vassal Moor.

Spain was the arm of the coalition which the Pope formed to resist the overhanging peril; Philip contributed more than half the galleys, and three-quarters of the men. But as a despicable envy began to reveal itself between the Spanish admiral Doria and the Roman Colonna, the King and Pope determined to give to the Holy League a general-in-chief whose rank should preclude demoralizing jealousies. It is appalling to reflect that early in the year there had been a project at both Rome and Madrid of conferring the command on the Duke of Anjou. It was the time when he was at variance with his mother concerning the match with Elizabeth, and there was a hope of making him the respectable head of the Catholic party in France. His talents were undoubted, and the Pope and Philip hoped to secure him by the offer of the Mediterranean fleet, with the alternative of invading Ireland and supplanting Norfolk as a suitor for the hand of the Scottish Queen. But these proposals were rejected for Anjou by his brother Charles IX., surely much to the advantage of the Holy League. Anjou was not then at his worst, and was quite capable of winning battles; but it is difficult to imagine that the fleet which was to contain nothing unholy, and which actually triumphed through the pure intercession of the Blessed Virgin, would have been equally successful under the command of a Valois-Medici. For such a post it seemed necessary to seek out virtue in her last retreat among the military princes of the sixteenth century, and Philip and Pius made a happy choice in Don Juan of Austria. He was then twenty-five years of age; one of the brightest spirits of his time, courageous to excess, religious, yet blithe of temper, uniting the chivalry and courtesy of the Spaniard to the kindness and good-nature of the Fleming. Philip II. has generally been accused, sometimes even by Spanish writers, of extreme jealousy of his half-brother, who surpassed him in everything except caution, and indeed of everybody who served him with distinction; but this is one of the charges which arise from a superficial view of the excessively slow and timid policy employed by Philip in labouring towards his ends, a policy which always led him to check bold and aspiring designs in his lieutenants. He was jealous of any power whatsoever

which seemed likely to bar his own tortuous course towards universal dominion. He was jealous of Pope S. Pius, of whom he wrote to Alva, with reference to the "English enterprise" of 1571, that he had rejected the Pope's proposal to give his name to it in order to "remove the pretensions of the Holy See to the crowns of England and Ireland."* Later on he showed the same kind of jealousy of Sixtus V. But to personal envy of another because that other was more gifted than himself Philip was a stranger. He never allowed so small a passion to mar his calculations. He was much older than his half-brother, and considered himself infinitely wiser; but at the same time he did full justice to Don Juan's brilliant qualities. The fact that he selected him for the most distinguished posts, and the remarkable good temper which he displays in their correspondence, certainly indicate feelings the reverse of hostile. There is no doubt that Philip experienced some misgivings about the length to which Don Juan's spirits might carry him when he was at the head of an army. He was at a thoughtless age, was daring and ambitious, and might get into positions which Philip's want of money would render inconvenient and untenable; nay more, it was even within the bounds of possibility that he might want to acquire some power which would be prejudicial to the power of Philip. The King knew that there was no one else so well formed as his brother to command the forces of the Holy League; but at the same time he felt that in sending forth this youth to conquer he might be setting a stone rolling which he could not stop. He therefore thought it prudent to place a few checks on a career which might otherwise fly beyond his reach, and also to make Don Juan feel that he had no claim of birth to his present greatness, which was chiefly the gift of Philip's magnanimity. Accordingly, he intimated to his officials in Italy that they were to honour and obey Don Juan, but were by no means to call him "Your Highness."† A more important matter was that the King forbade as impracticable any attempt on Constantinople; he seems to have known that Don Juan had views on the City Debateable of the Bosphorus in the event of a decisive victory over the Turkish fleet. On the other hand, Pope S. Pius, fearing the King's pusillanimous ways, urged on the Generalissimo the necessity of giving battle, a command which he was by no means loath to carry out.

* Philip II. to the Duke of Alva, July 14, 1571. Gachard, vol. ii.

† Secretary Cayas to the Duke of Alva, July 14, 1571. Ibid. Later on the King conceded this title to Don Juan, but always, and perhaps with propriety, refused to legitimate him.

Whatever misgivings Philip entertained about his prudence, Don Juan justified the wisdom which had selected him as the champion of Christendom. He imbibed with fervent reverence the admonitions of the Pontiff, who saw in him a knight after his own heart; he expunged with rigour from his army everything that was evil; he conciliated the jealous, encouraged the doubtful. All frightened spirits revived when this young *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* was made their buckler against the Turk; and the result of his appointment was that overthrow of the Ottoman Armada at Lepanto which the whole Catholic Church still celebrates with thanksgiving on the first Sunday of October.

It was enough to make that autumn day for ever glorious that Italy should be saved and the Turkish navy crippled; but it was much to be regretted that the axe was not then laid to the root of the far-spreading tree of Turkish domination. To attempt it would indeed have been a great risk. The allied fleet had, of course, sustained much damage in the greatest of modern sea-fights; Ochiali* the renegade had saved fifty galleys from the ruins, and the capital of the East was always guarded by large reserves. The position of Stamboul is perhaps the strongest in the world, and the Christians had only 10,000 sound men. Yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, and—sad to relate—notwithstanding the orders of the King, Don Juan was eager to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and was only dissuaded from this course by the Marquis de Santa Cruz, that admiral who never lost a battle, but who is supposed to have often avoided all chance of losing by not fighting at all. Don Juan, though enterprising and not always obedient, was yet very open to persuasion, and on this occasion the numbers of the wounded were an additional reason for giving up his daring schemes. But Philip's prohibition of an advance on Stamboul is one of the most striking instances of his meanness in action. The conquest of the Eastern capital would have aided the accomplishment of his designs in the West; it would have raised his *prestige* to a height unassailable by any possible rival; it would have freed his Italian possessions from all future fear of the Turks, or of their African vassals. No doubt there would have been much heart-burning among the Christian diplomatists who regarded Turkey as their safeguard; but from the summit of his victorious renown

* Ochiali was a Calabrese fisherman, who served as a slave in the Turks' galleys for fourteen years, when he apostatized to avenge himself on a Turk who had struck him.

Philip might have scorned them all. Yet he would venture nothing for that renown and the involved security of Southern Europe. To beard the Turk in his den, and raise Catholic altars in St. Sophia, was too grand an enterprise for Philip II. He required to brood over an opportunity, and while he sat brooding, the opportunity passed. It was generally his part in a battle to prevent its being turned to advantage, because to draw out the advantage required new hazards. Besides, the very idea of making a dash at even the most desirable object was revolting to his whole nature. It was sufficient that he had checked the progress of Turkey. He was great enough to save Europe from the advance of Turkish domination, but not great enough to pluck up that domination by the root.

His needy circumstances aggravated his natural caution, and furnished him with a perpetual pretext for half-measures. They had obliged him to make the peace of Cateau Cambresis, and weighted him throughout the course of his life. He was the reverse of Midas; the gold that he touched ceased to be gold, yet he never saw that the root of his poverty was the practice of appropriating the wealth of American mines to the royal treasury, instead of letting it be worked by private enterprise, and circulate in the commercial world.

Even to fail in taking Constantinople would have added a lustre to the name of Philip II.; and had Spain succeeded in dethroning her Tartar rival, she would have reigned from end to end of the Mediterranean. Don Juan saw all this, and unwillingly gave up the thought of a forbidden enterprise which success would have justified in the eyes of the world, possibly also in the eyes of Philip. He devoted his energies to repairing his fleet, and to providing for the wounded in the great hospital of Messina, helping to nurse them, and ordering all things for their comfort; and it either speaks well for the attention they received, or ill for the Turkish weapons of war, that the greater part of them recovered. We all owe a debt of gratitude to the good arrangement of this hospital; we owe to it Don Quixote. It was reserved to one of the wounded caballeros who lay there, tended by their young commander's care, to give the final blow to those chivalrous ideas which he vainly sought to revive.

Meanwhile the Turks rebuilt a part of their fleet, and all chance of besieging Stamboul had vanished. Philip confined himself to African projects, and to maintaining generally an attitude of defending Italy. Perhaps this was as much as he could do. Even while his galleys kept the Mediterranean,

his own northern coasts were so feebly guarded that one Captain Yonge, an English sea-dog, remained before the town of Mongia "eighteen days, in spite of the whole country"; and added in a letter to Lord Burghley that, "if it pleased Her Majesty and the Council, he could burn their towns with a very small force."* In the Netherlands, the Duke of Alva was at open war with William of Orange and half the cities of the provinces, and was unreasonable enough to opine that the king ought to have subdued the heretics of Holland before he fought the Turks.† The ingratitude of Venice, whose dealings were not seldom marked by an almost Oriental perfidy, gave Philip trouble, and destroyed the Catholic splendour of the Holy League. For this he had to thank the virtual ruler of France. Had Europe been an Eden of concord, Catherine de' Medici would have been the serpent to mar it. She extended her coils farther and with more subtilty than Philip extended his. The triumph of Spain at Lepanto had frightened her, and she dreaded the final overthrow of Turkey as she dreaded that of England, for both powers were much stronger barriers than the Pyrenées against the progress of Philip. Catherine was more utterly devoid of religion than Elizabeth herself. After ripely considering whether or no circumstances made it expedient for her to be a Huguenot, she decided in the negative, and gave the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew; her hands yet red with Calvinist blood, and her mouth full of friendly professions towards Spain, she sent an ambassador to Selim II., and urged on Venice the propriety of making a separate peace with the Sultan. She found it easy to arouse in Venice the wonted fear of a small state which has possessions and a great ally; the Venetians fell into the snare, severed themselves from the League in the spring of 1573, and renounced all claim to Cyprus, which was soon desolated by the rule of its new masters. Pius V. had already died with the glory of Lepanto on his face; but Gregory XIII., who was bent on the preservation of the Holy League, manifested his anger at Venetian pusillanimity by personally chasing the ambassador of the Republic out of the house. Gregory was full of good intentions, but he had not the force of sanctity of his predecessor, nor the force of will of his successor. It was unfortunate for the League that Pius was gone, and Sixtus not yet come.

But before the death of Pius both he himself and Don Juan of Austria had warmly taken up the idea of conquering the

* Yonge to Burghley, March 24th, 1572.

† Alva to Secretary Cayas, March 7th, 1573. Gachard, vol. ii.

African tribute lands of the Sultan, beginning with Tunis. The idea had also occurred to Philip II., though with different sequences. Don Juan's object was to rule the kingdoms he hoped to win, and his scheme had the approval both of Pius V. and of Gregory XIII. after him. They knew that if he was ambitious to reign over his own conquests, his ambition was tempered by devotion and bound up with good ends. It seems to us to have amounted to a fault, but it was a natural one at that time and in those circumstances. The era was not yet gone by when all ardent and daring spirits looked on martial glory as the highest and most desirable. The tendency which in the early days of our race so deeply stamped the Aryan character, identifying all gods and heroes with warlike greatness, was not yet worn out; it had run into the chivalry of the Middle Ages, and survived for at least a century after the Renaissance had raised up the opposing standard of letters. It was as strong in Philip II.'s half-brother as it was entirely absent from Philip himself, who, unlike his father, never came within sound of a gun, and fought all his battles vicariously. But in Don Juan it took the shape of religious duty, as being directed entirely against the enemies of the Church. He has been accused of mad fondness for war, yet he never wished to engage in useless war, and was most careful of the well-being of his soldiers. The very facts of his fitness to command and of his anxiety to serve the Church in some sort obliged him to appear ambitious, for the interests of Catholicity at that time were much bound up with the territorial aggrandizement of Catholic powers. If he wished to be King of Northern Africa, what could be better for the Northern Africans or for the Southern Europeans than the gratification of his wish? But Philip II. had no intention of giving him a sceptre. With a silent and deliberate hand Philip always unbuilt his brother's grandest and most airily-constructed plans. The whole tone of his conduct towards Don Juan is marked by a calm repression, moderate goodwill, and forbearing patience, as towards one who was young and wayward as well as gifted and aspiring; he overlooks his defects of obedience with a royal magnanimity, as if he saw too far above their heads to notice them; he puts aside without remark his bold proposals for the future, and quietly directs his attention to the more uninteresting present. Philip wanted his work done, and while his proxies were doing it by the light of their hopes he was tranquilly preparing his own plans, in which they were left out. As regards Tunis those plans were not startling. He only wanted to depose Aluch-Ali and set up as Dey Muley Mahomet, who was to show himself tractable to Spain. With

a view of keeping him so, Philip ordered Don Juan, who took the city with ease in 1573, to dismantle Tunis and leave it an open town; but Don Juan, still vaguely hoping to make it his own capital, disobeyed the king's commands, and even built a new fort outside the city. This was not the only occasion on which he disregarded his royal brother's behests, but it was a disastrous one, for in the following year the Turks retook Tunis, which thenceforth became once more a nest of piracy. In this same year Philip's resolution never to treat with the Turks fell to the ground under the pressure of a bankruptcy for 58 per cent., and he made a truce with the enemies of Christendom; so quickly had the glorious promise of 1571 faded.

From the time of the loss of Tunis the career of Don Juan was clouded by disappointment, though he did useful work in Italy, and was considered absolutely necessary for its defence by Philip II.; while the Netherlanders, discontented with the inferior rank of their governors, constantly demanded his appointment as their viceroy.* The Ottoman fleet was rising from its ruins, and the African corsairs came forth from their nests at Tunis and Algiers like troubles from Pandora's box; but the very name of the victor of Lepanto was a protection to the coasts of Italy. Though the wildest rumours were constantly circulating about Turkish movements and intentions, the revival of the Holy League was clearly not to be looked for. The era of unnatural alliances had begun, and nations knew no common tie but a common interest. The interest of Venice was commercial, that of Spain military, while the interest of France was to disintegrate the strength of other nations until she should have reintegrated her own divided forces, and Catherine de' Medici was an adept at such work. Philip's treasury was nearly empty, and the complete want of money forms the piteous keynote of the letters of Requesens, Alva's successor in the government of the Low Countries, as it had done of the letters of Alva himself. Even while the King was taking Tunis, his soldiers were dying of want in Flanders.† Philip was constrained outwardly to patch up matters with Elizabeth of England, and salved his conscience by pensioning her exiles and pitying the Queen of Scots. In 1575 there was

* The defence of Italy was the reason which Philip and his council always gave for their refusal to send Don Juan to the Low Countries. "It was impossible, because he was necessary for the defence of Italy against the Turks, on which depended the security of Christendom." See Gachard, vol. iii. But another reason which was freely spoken of in Philip's council, was "the unwillingness of Don Juan to let himself be governed."

† Requesens to Philip, Dec. 30, 1573. Gachard, vol. iii.

even mention of an alliance between Spain and England against the Turks; but it is astonishing that even an over-astute diplomatist could have imagined such a project for a moment. The Turks could never be an immediate danger to Elizabeth, and for ten years they had been her safeguard.

In 1576 Philip himself came round to the prematurely expressed opinion of the Duke of Alva, that the heretics in the midst of Christendom were a greater danger to his monarchy than the Turks outside of it. He saw that if he meant to retain one inch of ground in the Netherlands he must sacrifice to the shabby conflict with his own subjects his heroic struggle with the Ottoman empire. He must devote to Dutch uses, not only all his best forces, but his best commander, who was undoubtedly Don Juan of Austria; and necessity at last led him to decide on transferring his brother from the Mediterranean to the Netherlands. As a member of the royal house, as half a Fleming and an universally popular character, Don Juan seemed to answer all requirements, though he was very unwilling to accept the post unless Philip would let him conquer England first. To this Philip had no mind, and after many objections, which broke like insignificant foam against the iron cliff of Philip's will, Don Juan travelled through France in various disguises and very bad weather to Flanders, much to his own amusement and that of Octavio Gonzaga, who accompanied his adventurous journey. The political prospect was no brighter than the autumnal sky, and Don Juan wrote to the King protesting against the customary "delays and want of money," in a tone unlike the usual humble style of his letters, which was often laughably at variance with his actions. Here was a perfect chain of impetuosity; the army in Flanders asking help of the *conseil d'état*, who had no money; the *conseil d'état* asking help of Don Juan, who had no money; and Don Juan begging from the King, who also had no money. Yet notwithstanding all obstacles, and though he had accepted the vicegerency reluctantly, Don Juan again justified the wisdom of his appointment. The details of the Flemish struggle do not enter into the scope of this article, but we may say with Ranke that if we consider what Don Juan's "actions were, and what consequences resulted from his measures, we shall find that to him above all other persons must be attributed the settlement of the Spanish Netherlands."* Though he advocated pacificatory measures with the King, he found himself obliged to make war at last, but he made it in such a

* "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 466.

way as to secure the eventual recovery of Belgium to her allegiance.

Henceforth Philip attempted no more great things against the Turk; he confined himself to making the Duke of Sessa cruise in the Mediterranean, and to treaties with the King of Barbary. This potentate's alliance was much in request at that time, since we find in a "Discourse" on the schemes of Spain which was submitted to Burghley, a proposal that her Majesty should league herself with the King of Barbary, for "the King of Spain feared nothing so much"; and it was added, as if in justification, that "the French King once intended an alliance with Barbary to annoy Spain; the French Protestants and the Prince of Orange have also thought it lawful to use Pagans to beat down the Romish Church and the Inquisition."* Philip, however, was beforehand with everybody in securing the friendship of this power, which served his purposes at least for a short time.

Ten years later the lion heart of Sixtus V. was bent on a renewal of the Ottoman war, and on a glorious climax in the winning of the Holy Sepulchre. In the East Sixtus looked on Persia as a cog-wheel to Turkish progress; in the West he urged Philip II. to attack not only Barbary, which, as it appears, was then no longer the ally of Spain; but also the stronghold of Algiers. But Philip, who was then slowly labouring, with the Pope's help, at his invincible Armada, turned from the proposal with disgust. The positions of England and Turkey with regard to Spain were now reversed. In the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, Philip had kept up a sort of amity with her, that his resistance to the Turks might be the less hampered; afterwards he established mild relations with Turkey that he might strike a crushing blow at England. Moreover Elizabeth herself had come to a good understanding with Amurath III., and so earnestly strove to impress him with the similarity of their religious views as to create the belief that "the English only wanted to lift up a finger and recite the Eshdad to be good Mussulmans." "The heretics," exclaimed Sixtus, "will get help from the Turks, and much mischief will be done." He threw all the blame on Philip, who let the evils of both Turkey and England grow to a head while he looked on and squandered the Pope's money. On the other hand, it appeared to Philip that the Pope pressed too many projects on him. To take the Holy Sepulchre, retain the Netherlands, and conquer England all in a breath was more than could be expected of a king who

* State Calendars (Domestic) pp. 555, 556.

was always on the verge of bankruptcy, and sometimes over the verge. But Sixtus, who was subsidizing the King, and had every right to urge him to action, seems to have thought it necessary to point out many undertakings in order to bring him to the commencement of one. Philip's want of money was not his only impediment; his ponderous mind moved by a heavy machinery, which attempts to hasten often served only to retard.

But though Philip struck no mortal blow at Islamism, to him must be given the credit of saving Southern Europe from its dominion at the flood tide of its insolent power; and not only to him, but also to the lieutenant whom he entrusted with the task of resistance. Few besides Don Juan of Austria could have so perfectly conciliated the rival leaders in 1571, inspired them with a generous courage instead of an enfeebling envy, and snatched the greatest of modern naval victories in the teeth of difficulties. In genius he was the equal of Charles V.; the greatest blemish on his moral character was his want of subordination, for the general mire of the sixteenth century left him untouched. The few successes which Spain achieved during the Philippine epoch were gained by him and by Alexander Farnese. He had all the talents, the knightly grace, the virtues which Philip lacked; he was the realized ideal of his time.

It is possible, however, that this last claim may be disputed on behalf of our English Sir Philip Sidney; and the similarities and differences between the Catholic and Protestant paragons are worth observing.

Sidney, born when no man could guess what his neighbour's religion might secretly be at the moment, or what it would openly be on the morrow, was brought up in a Protestantism none the less severe for being rather nondescript. Towards Catholicism it was rigidly exclusive, but was ready to look with an impartial eye on all different heads of the new hydra according as their interests affected the "interests of Europe." Of these Sidney's capacious mind early took a sweeping view; to him they meant not merely Elizabeth's interests, but the universal prospect of the advance of Protestantism. For Sidney was particularly Protestant in a general way; he was jealous for an impalpable recondite idea which he called the "Truth," without perhaps much more definite meaning than was associated with the word by Mr. Chadband. In that tone of professional gravity with which the young ambassador of two-and-twenty was accustomed to rebuke European princes, he gravely told the Elector Palatine and his brother Casimir that their squab-

bling preferences for Lutheranism and Calvinism respectively were "a great hindrance to the Truth"; he begged the Elector Louis to "have merciful consideration of the Calvinistic Church," the religion established by his father, "for the sake of the Truth"; and the Elector of Saxony not to be too hard on the Lutherans, also for the sake of the Truth. Still among the many opposing truths of Protestantism, Philip, like the Church of England generally in his day, preferred something rather Zwinglian, with a feeble preference merged in his regard for the Truth in general; but no gentleman was then a Puritan in the same sense that Hampden, Vane, and Cromwell were Puritans sixty years later. Sunday afternoons were the regular periods on which Mr. Philip distinguished himself by feats of arms; and court masques and fêtes were as much his atmosphere as all other occupations, and called forth his growing powers of penmanship. His generous spirit even led him sometimes to befriend Catholics, as in his endeavours to obtain a pardon for Sir Thomas Kitson. Mornay's "*De Veritate Christiana*," which Sidney translated, has not much of English Puritanism in it. Protestantism in England was as unsettled as spelling. But Sidney certainly was in some sort religious, thought more of religion than most young Englishmen of our day think of it. His versifications of the Psalms are infinitely superior to Tate and Brady. It is true that men who wished to mix in politics at that period were obliged to think of religion. Europe was convulsed by thoughts of religion, correct or incorrect. There were no Gallios in those days, except Elizabeth, Catherine de' Medici, and Henry of Navarre, and the comfortably-minded English people who went to the Protestant churches to avoid paying a shilling on Sundays.

One charge, namely that concerning Lady Rich, has been usually preferred against Sidney, which, if true, would make his scale fly up when we weigh him against Don Juan of Austria. In Elizabeth's wicked court a life stained with only one transgression seems to shine among the blotted presences of the Leicesters and the Oxfords; one whose life was so stained could not, however, be the "parfitt gentle knight." But in these latter times, when Henry VIII. is discovered to have been virtuous, and our doughty king Elizabeth foolish, it is but fair that a doubt should have been thrown on this charge against Sidney; and it is fair too that he should have the benefit of the doubt, a privilege which we would also claim for Mary of Scotland, for the Guises, and even for Philip II. of Spain, wherever chronicles give no clear evi-

dence of their guilt, and commentators can only flounder in spiteful conjecture.*

Waiving, then, all darker aspersions on the character of Philip Sidney, there is still something rather awful in the severe gravity of his youthful demeanour, concerning which he himself admits in a letter to the foolish old renegade Languet,† that he was "more sober than his age or business required." There would be some temptation to call him in unceremonious modern terms a prig, but that he was so charming to all who really saw and spoke with him; and there seems to us something not a little absurd in pronouncing a judgment on a man after the lapse of three hundred years directly contrary to the unanimous judgment of his contemporaries. None experienced this charm more decidedly than Don Juan of Austria himself. It was at Brussels, after a journey to Vienna as Elizabeth's envoy to instruct the new Emperor Rodolph, that Sidney succeeded in beholding the object of his boyish admiration, whom, to Languet's disgust, he had vainly wished to see when wandering the Continent at nineteen. When at last they met in 1577, Don Juan was disposed to receive with no more than cold politeness the very young and very grave envoy, who presented himself with all the dignity of an aged cardinal; but in a few minutes Sidney's unaccountable charm, which we can never understand because we can never see him, asserted its power over the hero of Lepanto. Don Juan was delighted with him, and it was observed that he showed more pleasure in talking with the young Englishman than with ambassadors who were old in years as well as in wisdom.

Except that both were chivalrous, brave, and handsome, there could hardly be a greater difference than existed between these two, both considered paragons of their day, who met at Brussels in May, 1577. Though Spencer in the "Faery Queen" describes Astrophel as seeming "made for

* This subject was discussed, and Sidney's innocence sought to be proved, in an article on him in the "Edinburgh Review" for October, 1876. Though "Astrophel and Stella" is not reassuring, we gladly put all favourable construction on the doubt which certainly exists.

† Though Languet was foolish in his unwholesome flattery of Sidney, as well as in other matters, he certainly wrote him later on a very sensible letter, urging him not to join Prince Casimir in Flanders, and reminding him that he would be uselessly shedding blood when meddling with a war in which his country was not as yet directly concerned; a sentiment somewhat in advance of the time, when every young gentleman of promise on the Continent thought it almost *de rigueur* to spend a year or two learning something of war in unhappy Flanders.

merriment," we may perhaps take such praises, at variance with Sidney's own admission, as we take addresses to Elizabeth representing her as fair and blooming when past sixty. Sidney's was not a lively character; Don Juan's as certainly was. Sidney was essentially of the sixteenth century; Don Juan, though his fate had placed him in it, as if to lighten with so bright and unsullied a character its widespread corruption and iron harshness, would have been equally at home three centuries before or three centuries later. He might have led a crusade as another Godfrey; he might have been brilliant in any line as a young gentleman of rank in our own time. He necessarily affected the fashionable pomp and splendour of his time; but through the trappings of magnificence appeared a thorough kindness of soul, a lively imagination, a boyish turn for innocent adventure. Whether helping to nurse his wounded soldiers in the hospitals of Messina, projecting the extension of the Christian Church by the conquest of Northern Africa, or traversing France in disguise, he presents the same picture of a character at once daring, devout, innocent, yet withal a degree too brilliant and independent.

Sidney too had the kindness of soul, as we know not only by his conduct on "Zutphen's field," but by many other passages of his life. But his imagination and venturesomeness always had a grave, generally an imperial object; they were not thrown off the balance by a sense of fun. Not that Sidney was that alarming paragon who is absolutely devoid of fun; there is some humour in his description of the drama as it was before Shakespeare and Marlowe, and a spark of comicality in one or two of his letters; and though his contemporaries certainly had a taste for a spice of priggishness, it is impossible that they could have found him so delightful if he had not often relaxed the Olympian severity of his visage. But joyous humour never entered into his actions. He would no more have thought of going through France as a Saracen slave than he would have contemplated suicide; nor did his calculations ever include anything very striking or difficult of achievement. Indeed, one reason why Sidney appears rather dry is that he was so little impracticable. Don Juan was impracticable; not wildly and unavoidably so, but always counting as probability what was highly improbable under his circumstances, as the brother and lieutenant of a cautious and impecunious monarch. He might have managed other chances well, but he could not manage Philip II. He might have ruled kingdoms well, but this man was his king and would not give him the opportunity. His

moral defects were few, and not of the gravest character. The blither aspect of his virtue, as compared to the solemnity of Sidney's, has much to do with the difference of their faith; the one a champion of the Church, the other dubiously following his undefinable Truth. They were Catholic and Protestant. In a comparison with Sidney, the active joyous chivalry of the one contrasts the more strikingly with the sober earnest chivalry of the other, for a certain seeming likeness at first sight between the Spanish prince and the English gentleman.

The Turkish wars and the Netherland rebellion were of all possible service to Elizabeth. They preserved her from the dreaded vision of Spanish galleys bearing Spanish terceros to her shores until her hold on the nation was thoroughly consolidated. They prevented Philip from making attempts on her crown at the most dangerous moments, and from saving the life of the Queen of Scots. She had not much to fear from a King of Spain and Sicily and Emperor of the Indies whose Governor in Flanders was constrained to pawn the crown pearls, and to obtain, by selling an office to Ernest Mansfeld, the wherewithal to buy a wedding present. The name of Spain was much more powerful than Spain herself. Philip became formidable at last, but only when he found himself in conjunction with Sixtus V., who had the energy which he wanted; and then his hostile measures were in reality measures of self-defence. In the interests of historical truth we are glad to see that writers in general are beginning to recognize Philip's real motive in sending the Armada to our seas: it was an economical motive. The English corsairs were of themselves a power, and of all powers the most annoying to Philip. He could bridle the Algerine pirates on the narrow seas with his galleys or with truces, but no one could control Drake and his fellows on their subject ocean. They intercepted Philip's much-desired gold-ships, than which they could hardly have done him a greater injury. To burn their nests at home seemed the only way to avert ruin. The Invincible Armada was the second great effort of Philip's reign, as the Armada of the Holy League had been the first; but the results were different indeed. The defeat of the gigantic attempt on England set the power of Spain slowly ebbing, even as the day of Lepanto struck the blow which began the gradual decline of Turkey.

When Elizabeth approached her unacknowledged old age, she was triumphant over the forces of the King of Spain and the politicians of all Europe. But a sort of retribution was in store for the advantage she had drawn from the long rebellion

which drained Philip's coffers. The last ten years of her life were embittered by the war which was so nearly making the story of her reign end with the severance of Ireland from the English crown, and she who had ridden safely through the storms of war and over the shoals of diplomacy, felt her life foundering in the vexations of her struggle with two daring Irish princes. It is astonishing how little mention of the ten years' war in Ireland is considered sufficient in general histories, when we know how great a part it played in English thoughts and councils at the time. The Irish struggle, far more than the death of Essex, brought Elizabeth's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. All the glory of her reign would have been destroyed if it had closed with the loss of Ireland.

So different in almost all respects are the two countries, that there is hardly any point of resemblance between the war in Ireland and the war in the Netherlands. The dogged, greedy, persevering Hollander, living in cities and engrossed in trade, was a being of a different sphere to the bright and light-hearted, sometimes also light-headed Gael, who pastured his kine in the fresh wild country, rushed into quarrels with other Gaels for slender matters, and cared hardly at all for money. Neither of them liked ill-usage, which certainly bore a large share in provoking both rebellions. But resistance to the Reformation was the primary cause of the struggle in Ireland, whereas resistance to the Inquisition was but a secondary cause of the struggle in the Netherlands. Religious dissent gave a peculiar zest to Dutch disaffection, but the match which kindled it into the Great Rebellion was Alva's system of taxation. Margaret of Parma was judiciously stamping out the disease when he came to destroy her work with measures which seemed designed to ruin a commercial people. Then the storm broke. But the general object of the Irish chiefs, who brought their uncouth levies to the standards of O'Neill and O'Donnell, was to keep their churches and lands out of the hands of "Queen's Bishops," with whom Queen's sheriffs were intimately associated; and it was in the name of "Christ's Catholic religion" that the two princes adjured their countrymen to throw off the English yoke, which, however, was usually but feebly felt in Ulster and Connaught. There the supremacy of the English Government was rather a source of occasional irritation than a continual stern reality; but even there the chiefs were never safe from the designs of adventurous deputies and still more adventurous bishops. With Hugh O'Donnell the war was decidedly a religious war, and his dislike to the English because of his four years' imprisonment in Dublin Castle was

secondary to his dislike of the English as a nation in revolt against the Holy See. Unlike most Irish princes of his time, he loved with a passionate love Ireland as a whole, not his own corner of it only, and his religion and patriotism were as one. But the Earl of Tyrone was an entirely different character. He had lived much at the English court, and was deeply imbued with the diplomacy of the sixteenth century; and he had no scruple in fighting against his own countrymen, frequenting Protestant churches, addressing the Queen with lover-like devotion, and blinding her to his true nature and real designs for twenty years. He was extremely ambitious, but, in common with all his other feelings, his ambition was easily concealed; it could wait like his patriotism, and humble itself like his pride.

In O'Donnell the Earl found a confederate of a kind rare in any country, rarest of all in Ireland, where septal selfishness was so rife; a confederate who wanted nothing for himself, and was willing to yield the honour of headship to his experienced and sagacious ally for the sake of his country's welfare. Besides a firm trust in his disinterestedness, Tyrone had a personal claim on O'Donnell, since he had paid one thousand pounds to Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam for letting him escape from Dublin Castle in 1592. His chief defect as an ally was his hurried impetuosity, which drew Tyrone into the war before the time appointed by his wary patience, and which was destined to end the war by the imprudent haste so disastrous at Kinsale. O'Donnell could never understand Tyrone's slow and tortuous policy, and after inaugurating the war by a few independent attacks on English garrisons and their Irish allies, he took occasion, by the insurrection of Maguire of Fermanagh in 1594, to drag Tyrone into open hostility towards the Queen.

The Earl, who had already incurred well-founded suspicions in London and at Dublin, allowed himself to be so dragged in order to avoid the absurd position of fighting as the Queen's officer against the chosen confederate who was to help him in the liberation of Ireland. In the dead of night he met O'Donnell and Maguire on a hill, where they promised each other to sever their common country from the English crown by force of arms. Yet in this same year the Earl owned all his obligations to Elizabeth as to her "who had by grace advanced him, and might by force pluck him down"; he presented his submission on his knees to Lord-Deputy Russell, nor did he cease making submission after submission till he had wrested nearly the whole of Ireland from her Majesty's grasp. For six years he levied war upon her with

almost uninterrupted success; for two more years the balance hung on a thread; yet in spite of his triumphs and his duplicity Elizabeth was always ready to pardon him again, until that last bitter year of her life, when her long-standing partiality for Tyrone turned into rank hostility. The unblushing hypocrisy of the "Great Earl" certainly subtracts from the sympathy which his able struggle and subsequent melancholy exile would inspire. He had profited by his sojourn at the English court; he had learnt at the feet of Cecil and Walsingham, and repaid their lessons with interest. There was much of the Anglo-Norman diplomatist in his disposition, much of the Saxon in his wary patience; added to all he possessed the charm and grace of a highbred Irishman, which made him pleasing in the eyes of Elizabeth. O'Donnell's character was the antithesis of Tyrone's. He was a true Celt; fiery, impetuous, and quick in action. Yet even he could make one submission, and, moreover, as it appears, condescend to one act of duplicity. We do not expect to find a leader who in general wears the frank look of proud straightforwardness, writing on the 27th of September, 1595, a letter to Philip II., in which he begs for his help and offers him a kingdom,* and on the 18th of October tendering his submission to Elizabeth. It is true that the submission was coupled with conditions which, if granted, would have left him an independent prince, and that he was determined they should not be granted; but it is astonishing that one so haughty as O'Donnell should have even made the offer, acknowledge that he had offended, and crave the royal pardon. It was at a time when the confederates had tried their strength, and found it more than equal to that of the small armies with which the English in Ireland were accustomed to carry out their desultory warfare with the Gael. The Queen was now virtually soliciting an opportunity of conferring pardons on two enemies so clearly dangerous as O'Neill and O'Donnell. On the 20th of January, 1596, the two princes met the Lord-Deputy's commissioners in a field near Dundalk, where, fearful of treachery, they kept them on horseback for three hours in wind and rain, while they discussed the terms of their pardons. The commissioners found Hugh O'Donnell "most resolute, arrogant, and insolent," while the Earl used "terms submiss"; † and in like manner O'Donnell's answers in writing to their proposals are marked by a proud insistence on his rights, while Tyrone professes to yield almost everything. Of course the negotiation came to nothing, and in the following sum-

* Vide "Elizabethan State Calendars," vol. v.

† Ibid.

mer the two leaders were sending their envoys to Munster to engage the Southern chieftains in their confederacy. Their real hopes were fixed on a Spanish alliance, not an English pardon; but it would have been better not to dally with both at once.

In the letter referred to above, which was a joint production of Tyrone and O'Donnell, and similar in tone to others that followed, they entreat Philip to send them 3,000 or 4,000 men "before the feast of St. Philip and St. James," a limitation of time which shows that they knew but little of his habits and character; adding that by his aid they hoped "to restore the faith of the Church, and to secure him a kingdom."* This brings us to the question of how Tyrone and his young ally really wished to dispose of Ireland. O'Donnell was the more "Hispaniolated" of the two, to use a phrase current in England at the time. He looked on the Spanish monarchy in the light that Philip II. wished it to be looked on, as the great temporal prop of Catholic interests. He thought his country would be safe under the mighty wing of Spain, and that Tyrone was in all ways formed to be the Spanish monarch's lieutenant. This was a position which Tyrone himself assumed in his dealings with his allies, both Irish and Continental, who usually designated him "Excellency" and "Lieutenant of Ireland." But although Philip encouraged the Irish princes, sent them presents, and even, *mirabile dictu!* money, and exchanged envoys with them, no patent made out by him to Tyrone has, so far as we know, been discovered; and it is not likely that he ever formally appointed him to the dignity of his viceroy in a country which could not be said fully to belong to either of them as yet. It would have been a romantic step, which Philip was too prudent to take. Nor is it likely that the Earl carried on so tremendous a conflict for nothing more than a precarious tenure of a delegated crown. He signed himself the "faithful subject" of the kings of Spain, and doubtless meant to be in some sort their subject, or rather their vassal; for in the event of his expelling the English from Ireland with Spanish aid, he would probably have requested that the dignity of Irish Viceroy should descend in his family in perpetuity, and would thus have held the country under the suzeraineté of Spain. Such a design explains the fact that until his affairs were desperate he never asked for a very large auxiliary force from Spain, which nevertheless her kings would have done

* Earl of Tyrone and Hugh O'Donnell to Philip II., Sept. 27, 1595 "Elizabethan State Calendars," vol. v.

wisely to send, if they intended to make any more use of Ireland than as a mere source of waspish annoyance to Elizabeth.

The victory obtained over the Queen's troops by the Irish princes in August, 1598, on the banks of the Blackwater, was the crowning point of their prosperity, and had they known how to turn their successes to real advantage, they might now have driven the Lord-Deputy from Dublin,—a course which he greatly feared they would take. As O'Neill was pronounced by Henry IV. of France, undoubtedly a *connoisseur* of good generals, to be one of the three greatest soldiers of his day, the blame of his inadequate measures should perhaps be thrown rather on the unmanageable system of Celtic warfare than on his want of skill. The eagerness of Celtic soldiers to return home precluded all possibility of garrisoning the strong places gained by the Confederates, and without such bases of operation it was unsafe to advance into country occupied by the enemy. To take castles, or rather forts, to raze them and retire, was the plan usually pursued by the Confederates, and as the English almost always rebuilt the castles, the same process had to be constantly repeated; and this system accounts for the unnecessary protraction of a war which a proper use of successes would have terminated triumphantly after, if not before, the victory of the Blackwater.

The death of Philip II. two months later made little difference to the Irish, as his son continued his policy of moderate encouragement. The old king, broken down at last by disappointments which had found a vulnerable point in even his phlegmatic heart, died nearly five years before the woman whose good fortune had troubled the latter half of his reign; but he died at a moment when the loss of one of her kingdoms had become almost a certainty. The conflict in Ireland was now of European interest; foreign courts watched it with anxiety; the news of the victory on the Blackwater was hailed with salvoes from the Castle of St. Angelo; Clement VIII. invoked blessings on the "Catholic Army" who were endeavouring to deliver Ireland from the gripe of a demoralizing and cruel form of heresy. And none perceived the importance of the struggle more fully than Elizabeth herself. She saw that a great effort must be made in Ireland; but with her usual blindness to the defects of her favourites, she chose the Earl of Essex to make the effort, and sent him to his task with an army of thirty thousand men, still hoping not so much to destroy Tyrone entirely as to bring him to reason, or to her view of it. But Essex was charmed by the rebel he was meant to subdue; having frittered away his

army, he parleyed feebly with Tyrone, who captivated him by his stronger intellect and by his winning manners, and Essex effected nothing but his own disgrace with Elizabeth. Her temper was set on edge by this last Irish failure, and found its expression in an arbitrary prohibition to her subjects, on pain of death, to write or speak of Irish affairs. So submissive to royalty were English subjects in those days! On the other hand, courtiers timidly whispered a hope that there must be better news of Ireland when the Queen had shown herself in her old gay colours, and "played the good fellow among them with dancing and music."

But much more effective than arms, which had hitherto persistently failed in conquering the Irish, was the "princelie policie" of division and disunion recommended by Francis Bacon. In 1600 some real talent arrived in Ireland in the persons of Lord Mountjoy and Sir Henry Dockwray; the latter went to work in Ulster, while Sir George Carew, another able man, devoted himself to the regeneration of Munster. They insinuated themselves among the clans, who were too blind or too foolish to guard their territories against such intruders, built forts, dispensed rewards, suggested causes of quarrel, and set up "Queen's chieftains." From this time a cloud dimmed the brilliancy of the fortunes of O'Neill and O'Donnell. They were troubled by rebellions in their own principalities; Tyrone by his cousin Arthur, O'Donnell by his brother-in-law, "Rugged Nial," and were thus occupied with their own traitors when at last, in the autumn of 1601, Philip III. actually sent a portion of the promised succour to Ireland.

This long hoped-for Spanish aid was the proximate cause of the downfall of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and the failure of the Irish Catholic cause. With the usual shabbiness of Ireland's foreign allies, Philip sent 6,000 men where 20,000 were required, and Don Juan d'Aguila, when he should have sent Ambrose Spinola. Less acute than Elizabeth, he did not see the immense importance of the occasion, nor the gain which even the secured vassalage of Ireland would have been to Spain. The strength of England would have been for ever crippled while Ireland was a part of the Spanish monarchy. But Philip III. inherited all his father's slowness and caution, without his powers of calculation. In the opinion of the Spaniards themselves, "Charles V. was David, Philip II. Solomon, and the new King the Rehoboam who would lose all." At least he lost Ireland. The whole expedition was mismanaged. Aguila landed in Munster, where the people were half-hearted, demoralized by Carew, and without any

patriot leader of importance, instead of in the North, where he would have found himself in the friendly principalities, and supported by the armies of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. When besieged in Kinsale, and when the two Irish princes had pressed southward to his aid through all difficulties, he incessantly urged them by letters to attack the English camp. And here O'Donnell's besetting fault of impetuosity came into play. In his chivalrous eagerness to succour his Spanish ally and to engage the hated Saxon, he for once set up his opinion against the sagacious counsels of Tyrone, and insisted on an attack. Tyrone gave way in order to avoid discord, but, as often happens when one accustomed to lead submits to be led, he performed his part badly. The night before the battle of Kinsale was a night of confusion and blunders, and the day which succeeded it witnessed the utter overthrow of the Confederates. Mountjoy, who possessed much military talent, took advantage of their numerous mistakes to put them to complete rout; and, to crown their mortification, they learned that in three days he would have broken up his camp, which was very unhealthy, believing their force to be more powerful than it was. Their haste had ruined them; for to Irishmen of that day one defeat was the overthrow of their whole cause.

There were, however, two Irishmen who were not defeated yet. O'Donnell's sanguine mind refused to recognize the fact that the labour of ten years was lost, that the whole country was disintegrated by English intrigue, and that the clans would never fight well again after the blow which their *prestige* received at Kinsale; he had wonderful ideas about Spain, and could not believe but that if Philip III. were judiciously talked to he would rescue Ireland yet. Only three days after the battle O'Donnell embarked for Spain, where he was received with all honour; for Continental courts had a truer appreciation than English statesmen of the real rank of Irish princes. Yet even on O'Donnell's first interview with Philip the fatal hindrances which the system of the Irish body politic opposed to any great effort on behalf of Ireland were made apparent by his own impracticable requests. Kneeling down before the King, he refused to rise until Philip should promise: first, to send an army with him to Ireland; secondly, in case he should obtain power over the island, not to place any Spanish noble in authority over The O'Donnell; thirdly, never to diminish the greatness of The O'Donnells in territories where they had been accustomed to hold sway.* The astonished King granted all these requests, but was by no

* Four Masters.

means so swift to prepare the Armada for Ireland as he had been to promise it; and O'Donnell waited at Coruña, while Carew, always clever at underhand work, intercepted his letters, and "Peter Artson"* read them.

Meanwhile Tyrone, who from this time seems to be clad in that grandeur of soul which has made his name heroic, retreated to the North, to keep the war alive until that Armada came. In the fastnesses of Glenconkeine he stood at bay, while Mountjoy ravaged the cornfields and orchards and cattle-bearing hills of Ulster. The old Queen's delight at the victory of Kinsale was dashed by the thought that "Tyrone lived still." All her long-suffering favour towards the "Arch-traitor" was now exchanged for the bitterest hatred. He had submitted often enough when he was yet borne on the tide of victory, and yet in this hour of desperation he defied her triumphant power. For the first time in her life she stooped to the employment of assassins, none of whom, however, succeeded in reaching "the sacred person of O'Neill." The rains of autumn came, and with them the news of O'Donnell's death in Spain; yet though all hope was gone, Tyrone held out in his mountain fortress with intense distaste to throwing himself on Elizabeth's mercy. "Has Tyrone submitted?" gasped the dying Queen; and still her ministers could but answer "No." It was not till the 28th of March, 1603, that Tyrone came down from Glenconkeine, and at Mellifont, dressed in the deepest of mourning, made his submission on his knees to the Lord-Deputy; and on the 28th of March Elizabeth had been dead four days. The "iron collar" was about her neck before Tyrone acknowledged himself defeated; and she passed away conscious that one of her subjects existed who defied her still.

Thus Elizabeth's splendid reign set amid a cloud of even temporal vexation. What spiritual clouds darkened its close we cannot know; but they who saw her sitting silent for days with her finger in her mouth, and who heard her cry out that "the case was altered with her," might well have guessed. Elizabeth had not improved as she grew older. She was as politic as ever, and showed a graceful and prudent bearing towards her Parliament when they began to be stirred by that spirit which afterwards grew so powerful in Pym and Eliot. She also made a good selection of Mountjoy for the Irish Deputyship. But the latter years of her reign were stained by the excesses of what we know as the Elizabethan persecution. "The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower";†

* An appropriate alias of Robert Cecil.

† Hallam's "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 148.

and the law of England was boldly set aside by the Queen and her ministers to give scope for the employment of various illegal forms of excruciating torture, sometimes for purposes of political inquiry only, but chiefly for the discovery of priests and recusants, and often, as it appears, out of mere cruelty and to enforce conformity. But Elizabeth had gained the ends she proposed to herself at her accession. She had been head of her Church, virtually if not by title. She had defied the Pope, and had been excommunicated, yet suffered no visible loss. She had temporized with France and Spain till her power was strongly consolidated, and then came triumphantly through the perils of the Invincible Armada. If her death was unhappy after all, that was a matter foreign to her calculations. They had never extended to eternity.

ART. III.—GENERAL IGNATIEFF.

Bilder aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft, von einem Russen. Leipzig : Duncker & Humblot, 1874, 2^e Auflage.

Neue Bilder aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft, von einem Russen. Leipzig : Duncker & Humblot, 1874.

THE late Mr. Urquhart often repeated a certain axiom, "The Cabinets of Europe are the tools with which Russia works"; and in one of his books* he quotes the saying of a sailor on board Admiral Duckworth's squadron, who, being asked what sort of vessels the Russians had, answered, "Russia wants no navy: she has ambassadors." Ten years ago, speaking to a friend, Mr. Urquhart designated General Ignatieff, whose name was then hardly known in England outside the Foreign Office, as possessing by far the most astute and formidable talent in the service of Russia. And certainly since General Ignatieff has become, through interviewing reporters and Hatfield House hospitalities, a somewhat more manifest personage to the British public, there can be no doubt he has in his degree given point to Mr. Urquhart's earlier sayings. During the Conference at Constantinople, during his subsequent visits to Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, previous to the signing of the Protocol, who can now doubt that General Ignatieff made of the Cabinets of Europe mere tools for

* "Progress of Russia," p. lxx.

Russia to work with ; that his success, everywhere considerable, was in England complete, for nowhere else did he find the desire to be deceived so insatiable, or so many statesmen capable of being so easily stultified. Mayhap, to some Able-Bodied Seaman of genius, smoking his pipe in Besika Bay, on that yardarm which also betimes serves as gallows, hearing there of old Abdul Kerim sitting still in his tent, stroking his white beard, and revolving vast plans, while the Russians have crossed first the Danube, and then the Balkans, and already the Cossacks are clattering along on the high road to Constantinople, it may occur that such an ambassador is worth as much as even the great navy idly anchored all about on the bobadil pretext of protecting the Porte. And from thinking of Abdul Kerim, with his venerable military capacity, suddenly revealing itself at the moment of danger and of opportunity as a quite fatuous and utter old nonentity, he may bethink him of the days when Mr. Pitt governed England and told Nelson where to steer the fleet. Lord Beaconsfield, who governs England now, becomes every day more and more like unto a political Abdul Kerim. He knows that it is the duty of England to resist Russia, and that if England were to take the lead in that enterprise with her old heroic will, her inexhaustible resources, her tenacious quest of victory, half the world would follow her lead.

But Lord Beaconsfield presides over a Cabinet of which a principal member has been befooled by General Ignatieff ; and ever since, that Cabinet has not been a Cabinet of one mind, or indeed of any apparent mind at all. Mr. Disraeli, when giving last year reasons for the assumption of an Imperial title in the East by her Majesty, said one motive for the act was to serve as a warning against the encroaching policy of Russia in Asia. Lord Salisbury, speaking in the House of Lords lately of the supposed danger to the Indian empire from Russian territorial acquisitions in Asia, said the only argument worth addressing to persons possessed of such chimeras was to ask them to buy big maps, maps of sufficient size to enable them to realize the distances they were talking of. Lord Beaconsfield has spoken of Russia's policy in Turkey as full of danger to the imperial interests of England ; has intimated the capacity of England for a war of one, two, three campaigns ; has expressed a ghastly suspicion that Russia through Secret Societies organized the "Bulgarian atrocities." But this was before Lord Salisbury went to Constantinople. Now the noble lord at the head of her Majesty's Government sits silent for a whole session of Parliament in the presence of great events, events in view of which Chatham would have

thundered and even Wellington raged, listening to Lord Derby measuring out foreign policy on a "cheating yard-wand," such as Mr. Tennyson sung of in the days of the Crimean War; and at last orders five or six battalions to be sent to Malta, when the inhabitants of Adrianople are actually flying from their houses. Very different have been General Ignatieff's methods.

The Germans have in their language a singular expression; they call Sunday children (*Sonntags-kinder*) those who, from their childhood upwards are successful in everything they undertake, without ever displaying any quality of either heart or mind that might justify such uninterrupted success. So General Ignatieff's countrymen have nicknamed him a *Sunday child*. The Russian diplomatist was hardly forty years old when he reached the highest political stations of his country, and but a short time ago he was pointed to as the probable successor of Prince Gortschakoff. Doubtless, such an eminent promotion seems at present somewhat uncertain; but, even if we admit that it will never be realized, still Ignatieff's position is already sufficiently splendid to bear out the fact that besides good fortune it must rest on qualifications of no common order.

First of all, he does not belong to a noble family, such as the Orloffs, the Schuwaloffs, the Dolgoroukis, the Narisshkins, and others, who carry off, as it were, every exalted post by right of birth. He traces his origin to the lower order of nobility or gentry, equalling in its numbers the sands of the seashore, as they say in Russia, and destined most probably to become in aftertimes the nucleus of an all-powerful middle class. But, precisely on this very account the general stood in need of high protection. Most fortunately his father, who was an adjutant-general and governor of St. Petersburg, was able to prepare the way for his son, though indeed, in the preceding reign, such a standing secured no real influence at court. The Emperor Nicholas always chose his own favourites, of whom, in return for that supreme favour, he exacted an amount of servility of a most peculiar character. Besides, he was systematically averse to the appointment of young men to influential stations, as showing little respect for old age and experience.

Consequently, in 1854, young Ignatieff, then about five-and-twenty, had only attained the post of captain on the staff, by no means a contemptible appointment, but yet affording no room for the display of political talent. He was sent to Revel during the Crimean war, and attached to the staff of Count de Berg, governor-general of that province. It was an out-

landish place on the southern coast of the Finland gulf, where even military distinction was out of reach, the combined efforts of the two allied powers being confined to throwing a few inoffensive shells. However, at the close of the war, the military medal was awarded to the young captain, and, says a Russian writer, "he was at full liberty to parade his decoration among the reservoirs of putrefying water and desert streets of Revel." There, however, Ignatieff did not remain long, though he left behind him the reputation of a boon companion. The following years are blank in his biography, when all of a sudden we find him in 1860 negotiating a treaty with the Chinese government, by which China gave up to Russia a large portion of Manchuria. Such was his first achievement in the career of diplomacy. In 1856 his father's influence had obtained for him an appointment on General Mouravieff's staff, then Governor-general of Eastern Siberia, a circumstance which allowed him to play an active part in the first attempt to found a permanent settlement in those parts. At that very moment the war declared by France and England on China had begun. Peking was in their hands, and the very existence of the great Asiatic empire threatened at its centre. Russia took advantage of the opportunity to carry into execution certain plans devised long beforehand for the acquisition of a large territory on the south bank of the Amur. Ignatieff was chosen as ambassador at the court of the Celestial empire. In reality, the whole affair required but a small amount of diplomatic finesse, so smoothly did all the arrangements proceed, as it were, of their own accord. However, in Russia the whole success was attributed to the youthful negotiator, whose fortune it at once made. "Henceforward he was considered as a star of first magnitude, only rather too young as yet to fill the foremost stations." So for a few years longer he was employed in arranging the affairs of Central Asia, an admirable preparation for the part he was to play hereafter. At last, in 1865, Prince Labanoff-Rostowski having been recalled from Constantinople, he became his successor.

Two circumstances had contributed to the general's rapid preferment. First of all, he had married a Princess Galyczin, who brought with her the whole weight of interest wielded by that powerful family. Secondly, he was supported by public opinion, a new force in Russia, but which the government was obliged to take into account. At the time when Ignatieff obtained his splendid appointment, the old Russian party held a predominant sway over public affairs, and on this occasion decidedly favoured the parvenu. This requires a few lines by way of explanation.

Immediately after the death of the Emperor Nicholas a new school started up, a school advocating liberty and reform, together with an organization analogous to that of our western regions. Its adepts, all young, ardent, enthusiastic, full of talent, still fuller of chimerical aspirations in regard to the body-politic, rallied, however, round one practical idea,—the glorification and ascendancy of their common country. This school, with its acknowledged head, M. Katkoff, the founder of the "Moscow Gazette," formed a school, whose apostles soon invaded the aristocratic saloons, just as they had taken by storm the popular gentry. Now, in 1865, the doctrines of this phalanx had not yet undergone the test of experience, that hard mistress, who so often turns the dreamer of sunny days into a jaundice-eyed sceptic. The programme of the "Moscow Gazette" passed for infallible. In the mean time the press had likewise acquired a degree of freedom and influence which some people compared irreverently to that of old revolutionary Père Duchesne. There was indeed something most astounding in the sudden development of such a power in a state most essentially despotic. On reading those particulars in Russian authors, one is constantly reminded of the latter end of the eighteenth century in France. At any rate, there is nothing surprising that the heads and managers of this great movement should battle for, and even carry, certain high positions, though their authority could by no means make itself felt in every direction. At home, their influence succeeded in pushing forward the nation towards certain indispensable reforms, but their foreign policy not unfrequently dwindled into petty questions of personal preferment or humanitarian vagaries. Yet the Russians were defended against Katkoff's disciples by that very "old school" which they scoffed at, and by those "aristocrats" whom Young Russia most violently attacked. Had France had the same good fortune in 1789, she would probably have been spared the fatal ignominy of after-days. Indeed the special mission of antique aristocracies, resting on national traditions and a practical line of policy, is precisely to guard a nation against the hare-brained theories and the excesses of demagogues. As for that of St. Petersburg, it has certainly rendered a signal service to the country by opposing an obstacle to the pressure of the new school, on the one hand, without breaking with it altogether. At this very time we have before us a striking instance of the fact. For many ages past the relations between Moscow and Byzantium have borne a certain fatidical character which would seem to baffle all description; the Eastern question ever raising to the

highest pitch Russian fanaticism—the only one indeed in which every class of the population brings in its share of ideal. So a war with Turkey calls forth among the people an enthusiasm, a spirit of sacrifice to be sought for in vain on other occasions. From this very disposition of the nation there prevailed on the banks of the Neva a political maxim of long standing—never to choose for representative at Constantinople any but a man belonging to the Greco-orthodox church. This rule the new liberal school would have willingly given up.

However, General Ignatieff was too shrewd not to court an alliance with men whose influence might become all-powerful with the people on this very question. Such an alliance was an easy matter after all, since both parties moved on a common ground. “The Pogodins, the Katkoffs, the Leontjeffs, the Absakoffs, says a native writer, did not belong to the *bourgeoisie* in the Western meaning of the term, but they were members of that lower nobility which now stands, and will long stand, in its place. He was, therefore, welcome among them—the young diplomatist, who, notwithstanding his brilliant success, had never exchanged his plebeian manners for aristocratic haughtiness and exclusiveness. The arrival of such a man among them was a real godsend, the more so indeed that they themselves supported the popular feeling, as well as the host of public functionaries who, but a few years before, vegetated obscurely on the Baltic coast.”*

Thus Ignatieff arrived at Constantinople escorted both by the favour of the upper classes and of the liberals. In their eyes he was the man of the future, a man gifted with every necessary quality for worthily representing the gravest interests of a powerful nation.

Let us now see the man at work.

The year 1865 presented no striking feature in Turkish history; no explosion of Mussulman fanaticism, no insurrection among the Christian population, no Sultan induced to commit suicide; and yet the old proverb still held good,—the most fearful enemies of the Turks are not within, but without. As long as no foreign power interferes between him and his Christian subjects, the military organization of the Empire will be sufficient to hold its own against any attempt at insurrection, for the simple reason that the security of Islam is grounded upon a bitter feeling of hatred against the very name of Christianity. This fact fully explains the conduct of

* “Aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft,” von einem Russen, s. 142. Leipzig: 1874.

the Porte in regard to the late protocol. In its eyes, foreign intervention is the sole real peril. Only leave Turkey alone with her *rajahs*, and she will soon master them, even while affecting the outward forms of humanity. Since the terrible massacres of 1860, no intervention of such a kind had shown itself. Besides, the attention of all statesmen was then riveted exclusively on Germany. For the time being, Russian plans of aggrandisement in the East were totally forgotten. So the Turkish Government might doze on for a while.

And such indeed, for the present, was its purpose. In fact, as far as political ability is concerned, the Orientals have often evinced a most wonderful penetration. For instance, during a period of many years Ali and Fuad Pasha had worked together with a mutual good-will and understanding most uncommon in the Ottoman Government: they fully apprehended that their policy must needs be a policy of resignation, or, in other words, that they were bound to rally behind some foreign power, strong enough to protect them. Doubtless this was repudiating the famous proverb, but it was the only practical way of dealing with the situation.

After all, there was really nothing new in such a situation. It had been lasting ever since the treaty of Adrianople in 1828; and the long succession of viziers who had followed each other at the Bosphorus had silently bent their backs under the rod of M. de Butenieff, whose superior influence was due more to venality than to diplomatic astuteness. When the Crimean war broke out, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had impressed British influence on the Turkish counsels, a fact by no means obnoxious to the Porte, which considered English interests as being much the same as its own; so that it was rather desirous of perpetuating such a situation. But this was not to be. The results of the Paris treaty secured to France a preponderating influence, and the Turks, with their usual finesse, soon submitted to the fact. It seems, indeed, probable that even if the Crimean war had not taken place, Lord Stratford's sway could not have lasted much longer. "At any rate," says a Russian writer, "from that day France ruled supreme, and the Porte felt her yoke to be a hard one." Such an accusation sounds somewhat strange in the mouths of men whose own rule was by no means tender towards the Osmanlis, as the Butenieffs and the Menschikoffs had abundantly shown. However, it would be useless to dwell on this fit of ill-humour; in our eyes it seems but natural that France should have resumed, in the East, that protection of Catholic Christians which had been her traditional policy for ages. Indeed, this very fact is the cause of such an outbreak of

anger on the part of the Muscovite authors. Besides, the latter declare at this same time all the other representatives of the foreign powers to have been totally unfit for their task, a question which, at present, it would be evidently needless to examine. It is, however, important to remember a fact admitted on all hands in 1865. France then wielded a power and influence sufficient to prevent the imminent shock between Prussia and Austria, without even mooted the Eastern question. Every one is now aware how dearly both Europe and France have paid for her not having used the golden opportunity.

For a man like General Ignatieff, when entering upon such important duties, the situation in itself was most unattractive. It was hardly possible for him not to see, that whatever might be the energy or ability of any one individual, he could exert no influence of any kind over the grave events then looming in the far distance. And moreover, the credit of his own government was at its lowest ebb even among the Christian populations. Thus his mission required the greatest prudence as well as the faculty of withdrawing, if necessary, altogether behind the scenes. We are told by his biographer that what he found most painful to endure was French ascendancy in a place where the remembrance of Russian supremacy was still so recent. Fortunately the new ambassador had before him a field of activity which nobody could dispute, and which, for the present, sufficed to satisfy his energy.

Whilst, taken as a whole, the policy of the Western powers consists in keeping up the *statu quo* in the East, or in patching it up again wherever it threatens to break down, the policy of Russia has ever consisted, on the contrary, for a whole century and a half, in doing her very utmost to overthrow it utterly. Assuredly, in Moscow, as well as in St. Petersburg, nobody cares much for the hypocrisy which had cropped up of late years as a natural fruit of our degenerate times ; but still it *did* rule in Russia, whilst formerly we were bold enough to assert boldly our real sentiments. But if we do ever wish sincerely to convince Turkey of our good-will towards her, we must have recourse to other means than the balderdash of the *Moscow Gazette* or the tiresome tirades of our official *Moniteur*.

There was a time, indeed, when our policy of destruction hurried on bravely to its goal. Catherine never aimed at anything else but to plant the cross over St. Sophia with the hands of her victorious legions, and, at the same time, to transfer, through a whim of her fancy, her own residence to that famous *Pointe du Serail* from whence the old palaces of the Sultans gaze on their own incomparable beauty when reflected in the blue waters of the Bosphorus. But she soon perceived, as well as her grandfather and great-grandfather, that it is impossible to carry Stamboul by a *coup de main*. We long ago arrived at the conclusion that, if we are ever to carry the city by

assault, such an operation must be preceded by the patient labour of the miner. Whatever be the circumstances, his labour may be always pushed on. The relations between cabinets are liable to change; and whenever a coolness or downright rupture happens to occur, the sapper is exactly in his proper place. The question is not as to what will follow the present state of things—that is the business of our diplomatists and governments, if indeed they have any definite ideas on the matter; ours is to hurry on to the inevitable, and leave nothing to chance. Altogether, to do what is possible—such was ever Russian policy in the East, and such ought it to remain in the future. Our actual object must be to heap up as much fuel as possible, and thus prepare public opinion for an imminent conflagration. For, in fact, why should not Russia have *her* day as well as Germany or Italy? *

In the above passage we hear the heartfelt and sincere utterances of a true Russian, which are re-echoed by the whole mass of his compatriots, high and low; and that is the very reason why we have quoted it at full length. But that is likewise the very reason why Europe, which knows the real object of St. Petersburg, should be alarmed, on seeing the Russian Government once more launching out on adventurous expeditions. As for the personage who is the subject of the present memoir, we have every reason to believe that he received from Prince Gortschakoff instructions in perfect harmony with the above passage, as is proved by his subsequent conduct.

During the twenty years which preceded the Crimean war, this Russian policy had to encounter no difficulty as to its connection with the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula. The imposing position of the Czar made him the umpire and natural protector of the Eastern Church, in whose eyes dogmatic questions ever assume a paramount importance. From this fact alone arose for Russia a situation of unbounded influence and great simplicity. To consider the Eastern Christians as so many brethren, whatever might be their nationality; to support them invariably against the Turks, was the open path to follow, and the cabinet of St. Petersburg never swerved from it.

But from the year 1865, and even a short time before, this situation had become far more complex. Panslavism and the doctrine of nationalities had then made their appearance in the world. Doubtless, the Emperor Nicholas cared little about Panslavism, which he might use for a while to conceal his other designs: what he wanted above all was to rule over millions of silent and obedient subjects. So, as long as he lived, the new doctrine was kept in the background; but the case was altered after his defeat and death.

* "Aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft."

In the East, the national theory gained the upper hand, and even threatened to eclipse the religious question. This was steering directly in opposition to the traditional policy of former ages, and, for the time being, there was no contending against the current. In fact, long before the petty kingdom of Greece had been waging war against the propagandism and protectorate of the Muscovites. Before any one dreamed of nationality theories, the Hellenes had been thinking of annexing some portions of the Turkish empire to their small state. They had even dreamt of some wonderful *coup* enabling them to lay their hands on Constantinople at one single blow; and they consequently went about sowing mistrust against the Russians and their doctrine of Pan-slavism, as they were themselves destined, added they, to restore the unrivalled splendour of Byzantine civilization. In the mean time the clergy became ardent and devoted agents of this new sort of propaganda, and, as they enjoy great influence throughout the whole peninsula, the *grand idea*, as it was called, soon made its way. After all, is there anything reprehensible in such a conception? Undoubtedly it raises many a difficulty in the path of the Russians, but that is no reason why we should condemn it.

On the other hand, the Servian and Bulgarian questions had likewise made their appearance; but, beyond all, the loss of its former *prestige* was a serious obstacle for the Petersburg cabinet in the East, where all people are generally fatalists, in other words, worshippers of success. Now Russia had been vanquished, though so sure of her own triumph before the conflict: we may hence form an idea of her diplomatic position at Constantinople in 1865.

Was the young ambassador in full possession of every quality required in such a difficult position? It would answer no practical purpose were we to examine the question. Most decidedly he had many of them, and he proved it by his very first steps. The veteran diplomatists who surrounded their new colleague, must have been kept in a state of perpetual amazement, on seeing him throw overboard the outward and conventional impassibility which is said to make up one half of the profession. As he passed along with a beaming eye, whilst a buoyant, exulting smile played constantly around his lips, no one would have suspected the heavy burden that weighed upon his shoulders. And then to see the air, half impertinent, half friendly, with which he received both Turks and Christians, playing them off against each other and showing proof in hand that they had been all along heaping lies upon lies—why, it was a scene worthy of the

stage. Invariably such interviews ended on the part of Ignatieff in his assuming a mask of bland and yet contemptuous patience, as if such petty squabbles could never trouble the serenity of the atmosphere in which moved and evolved the representative of such a holy and grand power as that of Russia. The picture, say his countrymen, was complete of its kind, and we take it for granted.

And yet the ambassador was in reality acting no farce. At the bottom, he had nothing to do with comedy, but was fulfilling his duties to the best of his power. Such modes of proceeding produced a deep effect on his auditors. The *rajahs* soon came to ask themselves whether the part assumed by their traditional protectors was really worn out, or if rather certain ominous rumours widely circulated at Constantinople, shortly after Ignatieff's arrival, did not mark a resumption of their old policy in Eastern matters. Many were disposed to believe it, and made advances to the youthful diplomatist: this was already a gain, and might pass for half a success. But a more direct interference on the part of Russia was required in the contest which had lately arisen between the Bulgarians and the Greeks on religious questions. General Ignatieff deemed the occasion favourable to the line of conduct he had marked out for himself. Great dexterity was, however, indispensable in the management of such business, the precise conditions being, not to jeopardize the high position assumed by his country, viz., the part of a supreme and equitable umpire between a host of contending factions. Now, in spite of his implicit reliance on his own powers, he could scarcely conceal from himself the surrounding difficulties, nor the violence of the passions he had to deal with.

The only way to gain his end, observes one of his biographers, depended on one hypothesis; by securing to Russia such an exalted position among the rival parties as to make her good-will an object of great importance in their eyes; though, even whilst admitting he could not satisfy them all. Another consideration must have needs struck the ambassador—the gravity of the situation in Central Europe, a situation over which he could exert no possible influence, and highly unfavourable for the realization of his views; yet, with that singular confidence in himself that seems to be a peculiar feature of his character, this very fact acted as a spur to his will. For such democratic natures grandeur never consists of one great whole, but is rather the product of a multitude of small factors.

We really would not venture to affirm that the general had ever analyzed with so much subtlety the elements of true grandeur, or even asked himself whether his nature was or was not of a democratic character. We strongly suspect,

on the contrary, that he simply yielded to that sort of plastic instinct which enables his countrymen to conform their conduct to existing circumstances. At any rate, on the present occasion, he turned to good purpose the "small factors" he had at his disposal.

One of those factors was by no means a new one in the hands, of Russian diplomacy; it consisted in fomenting a secret underhand warfare against the Porte on the part of her Christian subjects. This warfare was resumed with a certain degree of ardour, and with great utility, since the interests, both Greek and Slavonian, being interwoven, it became an easy matter to combine their efforts against the common enemy.

As for the mode of proceeding, the ambassador had but to work the wonted agencies of former times, with this difference however, that henceforward he was not to handle exclusively the religious passions, as was the case before the Crimean war. The question of nationalities now made its appearance on the field of politics, and, in the hands of the Russian diplomatist, might be turned to good account. He scrupled the less as to making use of this tool, that he could dispose of an old standing organization. There was a time when the portrait of Czar Nicholas passed from hand to hand among the Slavonic populations of Turkey, bearing, as it were, a legendary and fantastic impress. Most frequently the traveller might meet it hanging up on the wall of the peasant's cot, close by the images of the patron saints who guarded the humble homestead. Without attaching so much importance as formerly to this long-established custom, Ignatieff resumed it, well knowing the deep impression it left on the minds of these rude populations. So Alexander the Second's likeness soon filled the vacant place of his father's in the Bulgarian's cabin. But with this somewhat naïve system of propaganda was coupled another of a more obnoxious character—we mean the subaltern agents chosen among the rajahs with the special purpose of harassing the Turkish functionaries by a multitude of unceasing complaints and accusations, which were complacently bandied about by the Russian consuls. The latter, indeed, were ever upon the watch for any occasion to humble and malign the Mussulman authorities. In many cases such accusations proved utterly false, because the subaltern agent was in too great haste to earn his wages. It is no easy matter, indeed, to keep your hands clean when you have to do dirty work. The Russians themselves now admit the fact, and it does credit to their candour.

In the course of time, General Ignatieff had recourse to acts

of a still more serious nature, or at least they were generally attributed to his secret agency. During the years 1867 and 1868, the Russian embassy was formally suspected at Pera of having provoked the troubles of Bulgaria. The "*Courrier d'Orient*," a French organ, went so far as to make the accusation in the strongest colours, and, strange to say, no rejoinder was made to the indictment. Whether true or false, it served the purposes of the ambassador by showing that Russia was actively promoting the interests of the rajahs, and was constantly making tenders for their implicit confidence. However, that confidence was most difficult to obtain, the Orientals having a wonderful gift of discovering at first sight where lies true power. They still beheld French influence in the ascendant at Constantinople, and they naturally concluded that France was all-powerful throughout Europe. There was, doubtless, some amount of exaggeration in the idea, yet it subsisted nevertheless, and produced its usual effects. For instance, one of those results was that the Russian ambassador could not set up as supreme umpire in the Greco-Bulgarian difficulty, and of course we have no reason to complain of the fact. But, on the other hand, it was equally impossible for him to remain indifferent or neutral on such a vital question. *Nolens volens*, he was obliged to act in the matter; so, whatever might be its real embarrassment in the question, the court of St. Petersburg declared for the Bulgarians. Besides the pressure of public opinion at that period on Eastern affairs, another reason decided Russia to act as she did: in all this business she thought she had discovered the hand of Greece, and felt by no means disposed to give up the grudge she owed that power on the score of its former tendencies.

It was essential, however, for Russia not to show her displeasure in this respect. Indeed, the more she was desirous of making Greece atone for old delinquencies, the more it was deemed expedient to make a show of good-will towards her, and even to convince her of that good-will. So one of Ignatieff's very first steps was to restore amicable relations with the Fanariots and the Greek patriarch. The old custom of making the Russian representative the official protector of every charitable or public institution existing among the Greeks was consequently revived. Again, the youths belonging to good families were successively placed in the office at the ambassador's hotel, among the consulships and dragomans—a measure attaching them directly to the Russian interest.

We are told, however, by Ignatieff's own countrymen that these different measures would have failed in obliterating among the Greeks the remembrance of the opposition they had met

with on the banks of the Neva in regard to the religious question, had not an unforeseen event favoured the general's views. In the autumn of 1866 there broke out in Crete a formidable insurrection, provoked, so went reports, by 'Turkish maladministration.' There was no doubt truth in the fact; but, right or wrong, the European public persisted in seeing in the matter a certain dark and secret agency. However that may have been, the revolt was certainly a trump card in the hands of the ambassador and his agents, by giving them an opportunity of publicly lavishing their favours on the Greeks. Many of our readers may even now remember the toast drunk by the Emperor Alexander to the success of the insurgents, and the meetings held in their favour under the very eyes of the Court, together with the participation of the Imperial family. At the same time the Russian squadron cruised so constantly in the Greek waters that all these demonstrations looked very like a practical support of the insurrection, and, remarks a Russian writer, "every one was aware at St. Petersburg that we should have as readily consented to the annexation of Crete to the Greek kingdom as we should have steadfastly opposed its extension on the continent."

An attitude of this kind was certainly of high import, and threw great light on the line of conduct adopted by General Ignatieff. Moreover, according to his own language on that occasion, Russia considered Greek interests as her own; and, indeed, such seemed then to be the case, since her agent made them the corner-stone of his policy. With a boldness somewhat rare among diplomatists, he went so far as to establish a regular intercourse with secret societies and revolutionary agencies. This assertion we are obliged to believe, since his very countrymen proclaim it fearlessly. Every new connection he succeeded in making with the numerous committees then working at Athens or elsewhere to strengthen the insurrection, he called a decided success! This was fulfilling the Treaty of Paris with a vengeance.

Assuredly the Greek Government, usually well informed as to the real state of things, might entertain certain doubts as to the sincerity of such an adventurous policy; but on the mass of the people it produced an inevitable result, which was to incline them towards Russia by making them believe once more in her real active sympathy for the Christian populations of Turkey, and consider her as a powerful protectress. In a short time Ignatieff was the most popular man in the East.

In his own fatherland his popularity was of course quite as great. People became enamoured with that sort of blustering, swaggering activity displayed by the ambassador, and nobody

scrutinized too closely the means he employed to attain his object. And was not those means apparent to every eye? Had not the Bulgarians been won over by supporting their efforts to conquer their religious independence, and the Greeks by the open, unexpected sympathy they had found among the Russians in the Cretan affair? So everything went on smoothly. Perhaps, however, it is just possible that Prince Gortschakoff did not view with such delight a triumph more apparent than real; the more so, indeed, that every one now pointed to General Ignatieff as his future successor. But, whatever were his inward views, the chancellor was careful not to disclose them. After all, the ambassador's action and tone of conduct were not altogether fruitless; the Petersburg Cabinet might boast of having temporarily recovered the good-will of the Greeks, though they might not be a whit nearer their object. That object was the acquisition of Crete, and for that object they had for ten long years closely followed in the wake of Russia. Still their ambition was but an airy hope; still nobody could tell how it could be realized. And, whatever might be the interest taken in the Greek cause, it would have been downright folly to risk a European war for such a purpose. For a short time the Russian Government hoped to attain its goal through diplomatic negotiations, France and England inclining, in the early days of the insurrection, to advise at Constantinople the annexation of Crete to Greece. But this was merely a transient glimpse, like a falling star on the horizon, and the Western powers soon manifested a stern opposition to any such plan, as contributing to establish an untoward precedent. Thus was Russia at once reduced to utter impotence. Where was she to find any other mode of action? The policy of sympathy had now no object whatsoever, unless one felt disposed to sacrifice the present to hazy and distant plans—of itself an act of folly. Taking into consideration the character of the Greeks, most evidently their present friendship would have been transformed into feelings of implacable hatred, should Russia continue to entrap the nation into false hopes, thus at once annulling all the bright results of the foregoing campaign.

These grave considerations must needs have made a deep impression on the shrewd mind of Prince Gortschakoff, yet he revealed it not. This was at once following sound policy and showing generosity towards his rival, whose ardent character would have goaded him on to some new hazardous experiments. He was allowed, nevertheless, to lavish as before professions of sympathy on the Greeks, but not to engage his own government on the question itself. But was the

general sincere in his professions and promises? We may doubt it, when we are told by his very friends, that had he been at liberty to realize them, he would never have done it. The same friends assure us, that in his critical situation, Ignatieff reckoned upon his good luck, which in truth brought about a most astonishing and unexpected event. Here we are again reminded of the *Sonntags-kinder*.

It is evident that all these manoeuvres could not escape the eye of the Porte, for both Russians and Greeks acted in broad daylight, and even paraded about their mutual connection. So the grand-vizier, Ali Pasha, who estimated at their true value the general's professions and the obstinate persistence of Russia in favouring the Greeks, clung more steadfastly than ever to his system of discarding as long as possible any interference on the part of foreign powers in the Turkish affairs. He therefore confined himself for two years, during which the cabinet at Athens fomented with increasing boldness the Cretan insurrection, to opposing, first mild observations, then stronger remonstrances, without ever stepping beyond the respect due to a friendly government. As long as the latter did not feel sure of being thoroughly supported by Russia, it answered the above complaints with the usual flimsy excuses:—the Turkish government had been misinformed, and Greece maligned; or again, the Hellenic cabinet had been unable to resist the pressure of public opinion, but henceforward would assume a firmer and more resolute line of conduct. Yet scarcely had the Greeks begun to believe in the assurances of the ambassador, whom they so lately mistrusted, when they threw off the mask and abetted the insurrection almost as openly as if they had been at war with Turkey.

The reader may find some interest in this retrospective review of former occurrences, because they throw light on what is going on at present. Indeed the latter sounds like a rehearsal of an old drama, with one great difference, however—we mean the all-important changes which have come over Europe. In 1868 Turkey at last lost her patience, and sent an *ultimatum*, requiring an immediate renunciation of the *national policy*. This sudden incident caused universal amazement, for nobody dreamt that Turkey would show so much pluck. King George's cabinet, still relying upon Russian support, took no notice of the ultimatum. This was exactly what Ali Pasha expected, and he proceeded to back by force his demands. A respectable squadron soon made its appearance, whilst another ultimatum, couched in more threatening terms, reached the court of Athens; all Greeks were to be expelled from the Ottoman territory: every Greek

vessel was to be denied admittance in Turkish ports. This time matters looked serious in the eyes of the Hellenes, who, for the first time, thought of reviewing their national forces. To their great surprise, they discovered that, to meet the Turks' attack, they had but *one* man-of-war, to which might be added 4,000 or 5,000 of land troops badly drilled, badly armed, and badly commanded. The petty court of King George then offered a singular spectacle: they could no longer deny to themselves, that in the short space of thirty hours the Turks might flaunt their standard over the Acropolis, and that resistance was impossible. Doubtless, the descendants of Themistocles were not doomed to groan once more under Stamboul's yoke; but what was to become of so many fairy dreams, so long, so fondly caressed, all tending to an impending restoration of the Byzantine empire? In such a desperate crisis, it was time to put to the test Russia's sincerity; so both at Athens and Constantinople her representatives were literally besieged with urgent prayers and supplications. But in St. Petersburg itself the discomfiture was hardly less apparent. The most shrewd politicians cannot foresee all, though we are told, in this case, that some few wise heads foreboded such a *dénouement*. It now became incumbent on Russia to pay the Hellenes in better coin than empty promises. She was called upon to defend them seriously, energetically against their hereditary foe, or to lose the influence lately won by so many sturdy efforts. But then Europe was likewise attentive and threatening; how was it possible for Russia to follow up to the end her previous policy, and thus provoke a general war? She dared not do it, and this incident alone is sufficient to make us comprehend how widely different is the situation between 1877 and 1868. However painful it must have been to the feelings of Prince Gortschakoff, he ordered Ignatieff to encourage no longer the hopes of the Greeks, who had absolutely nothing to expect from St. Petersburg. This was a hard blow, but there was no demurring to the fact. The *chargé d'affaires* at Athens fulfilled the duty bluntly, drily; but Ignatieff—so say his compatriots—was far less explicit, as he could not take upon himself to destroy at one blow what he considered as the creation of his own hands. Perhaps we shall never know the real truth on this head; but most positively the general succeeded in making the Greeks believe that this sudden falling off of Russia was nothing but a feint, to gain time and prepare for action. A dangerous game, indeed, for it proved sufficient to awaken among the people a spirit of resistance, from which the upper classes kept aloof. Yet when we say the people,

we are wrong, for these warlike dispositions were confined to the newspapers and to the parliamentary opposition. Nay, this very ebullition soon exploded, and submission became unavoidable. The Western powers, on the other hand, advised the Porte to show itself conciliatory; but it remained firm in its resolutions, and the very same powers lauded its firmness. Decidedly the game was lost for the Greeks, the Russians, and last of all, for the poor Cretans.

When we read in Russian books, now in course of publication, the narrative of these incidents in which General Ignatieff played a prominent part, we are particularly struck with the feeling of bitter hatred—ay, *hatred* is the proper word—which the Muscovite bears to the Greek, whom he professes to defend. On every occasion he shows a steadfast conviction that the posterity of the old Athenians is a serious obstacle in the way of his own designs on European Turkey. The true grievance of the Russians against the Hellenes is simply the fact that the latter raise likewise a claim to the inheritance of the *sick man*—a claim which may perhaps one day be partially agreed to by Europe. That they will not remain satisfied with the barren spot of land where they have been quartered is an intolerable crime in the eyes of St. Petersburg.

But it is precisely the knowledge of these Russian plans which causes so much alarm among the other European powers, and ever and anon gives rise to so many political crises. If Russia would simply content herself with protecting her Christian brethren against the vexations of the Turkish administration, far from reproving such a policy, we should all extol this sort of new crusade. Unfortunately, the revelations, and still more the conduct of the Russians, do not allow us to form any favourable opinion as to their love of religious liberty; indeed, had we any doubt on this head, the persecution of Catholics in Poland is a sufficient proof of their intolerance.

At all events, the St. Petersburg cabinet found itself in a most false position at the period we are speaking of. The best proof of this may be discovered in a native writer, whose ardent patriotism is beyond dispute:—

The Greeks, he says, were outrageous at this want of good faith shown by the Russians in this deplorable affair of Crete. They had shamefully laid a snare for the Greeks in order to punish them for their conduct in the Crimean war. Such was the language they boldly held, and their irritation went beyond all limits. On the other hand, the Slavonians felt deeply grieved at the attitude of the Russians on this occasion. Doubtless, they

had not much sympathy for the Greeks, but their pride as a race was severely wounded. Whether the result arose from some unpardonable negligence, or from some deeply-laid plan, these allies of St. Petersburg were most painfully situated, and deemed it necessary—quite a new course for them—to be on their guard when they had to deal with Russia.

If we compare these impressions with those of Ignatieff himself as to the consequences of his programme, we are brought to the inevitable conclusion that all his fine diplomatic campaign had ended in a downright rout for his native country; and such was the real feeling entertained at St. Petersburg. Just as a year before, his Government had prematurely conferred many a mark of honour upon him in anticipation of his presumed success; so at present he was made wholly responsible for the defeat. In 1868 his recall from Constantinople was quite as much talked of as in 1865—people spoke of making him Chancellor of the Empire; but now, indeed, such a measure seemed unadvisable, since both at Athens and Constantinople the largest share of guilt was attributed to him in the whole affair. And yet, in this respect, the public expectations as to his recall fell to the ground. The general's aristocratic and democratic friends combined their influence to maintain him at his post, and they were successful. According to all human probability, he could henceforward render no service in that station, and yet his usual good fortune had in abeyance for him an outlet which his previous services did not seem to deserve.

Altogether, and in spite of all these complications, the political situation of the East was much about the same as in 1866. In Europe the position of Prussia had become more powerful, and though nobody could mistake the importance of the fact as regarded the balance of European states, no one, or almost no one, could then foresee the enormous development that state was hereafter destined to acquire. More particularly on the Bosphorus, the French hegemony, as it was called, still maintained its hold, and Turkish statesmen were convinced, as well as all other people, that in case of a struggle between the Tuileries and Berlin, Napoleon would make short work of it, and achieve for himself a splendid triumph. So spoke the men who were most jealous of French influence.

It is therefore an easy matter to apprehend the sudden revulsion consequent upon the defeats of 1870 and the appalling catastrophe of Sedan. "On the 1st of August France enjoyed unbounded influence in the eyes of the Eastern populations: four weeks after they considered her as fallen to the level of a third or fourth-rate power; and then the 4th of September Republic degraded her to the level of Holland or

Spain." So speaks a Russian writer. It would even appear that at Stamboul the supremacy of Napoleon's eagle was less regretted than formerly that of England. The reason assigned is somewhat singular :—"The English," continues our author, " whilst using their power, always behaved like gentlemen ; but the representatives of modern Bonapartism ever showed themselves *des parvenus*." We should scarcely refer to the judgment of a Turk, even brought up in England, on the point ; but in the present matter we strongly suspect that his preference for our countrymen had its origin in the generosity with which they lavished their guineas on Turkish mendicancy. Perhaps our bondholders would not exactly sing the same tune as the Russian essayist of the present day. The real state of the case is, we believe, that many Turks, as well as too many Christians, alas ! are ready worshippers of the rising sun. However, their joy at getting rid of the French yoke was not without alloy. Where could they look for a new protector ? For in the eyes of Ali Pasha and his school a protector was indispensable in the actual condition of the Ottoman empire. He found the selection a most arduous task. Prussia was too far off to succeed to the inheritance of the East, where she had, moreover, no immediate interest, no tradition of a protectorate in any form. As for returning to English ascendancy, the matter was completely out of the question ; since the days of Palmerston, our policy had so much lowered itself by a constant system of wavering and hesitation. To be sure, Austria's interests were to a certain degree much about the same as those of the Turkish empire ; but here again her internal difficulties prevented her from assuming a high stand at Constantinople and following the bent of her ambition. We may, in our turn, stop to inquire how far degenerate, both in a moral and material view, must have become a state ever standing in need of some interested protector. Is it really worth while to keep up a semblance of national independence ? Well, after all, and in spite of their natural repugnance, the Turks applied at last to Russia ! And yet Ali Pasha had the reputation of an able statesman ; he had still before his eyes the late conduct of Gortschakoff, and, above all, of Ignatieff, but in their hands he saw a vast accumulation of power, and decided in consequence. In the West no support of any kind showed itself in the distance ; he deemed it, therefore, preferable to secure even a small portion of the goodwill of his formidable neighbour than to see the latter lord it over him by sheer force. The actual events show us what was the real value of such a policy. We doubt very much that the French preponderance, could it have

been maintained, would have produced such deplorable effects.

The part of General Ignatieff's career which we are now about to describe is, according to our opinion, the most important and the most worthy of weighty consideration, for it is the starting point of an utter change in the attitude of the Russian Government. Henceforward Panslavism, as the prime mover of its conduct, takes the lead of the religious principle, which, though not utterly given up, merely makes its appearance in the background. The different facts lately arising out of this new system throw light on what is going on at present.

The first manifestations of the new dispositions of the Porte towards the Russian Cabinet took place on the occasion of the famous circular, by which the St. Petersburg Government, taking advantage of the French disasters, trod upon the obligations imposed by the Treaty of Paris concerning the neutrality of the Black Sea. Notwithstanding the gravity of this step, the Porte hastened to meet Gortschakoff on his own ground, whilst Prussia, gladly availed herself of such an opportunity to acquit the debt of gratitude she owed Russia for the Chancellor's secret connivance with her during the late war, whilst Austria and England were silently and helplessly breathing out their impotent anger, Ali Pasha considered the occasion as favourable to an understanding with the Muscovite court, which, in plain words, meant the total resurrection of Russian ascendancy.

Such an event was calculated, of course, to strike both Greeks and Slavonians with deep astonishment. It is natural that both races should measure the power of any government by its influence on the shores of the Bosphorus, and such is more particularly the case when that power is Russia. To see at the distance of one single year the Divan wheel round and throw itself into the arms of its great hereditary enemy was acknowledging one's own weakness to be incurable; it was likewise admitting that no other support was to be found elsewhere; that it was, in fine, downright impossible to organize any system of defence against that foe's plans. But in those plans were henceforward mixed up together both questions of nationality and religion. Between the two there was no rupture, no loophole; each was of vital importance for the Eastern populations, and each had very lately become the source of great humiliation for Russia. Once aware of this state of things, the indignation which had recently burnt so fiercely against General Ignatieff, suddenly cooled down. On the one hand, the Patriarch and his sectaries gave up their former reserve towards the Russian embassy, and even courted its

goodwill; on the other, the Bulgarians renewed their assurances of devotion to the great Northern empire. Such a sudden conversion produced what the French would call *un coup de théâtre*, since, without even moving a finger, General Ignatieff was put in possession of that mighty influence which he had uselessly endeavoured to secure before the catastrophe of 1870. "We may boldly affirm," writes one of his countrymen, "that never since the year 1853 had Russia been so truly powerful as in 1871."

But here arose a serious question which the Russian cabinet had to decide, and which was freely discussed among some of the best intellects of their country. Was General Ignatieff to be maintained in his post? At the very moment when it became urgent to profit as much as possible by the enormous advantages that so unexpectedly accrued to the Petersburg Government, was it either prudent or proper to continue, as a representative at Constantinople, a man who, a year before, had so nearly been recalled? Would it not be far preferable to give him as his successor a new man, unfettered by any precedent, by any untoward recollection, and thus enjoying, as it were, an utter freedom of movement and action. The question was well worth the most serious reflection; for, in fact, according to the assertions of his own compatriots, the general had incited, by his aggressive attitude, the most bitter feelings amongst the Greeks, in a most critical conjuncture; whilst, at the same time, his credit was at the lowest ebb among the diplomatic body. Now, consideration, dignity, credit are certainly attributes most essential to an ambassador representing a first-rate power; Ignatieff had earned at Constantinople the nickname of *Father of Lies*. So how would it be possible for him to invoke the sacred laws of public morality, without provoking a contemptuous sneer, even in a place where lying is considered as a mere trifle?

Such was the universal subject of conversation at St. Petersburg in 1871, and yet the Government decided on not recalling the general from his embassy. For this determination there were several reasons, some grounded on principle, others on expediency. We have already observed, that in Russian policy the question of races and nationality tends more and more to take the lead and precedence of religious matters. In this respect the Government is guided, not by any theoretical view, but simply by its own interest. For several years past Pan Slavism has been used as a sort of label, marking the gradual progress of an encroaching race, just the same as, for a long period of time, the protection of the Eastern Christians served as a cloak to cover other designs.

The Reform school, as it is often called, and which was ushered into the world shortly after the accession of Alexander II., is the sturdy exponent of the nationality theory, whilst the great mass of the people still entertain the dream that the Greek cross will reign supreme over the whole world. According to the latter, their beloved fatherland is still *Holy Russia*; the *primum mobile* of the former is the extension of Russian power and dominion. Consistently with these views they have never ceased to support their doctrines, either in their numerous publications, or in the saloons they frequent, or again, in the Government councils where they may have gained admittance. Generally imbued with German rationalism, in which they were steeped during their university years, these good people deem some sort of religion necessary for the nation at large, provided they can themselves use it as an *instrumentum regni* and live as unbelievers. Unbelief, or at least sneering scepticism, characterizes the moral condition of the upper classes. Many entertain a hazy view of a universal democracy looming in the future; though, in the mean time they lowly bend their heads before the Czar's will, being fully aware that whenever they should dare to dispute his authority, at one beck of his finger, they would every one of them be the victims of the popular fury. In the mean time the new sect is ever disposed to greet and support such men as practise national propagandism, without pretending to enforce it as a theory. Ignatieff is precisely a man of this kind, an upstart of yesterday, as they irreverently call him, but an upstart who has succeeded in securing to himself the yet all-powerful interest of the aristocracy. In the eyes of the above-mentioned literary and political school, he was the man, and consequently every wheel was set in motion to prevent his recall from Constantinople.

The result of their efforts is well known, and we merely state the fact. The Government went even so far as to reward the general for his recent success in the question of the Black Sea by a profusion of honorific distinctions. At first the decision of the Russian cabinet seemed justified; for Ali Pasha, the only man capable of coping with Ignatieff, died in 1871. The heavy burden of Turkish affairs had killed him. His successor was Mahmoud Pasha, a well-known tool of Russia, and yet the dying Ali had recommended him to the Sultan as the only statesman fit to replace him. We are told that the new Vizier's sole merit was servile devotion to the Russian interest, and, indeed, Mahmoud Pasha soon proved the truth of this assertion. In a short time there was not a single act of his administration wherein could not be traced the direct or

indirect influence of General Ignatieff. Assuredly, no one would be disposed to affirm that the incredible confusion into which unceasing changes among the public functionaries threw the Turkish administration at that period were promoted by the general or the result of his advice, but they most admirably served his secret purposes. And then came an alteration in the order of succession to the throne of Egypt—a most disastrous measure at a time when Turkey would have needed all her resources to oppose the rising flood of anarchy. Altogether, an utter submission to Russian counsels seems to have been the sole line of conduct distinguishing the new prime minister. The most apparent bond of this intimate connection between the two countries showed itself in religious matters. Until then the Porte had invariably sided with the Greek patriarch in his split with the Bulgarians; but henceforward she embraced Ignatieff's views, who more than ever defended the secession of that little nation. This was a total abandonment of the traditional policy upheld by the Turks, who now became the promoters of national independence in regard to religion. In reality, Russians and Mussulmans were thus flatly contradicting the hereditary principles of their respective countries; for, in no part of the world, perhaps, is religious despotism carried to such lengths as in the Czar's dominions. But consistency was quite out of the question here: the only object was to promote the interests of Pan-slavism and undermine the Turkish empire.

In consequence of this diplomatic achievement, Ignatieff once more became the lion of the day; yet, after all, there seems to be in his character a certain provoking haughtiness, which borders upon insolence, and in some respects recalls the ways and doings of the famous Prince Menschikoff. At last he so completely worried and tormented Mahmoud Pasha, that the unfortunate vizier took to his bed and died in his turn, thus making sure, at least, of escaping Russian obsessions in another world. On the other hand, the ambassador, through his arrogance, brought matters to such a crisis with the Greeks that he ended in exciting among them a bitter hatred against everything bearing the very name of Russian. At least such is the statement circulated and published by some of his own countrymen. Indeed, the general had been all along, it would appear, prosecuting his own personal interest: the *parvenu* had his eye constantly fixed on the press in his country, which he resolved at any cost to win and to rely upon for support. That press had become, in truth, a new power most important to secure. So the old political axiom of Russia, consisting in coming forth as the champion of all] r

was thrown overboard, and the general, as a bitter enemy of the Greeks, goaded on the Bulgarians to a final rupture. Does this assertion imply that he acted without the assent of his own government? Far from affirming anything of the kind, we are strongly inclined to believe that the Petersburg Cabinet fully entered into Ignatieff's plans, as an excellent means of bringing about the present course of events. Besides, wherefore should it have abstained from employing at one and the same time two useful tools such as *Nationalities* and *Religion*? Had it not to crush the upstart pretensions of the Lilliputian kingdom of Greece, bold enough to dream of an extension of territory, to be cut out of the Turkish territory? Consequently the Russian ambassador did not take one single step to prevent the Greek Ecumenical Council from hurling its anathema against the Bulgarians; and in order to exasperate the patriarch still further, he had recourse to the extraordinary measure of bribing the Patriarch of Jerusalem to enter against this measure a vain protest, which only contributed to add fuel to the fire by making conciliation impossible. But all these incidents brought forth in strong colours a most incontrovertible truth: the boasted unity of the Oriental Church was now shaken to pieces by the very hands of a Russian ambassador, and thus the Russian Church herself was indirectly levelled at by the anathema. Russia appeared before the eyes of the Orientals in a new light, totally opposed to more than a century's precedents. On this head, it is interesting to hear the opinion of a Russian, by no means a fanatical defender of his own persuasion:—

By this system of policy, Russia is exposed to a serious danger. By losing her character as an orthodox power among the orthodox Christians of the East, and that for the flimsy purpose of abetting the cause of the Eastern Slavonians. And then, as the Synod of St. Petersburg has declared for the Bulgarians, that of Constantinople can scarcely do otherwise than anathematize it in its turn as a promoter of heresy. This the Greeks may not dare to do; yet still such a position is in itself perilous. For, in fact, a most extraordinary occurrence has taken place: the Greeks now consider the Turks as their protectors against Russia. The Patriarch and the Embassy are at open war with each other, and the Athenian papers speak of Moscow with the most impassioned bitterness, whilst a recommendation of the Patriarch to the Russian Embassy, or *vice versa*, is the certain forerunner of unsuccess; and there is now a positive danger of rupture between Russia and the power which opened the door to Russian influence, which, for a whole century always had the best title to the consideration of our country,—I mean the Patriarch, as the true exponent and representative of the orthodox Church of the East.

These lines were written in 1874. They were then considered as a true statement of the case, and fully corroborated by the opinions of several other influential writers. The most faithful partisans of General Ignatieff openly declared in the "Moscow Gazette" that to sacrifice at random the old alliance founded upon a community of faith and of secular efforts, was purchasing at too high a price the devotion of Bulgarians, who will moreover always stand in need of Russian protection. Doubtless, since the above lines were penned, the embittered feelings of the Greeks may have been somewhat soothed under the pressure of actual events; but we are greatly mistaken if their real sentiment is not, as formerly, a strong mistrust of Russian promises. At any rate, the *National Diplomatist*, as he was called, does not appear to have obtained through his Bulgarian campaign all the advantages he hoped for; and the school to which he belongs had, in consequence, before the outbreak of the war, lost a part of its former prestige. Upon the whole, Prince Gortschakoff may have archly smiled at the small stock made out of the above attempt by the man who so recently was pointed to as his successor. The old Chancellor is still by the side of his master, who will not, according to appearances, part with him in the presence of this formidable conjuncture.

But it is by no means so evident as it seemed then that General Ignatieff has proved unsuccessful in his efforts. His mission was to take advantage of an unforeseen opportunity, in order to enfeeble the Ottoman empire; and in this he seems to have succeeded most admirably. He has introduced disorder into the administration; favoured in every direction the spirit of revolt; opened likewise in every direction facilities to the Russian agents to foment the insurrection of 1876; he has, moreover, prepared the way for the imperial armies, and at the time we are writing these lines their legions have penetrate into the very heart of Turkey. He has, besides, powerfully contributed to make the Cabinets of Europe, and especially those of Turkey and England, the tools of Russia. His task is now fulfilled. His government will henceforward complete his work, and that government appears disposed to follow up the inspirations of its own ambition. In the mean time Europe stands aghast, wavering, knowing but too well that every treaty that bound its States together has been torn to pieces, and that the cannon alone is the arbiter of nations.

ART. IV.—MR. FLORENCE MACCARTHY'S CALDERON.

Dramas of Calderon ; Tragic, Comic, and Legendary. Translated from the Spanish by DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY. London: Charles Dolman 1853.

Love the Greatest Enchantment. The Sorceries of Sin. The Devotion of the Cross. From the Spanish of Calderon. By DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY, M.R.I.A. London: Longmans. 1861.

Mysteries of Corpus Christi. From the Spanish. By DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY, M.R.I.A. Dublin: James Duffy. 1867.

The Two Lovers of Heaven, Chrysanthus and Daria. A Drama of Early Christian Rome. From the Spanish of Calderon. By DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY. Dublin: Fowler. London: Camden Hotten. 1870.

Calderon's Dramas: The Wonder-working Magician; Life is a Dream; The Purgatory of Saint Patrick. Translated from the Spanish in the metre of the original. By DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1873.

IN the translated works of a great foreign poet there may be three different sources of interest. The poetry may derive its value from its intrinsic excellence, like that unearthly masterpiece, the "Divina Commedia." It may be a representation of the national life and character of a people in another country, perhaps in another age; and here the drama takes the foremost place. Lastly, it may be a kind of admirable curiosity, full of strange images and thoughts: such are many Eastern poems. The value of the poetry is largely increased where two of these sources of interest are found together; but where we have the three, the translation becomes an acquisition to our language, and is henceforth an intellectual possession of great worth. Not that the work which has these three merits is necessarily better than that in which all our pleasure comes from one. Facts prove the contrary; for that quality of a poem which we call its intrinsic excellence may, and often does, place it immeasurably above others which possess interest of the other two kinds as well. But we may be certain that where the interest is derived from the three sources together, though the poetry may not at once attract popular attention, the translation is a gift to our language which sooner or later will be appreciated as something that was worth being given,

and that, once given, will not pass away. Now if we examine the works of the Spanish poet of the seventeenth century, Pedro Calderon de la Barca, we shall find in them every source of interest that may be possessed by the poetry or the drama of a foreign tongue. First, they possess intrinsic excellence, the impress of a poet's mind. Bouterwek tells us that the name of Calderon "deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity," while Augustus Schlegel calls him "a poet, if ever any man deserved that name." Secondly, in an eminent degree his works represent the life and character of a people. Calderon has been called the Shakspeare of Spain; but this is adulation, not criticism. There is, however, one way in which he may be classed with the king of dramatists: Shakspeare is the representative poet of England, and Calderon, though a far lesser light, is to as great a degree the representative poet of Spain. Again, if we would look for that least merit, the strangeness of thought and imagery, which makes a translated work like a rich exotic plant, we shall find it here. Those portions which critics call affected style and high-flown sentiment, we prefer to regard as a vision of another nation's mind, not perhaps of the ordinary intercourse of its people, but of its southern romantic feeling; and what may be stigmatized as errors of unnatural expression and wordy rhetoric, seen in this light are valuable as glimpses of what was desired for the Spanish stage, and what accorded with Spanish taste. In fact he gives us in the language of a poet dramas which are accurate representations, not so much of real life as of the mind of Spain in his day.

The day of Calderon was that of the decline of a great nation. His Spain was not the Spain of the American explorers and conquerors, not even the Spain of the Armada, for his life began with the first year of the seventeenth century, and the military glory of his country was then at an end. Spain was still a mighty power, but her territory far and near was being snatched from her hands; and what was left was not the fruits of to-day's labour, but the conquest of a yesterday that would never return. The sixteenth century had closed with the long misrule of Philip II.; another king of the same name held the reins of government for a few years, and then came Philip IV. He was a liberal patron of the arts and of literature, but he could have been anything rather than king of Spain; for the government of his wide dominions and the maintenance of his army were forgotten, while from the royal exchequer he poured out money with a lavish hand to keep up a perpetual round of court festivities, and to enrich the stage and secure for it the labours of genius. If at any time there

was a golden opportunity for a dramatist, it was in the reign of Philip IV., and fortunately it was then that the fame of Calderon was at its zenith. Never was literature so splendid in Spain as when the Spanish arms, that had been renowned over half the world, were being laid aside soon to fall to rust. But even the glorious age of letters did not long survive the decline of military power, and Calderon de la Barca came at its close, his name shining out like the magnificence of a sunset, all the brighter because it is fast followed by night.

We may divide the best days of the Spanish drama into three periods,—that of Cervantes, who was wounded at Lepanto, and who in his old age “laughed Spain out of her chivalry” with his sad burlesque; that of Lope de Vega, the most prolific of writers, who counted a piece for the stage a labour of twenty-four hours, and who wrote more than two thousand plays; that of Calderon, who to Lope’s genius and invention united a refinement and a poetic spirit which gave the last polish and lustre to the Spanish drama. Each of these periods overlapped the next. Cervantes saw the dramatist of the future in Lope de Vega, and acknowledged his greater fertility and power; in fact Lope was but fifteen years younger than Cervantes, though he lived much longer. Calderon rose to celebrity before the death of Lope de Vega in 1631. Yet each of these names marks a distinct phase of the Spanish stage; but when it passed from Calderon’s hands the old romantic national drama had reached its climax, and there not being another Calderon to uphold it at that level, it fell to decay when he was gone. Nor did it ever revive, for the French plays and the French tone of thought, imported afterwards, can in no sense be said to have been the drama of that nation. The whole class is as different from the work of the high-souled Calderon as a loiterer on the boulevards of the Paris of to-day is different from a grave and noble *hidalgo* of the olden time, whose hand lies on the sword at his side, almost panting to defend even with blood his religion, his country, or his honour. The Spanish drama died with Calderon, and as he was a Christian dramatist who represented the inner life of his nation and ennobled whatsoever he touched, it is well that we should become familiar with his name.

Pedro Calderon de la Barca, born in Madrid, on Jan. 17, 1600, came of a noble family, his father filling office in the state under Philip II. and Philip III., and his mother being of honourable descent from a family once powerful in the Low Countries. So early as his tenth year he was placed under the care of the Jesuits, and thus he swells the ranks of that countless number of men who have gone forth from their

hands by the most widely diverging paths to reach renown and to leave great names. At the very same time another Peter, Pierre Corneille, the father of French dramatic art, was studying at Rouen in the house of the same Society. Calderon on leaving the charge of the Jesuits, went, according to the custom of the day, to the university of Salamanca, and attained distinction in his studies of theology, philosophy, and civil and canon law. He had written his first drama while he was still a schoolboy; and before he left the university, that is before the age of nineteen, he was known as a writer for the theatre. It was probably this that brought him into favour with the nobles of Madrid, for on returning to the capital he was noticed by persons of influence at court, and for some time he remained attached to the household now of one, now of another man of rank. At twenty he entered into a public contest of verse in honour of San Isidro; and Lope de Vega, who presided, praised his efforts. Two years after his poetry won a prize at the canonization of the saint, and Lope spoke of him as "Don Pedro Calderon, who in his youth won the laurels which were wont to be given only to white hairs." He was in a few years regarded as one of the poets of Madrid, for he is classed with them in Lope's "Laurel of Apollo," published in 1630. Long before that year, however, he had left his birthplace to join the army. He served during the war in the Low Countries; thus turning from literature to arms, as Cervantes and Lope de Vega had done before him; for Cervantes saw Lepanto, and Lope was one of the soldiers of that Armada which Philip II. sent out to bear down on our own coasts. But Calderon won no distinction in his new career, and he returned to the old one, which was more consonant with his taste and spirit, and in which alone he was destined to shine. In 1632 (when he was thirty-two years old, for his age corresponds always to the years of the century) several plays of his had been acted and well received, and he had composed a great deal of lyrical poetry which won public prizes. His fame was thus increasing, and he was engaged upon a long poem on the Deluge, when in 1635 Lope de Vega died, and Calderon, by popular acclaim, stepped into the vacant place, being called to court next year by Philip IV. to be henceforth the composer of the pieces for the royal theatres.

Phillip IV. had come to the throne in 1621. He was a man who might have graced a lesser place, or might have ruled an Italian republic in its golden age, but could never be on the throne of Spain anything but a man out of

place, a living mistake, an incongruity. Stirling* reckons as the events of the forty-four years of his reign, "misrule at home, oppression, rapacity, and revolt in the foreign provinces, bloody and fruitless wars, declining commerce, defeat and disaster in all quarters of the globe, and at last an inglorious peace. While province after province raised the standard of rebellion, and his superb empire was crumbling to dust, the king of the Spains and of the Indies acted farces in his private theatre, lounged in the studios, sat in solemn state in his balcony at bull-fights or *autos de fé*." As far as personal culture goes, he was an accomplished man, by turns painter, sculptor, poet, and actor, and he was quick to recognize and liberal to reward men of genius amongst his subjects. He made Calderon a knight of the Order of Santiago, in consequence of which distinction he had to enter military service again at the time of the rebellion excited by the French in Catalonia. His sovereign wished to detain him from joining the army, but on his return signified his approval of his conduct by awarding him thirty gold crowns a month.

At the age of fifty-one Calderon entered a religious brotherhood, and soon after became a priest. From that time a new spirit gave life to his poetry. He ceased to be the dramatist of the theatre and of the worldly shows at court, and he became the poet of the *Autos Sacramentales*, or Sacramental plays or acts, spiritual dramas devoted to the glory of the Blessed Sacrament through the exposition of the truths of religion. He had written *autos* before, but now they made up almost exclusively his literary work, and so much did he despise the productions of his former years, that when the Duke of Veragua in a flattering letter asked him for a list of his works because the booksellers were selling the works of others under his name, he replied by furnishing a list of his *autos*, saying in effect that it mattered little what fate befell his other works. And whatever be its signification, his epitaph bore the words "Dying he deliberately despised those things which in life he had written with the greatest applause." So much for the occupation of his later years. In 1663 he entered the Congregation of S. Peter. The same year he was made chaplain of honour to the king. He died in 1681, on Whit Sunday, the 25th of May. Even during his last illness he was striving with failing strength to write one of his *autos* in honour of the Eucharist. "Our friend Don Pedro Calderon," wrote Solis in a letter at the time, "is just dead, and passed away as they say the swan dies, singing; for

* "Annals of Artists in Spain," chapter viii.

he did all he could even when he was in immediate danger to finish the second *auto* for Corpus Christi. But after all he went through only a little more than half of it, and it has been finished in some way or other by Don Melchior de Leon."

On the day after his death, the remains of Calderon were buried quietly, according to his will, in the church of San Salvador. But this would not content the people of Madrid, and they afterwards had a public demonstration in his honour, and a magnificent monument was erected over his resting-place, a portrait of the poet by Alfaro being placed above the tomb. But the breath of fame rises, dies, and rises again like the empty wind, and in the middle of the last century the monument was swept away, and the very spot where it had been was forgotten. It was not until 1840 that the tomb with Calderon's inscription was found, when an old cloister of San Salvador was being pulled down. The remains of the poet were removed with great pomp to the church of Our Lady of Atocha, the chief sanctuary of Madrid.

Though Calderon in his last years held his secular dramas in such light esteem, we prefer to join rather with the loud voice of applause that greeted them from the Spain of his days. His dramas have their faults. In some we see too much of the Castilian idea of honour, exaggerated and over-refined until it became almost repulsive. We see too much also of its baneful effects, and we cannot sympathize with such a creation as his story of the brigand chief, who for a mere outward devotion to the cross won heaven after a life of crime. But we must remember that the "Devotion of the Cross" (on account of which hostile and unreflecting critics have raised such an outcry against Calderon) was the work of his extreme youth, written when he was a university student under nineteen. As to the other faults to which we have alluded, we are glad to be able to find them; for when we see a portrait like the perfection of nature we suspect flattery, and when we see such a mass of dramatic literature as this, we know there must be speck and flaw, and we shall miss finding them only by deceiving ourselves or by looking with uncritical eyes. We must take into consideration the audience for which Calderon wrote; how they were a despotic crowd of Castilian grandees, who would have plays according to their own heart and no other. We must think how the Spanish drama was in existence even before Lope's time; how Lope de Vega's two thousand efforts were not innovations, and how the spectators would have now as then their own drama; and for their own drama the king paid Calderon. We

must throw ourselves somehow into Spanish feeling, and try to realize the atmosphere of adventure, quarrels of honour, intrigue, that surrounded the lives of these men; and then we may turn to the dramas of Calderon and praise him that his faults are specks, not blemishes; that during so many years, flattered by court favour and ruled by the arbitrary tastes of the people, he took possession of the stage and did nothing but ennoble it. Like the high-souled poet that he was, he soared above all that was base, dwelling in a region higher than any one that had gone before him, and farther removed from all taint of evil. Neither the allurements of applause nor the examples of his predecessors tempted him to descend. And having captivated the people by awakening interest in every way, by brilliant spectacle, glowing verse, mystery, and exciting incidents, he raised the popular mind to still higher things, to such solemn dramas as "Life is a Dream," or the touching story of "The Two Lovers of Heaven." Calderon's dramas, counted without the *autos*, far exceed a hundred, and of the *autos* there are more than seventy. The German critic Schack divides his works into seven classes:—religious dramas; historical; mythological; romantic, derived often from tales popular at the time; comedies of intrigue, usually called *comédias de capa y espada*, "comedies of the cloak and sword," from the costume of the characters; *Autos Sacramentales*; and lastly he classes together a number of minor pieces, farces, and interludes, most of which are lost. It is clear that it would be the work of a lifetime to translate such a mass of Spanish plays, nor would the fruits of rendering the whole into English be equal to the labour, even if that could possibly be given; but we should be glad to see a great number of the *Autos Sacramentales* translated. What we want is a true idea of Calderon, and a sufficient number of his dramas to enable us to be thoroughly acquainted with his spirit and with the general character of his works and of his genius. This we already have, thanks to the labours of one translator, who has brought to his task the mind of a poet and the painstaking undaunted perseverance of a man who loved his work and knew that it would win in the end. We have now in our own tongue fourteen complete dramas of Calderon, so well chosen that not only do they include the most famous, but they represent every class of his works,—except, of course, that seventh class of minor pieces, which at their best were but trifles to the author's own mind. Mr. Denis Florence MacCarthy has given us of the first class,—the religious drama—six, "Life is a Dream," "The Wonder-working Magician," "The Purgatory of Saint Patrick," "The Two Lovers of Heaven," "The

Constant Prince," and "The Devotion of the Cross"; of the second class,—the historical drama—"Love after Death," perhaps the most famous of its kind; of the third,—mythological pieces—"Love the Greatest Enchantment," an elaboration of the story of Ulysses and Circe; of the fourth, "The Secret in Words" and "The Physician of his own Honour," the two most celebrated of their own class; of the fifth, the tangled intrigue of "The Scarf and the Flower"; of the sixth, "Belshazzar's Feast" and "The Divine Philothea," the first and last of his *autos*. With the exception of the *autos*, of which we cannot but desire to receive many more, Mr. MacCarthy has completely given us Calderon, by choosing with admirable judgment the best-known and most characteristic dramas for translation, and then by changing them faithfully into the English of a poet.

We shall speak afterwards of the *Autos Sacramentales* as being of all the works of Calderon the most deeply interesting as well as the most wonderful and valuable; but let us first give some idea of the best of the dramas: "Life is a Dream," "The Wonder-working Magician," and "The Two Lovers of Heaven." The keynote of the first is an idea as strange and terrible as it is sublime. A king of Poland sends his son away from all civilized life and intercourse, because at his birth it was foretold that he would bring misery upon the kingdom if ever he should rule it. The prince, Sigismund, grows up to manhood imprisoned in a tower among the mountains, dressed in the skins of beasts, and knowing nothing of his parentage, yet haunted by a vague sense of his own power of ruling and of being something great. At last in his sleep he is conveyed to his father's palace. There he awakes in a magnificent chamber, and servants wait upon him bringing rich apparel. The king, urged by his natural affection is testing this son of his, the man of the wilderness; but the violence of Sigismund shows him that he could not bring him to his birthright, and, again drugged into a profound sleep, he is borne back again to the solitudes of the mountains. There, when his senses return, he remembers the splendour of his life yesterday and mourns that it was but a dream. All the portions relating to Sigismund, his imprisonment, his wild state, and his aspirations, are full of passages of great power and pathos. At length he resolves to restrain himself, to be calm and not break the spell if he should dream again. When the people come to proclaim him king, he believes he is once more dreaming a glorious dream, only to suffer the pangs of awaking.

But Heavens ! 'tis fitter
 I restrain myself, not knowing
 But all this may be a vision. . . .
 * * * *

Fortune, we go forth to reign ;
 Wake me not if this is vision,
 Let me sleep not if 'tis true.
 But whichever of them is it,
 To act right is what imports me ;
 If 'tis true, because it is so ;
 If 'tis not, that when I waken
 Friends may welcome and forgive me.

Thus he that was "a wild beast bred," rules with wisdom and moderation, curbing his voilent nature lest its outbreak might wake him from this second dream. The passage which bears out the title, we shall afterwards quote as an example both of the beauties of the poet and the fidelity of the translator. The chief idea of this drama, which, after all, strongly resembles the opening of the "Taming of the Shrew," shows us by the contrast how Calderon with far less power raised the incident to the level of the sublime, thus indicating the bent of his mind and of his works, the leading characteristics of which are sublimity and refinement.

In "The Wonder-working Magician" the dramatist managed to entangle a saint's life with a story of intrigue calculated to win the attention of his audience. The saint is Cyprian, and the story of his compact with the demon is powerfully told ; but while we read it we must forget "Faust," or the depth and subtle thought of the German mind makes all on the Spanish stage fade before it. The poetical merits of this drama attracted the attention of Shelley. Some of its most striking scenes, including the strong and beautiful story of Justina tempted and victorious, were translated by him into exquisitely polished but very free verse ; for Shelley was an enthusiastic admirer of Calderon and the first that made his name known in England.

Equal in the charm of its poetry, but immeasurably beyond it in unity and felicity of treatment, is the tale of the conversion and martyrdom of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria, told under the title of "The Two Lovers of Heaven." It would be difficult to exaggerate the beauty of this creation of the poet. It possesses a sort of classical elegance because of its simplicity of design and its rapid fateful progress. It breathes of human tenderness raised above and separated from the animal passions of the heathen ; and the life of the whole is faith, the love

of the Crucified, constancy, martyrdom, all blending like a halo round the tale of suffering and of glory.

"The Constant Prince" has often been considered in aim and sentiment the grandest of Calderon's dramas. It recounts the capture of Fernando, Prince of Portugal, by the Moors. He is offered his freedom if he will give in exchange the city of Ceuta, but Fernando rather than surrender the Christian city into the hands of those who would rob it of its faith, suffers imprisonment, slavery, and every kind of hardship and privation. The Portuguese army that is to rescue him arrives too late. He has completed his sacrifice by death; but he appears torch in hand in the night to lead them to victory against the Moors. It is worthy of note that even Sismondi, who was one of the harshest and most unappreciative critics of Calderon, was moved by the pathos of this picture of constancy and fearless sacrifice. But as represented in the present translations, we prefer the dramas before enumerated. In poetry they excel "The Constant Prince"; while the story of the two martyrs ranks before it in beauty of sentiment, and "Life in a Dream" surpasses it in dramatic effect.

We shall not dwell upon the "comedies of the cloak and sword" and the numerous other secular dramas. It will be sufficient to make a few remarks concerning them. The characters of many of them are much alike, representing classes rather than individuals. There are the dukes and court gallants, the veiled ladies and serving-women, all coming again and again, but under such different circumstances and with plots so dexterously woven, that interest is always excited and kept up to the last scene. In each appears the *gracioso*, an indispensable character in a Spanish play. He is half a buffoon, half a witty jester, telling stories and making sharp sallies even in the tragedies or the solemn dramas. He insists on telling a story at the most inappropriate time, and he goes on unabashed if his jests meet with no welcome. Sometimes the humour is furnished by his aping the high-flown sentiments of his master, or by speaking an incongruous word, as in the "Two Lovers of Heaven," where Escarpin in the early Christian era begins his anecdote

A friar once
Stay, though, I have quite forgotten
There are no friars yet in Rome :
Well, once more ; a fool, &c.

Again we would note that in all the secular dramas, though we do not hold the long speeches to be natural, and though the plots may at times appear too studied for reality, much of

the action and intrigue is true to life. One has only to look over such letters as those of the Countess D'Aulnoy, written in the time of the Spanish Charles II., that is, the period immediately after Calderon, to see that his adventures and romantic stories are not much overdrawn.* As a last word, we may note the love of the Spaniard for spectacular display and for the theatre, and the extraordinary aptitude of the people for following the most entangled plot of a drama. A Spaniard could at once connect the scenes in his mind, see the reason for everything, understand how the whole turned upon countless punctilios of honour ; and the very same play might require to be read slowly more than once by an intelligent translator, before all the motives and intricate cross-currents of incident would become clear to the mind. It may be an indication of the quickness of perception required of the audience, that in a comedy by Tirso de Molina, an earlier dramatist, one character personates three different people by means of disguises, each of the three impersonations creating new features in the one main intrigue, and entering into separate relations with the other characters.

We now come to the *autos*, which have proved for German critics like Schlegel, Schack, and Lorinser, a very paradise of dramatic conception and exalted thought: the *autos* which to less profound thinkers have proved either ridiculous or incomprehensible, and which at home are still for most of us a *terra incognita* in literature. First a few words as to what an *auto* was.

The *Autos Sacramentales* were acts resembling in many points the old mystery plays, but performed at the time of the feast of Corpus Christi, and having reference direct or indirect to the worship of the Holy Eucharist, to the doctrines referring to it, to its types and figures, or to its hidden work in the soul.

As Franz Lorinser says, "the hymn of S. Thomas,

Quantum potes, tantum aude :
Quia major omni laude,
Nec laudare sufficis,

"gives the real key to the understanding of the *Autos Sacramentales*, and was perhaps itself what led externally to the production of this particular kind of Corpus Christi festivities."

* Of course every one who has seen her letters will understand that we do not take every part of them as authoritative ; but her numerous romantic stories must have had a strong foundation in reality. In accounts of festivities, manners, and customs, other travellers prove her to be a faithful witness.

The *autos* were acted in many of the villages and towns of Spain, but it was in Madrid that they were held with the greatest pomp, so that the citizens took pride in the splendour and joy with which the feast was kept in the capital. Joy was indeed the beginning and end of it all. They were celebrating the triumph of faith and love; and when mass and procession through the flower-strewn streets were over, they must needs rejoice in their own way; but they would not rejoice forgetting God; the Eucharist was still the centre of their hearts and minds. Their national instinct prompted them to make use of the drama and of brilliant shows, but this time the theatre was the open street, where a stage was erected, that all might see. And if the universal pleasure and gladness ran down at times into mirth and laughter when the farce or *entremés* was played, preceding the *auto*, what reason is there to charge the holiday-making crowd with irreverence, or to say that they were wrong in having their mirth excited before, laying it aside, they approached with awe-hushed hearts to witness this shadow of the great Mystery of the day? Those that have written harshly of the "irreverence" of the *autos*, and taken scandal at the holiday-making of the seventeenth century crowd gathered on the gay balconies and in the summer streets about their Corpus Christi drama,—those that have talked of their previous sallies of mirth as "repulsive," and of the whole custom as "irreligious," have thereby proved their ignorance of that nation's character, so strongly grounded in faith, so deeply imbued with worship, that they could afford to laugh and afterwards to pray. They have forgotten too the gladness of the praise of God for which the closing psalms cry out with reiterated desires. Nor do they know the light-hearted cheerfulness which distinguishes sanctity, which springs from a realization of our happiness, and with which our lives would abound and flow over if we could but remember that every day may be to us a feast of Corpus Christi, and that He that is the fulness of peace and joy is with us "even to the consummation of the world." We do not say that the rejoicing of the Spanish crowd never degenerated into levity, or that in the periods preceding and following Calderon, the farces were always the fittest for the drama that succeeded them: what we do affirm is that, taking into account the national character and all the circumstances of the time, the custom of holding *Autos Sacramentales* in the streets on the feast of Corpus Christi and the succeeding days was an evidence of strong religious feeling; and, directed by such a dramatist as Calderon, it was at once edifying and instructive to the people.

Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament was at all seasons characteristic of the nation. We may trace it in an old custom which prevailed in that very century in the houses of the nobility. At night, when the lights were brought, the steward of the household, falling on his knees, exclaimed aloud, "Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament." And the servants setting down the lamps, answered "For ever!" The custom was carried to the new world that had been found by Spain beyond the ocean. There it still survives, and travellers have witnessed it in the old families of South America. Therefore was the feast of the Blessed Sacrament kept by the Spaniards at home as the great festival of the year. Throughout the country the theatres were closed for a month, that no mere worldly show might interrupt the religious spectacles, and that the best actors might serve in them. But the *autos* were not the beginning of the rejoicings of *Corpus Christi*, nor even its greatest feature. First came the ceremonies of the Church, and worship filled the morning; only the later hours being given to pleasure sanctified by religion.

It may not be out of place here to give the account of a Spanish *Corpus Christi* as we find it described by the Countess D'Aulnoy, who, travelling in Spain towards the close of the seventeenth century, wrote her famous "Letters to a Friend in Paris":—

"I should now tell you," she wrote, "that I have seen the ceremony on *Corpus Christi* day, which is very solemnly kept here. There is a general procession of all the parishes and monasteries, which are very numerous; the streets through which the Holy Sacrament is to pass are hung with the richest tapestry in the world. . . . All the balconies are then without their lattices, adorned with carpets, rich cushions, and canopies; they hang ticking across the streets to hinder the sun from being troublesome, and they throw water upon the screens to make the air cooler. All the streets are spread with sand, well watered, and filled with so great a quantity of flowers, that you can hardly tread upon anything else. The altars of repose are extraordinarily large, and adorned with the greatest splendour.

"No women walked in the procession. The King was there." Here she describes minutely the court dress and jewels of Charles and of the courtiers who, carrying wax candles, walked near the Host. The ladies in the balconies "have either several baskets of flowers or bottles filled with sweet water, which they throw down whilst the procession passes by. As soon as the Holy Sacrament is gone back to the church, everybody goes home to eat, that they may be at the *autos*, which are certain kinds of dramas upon religious subjects, and are oddly enough contrived and managed. They are acted either in the court or street of each president of a council to whom it is due. The King goes there, and all the persons of quality receive tickets over night to go there; so that we were invited, and I was amazed to see

them light up abundance of flambeaux, whilst the sun beat full upon the comedians' heads, and melted the wax like butter."

This description bears the impress of truth and of accurate observation. Madame D'Aulnoy did not approve of the *auto* of the Knights of S. James, which followed. It requires something more than a lively and observant spirit to comprehend these spiritual dramas; but her aversion to them only marks as unquestionably true her record of their effect on the spectators. She tells us that in a small town of Spain when she was witnessing an *auto* of the Life of S. Anthony, at the moment that the saint recited the Confiteor, the whole crowd with one movement fell upon their knees, with, as she says, such harsh *mea culpas* that it seemed as if they would beat in their breasts.

Neither of the *autos* she mentions belongs to Calderon. His were of a higher and still more moving type, being entirely composed of spiritual characters, ideas, and action. It is hard to conceive a more motley crowd than the characters of these plays appear to be when merely their names are enumerated; such as the Touch, the Taste, the Hearing, the Sight, the Smell, Adam and Eve, the Man, the Thought, Sin, Vanity, Paganism, the Demon, Death, Human Nature, Innocence, the Prince of Light, the Four Seasons. But the characters of each *auto* are so skilfully managed that a congruous whole is formed, a spiritual and entirely unearthly story being told, with dramatic situations to keep alive the interest, and expositions of doctrine worked not so much into the dialogue as into the very action of the piece. It is well for us in studying them to bear in mind with what grand stage effect they were produced, since not only was weariness precluded from the longer scenes, but the power of the whole allegory was greatly enhanced by the magnificent manner in which they were presented to the audience. The scenery and the elaborate machinery employed in them only grew up gradually. At first the *autos* consisted of the simplest show and dialogue, like our oldest mystery plays, and in this state they may be traced back to a very early period in the history of the country. In their old rude simplicity they were revived year by year not only in the towns, but even in many of the villages; and but little advance was made until the time of Lope de Vega. It was he that first gave them splendour, and to his period they also owed the fixture almost by rule of their afterwards popular form: first, an introduction or *loa*; next, a short piece enlivened by humour; then the drama itself. His pen, swift and ready as the tongue of an improvisatore, produced four hundred *autos*, but they are not to be compared

with those of Calderon. In the time of the latter poet they became more popular than ever, and scenic effect reached its highest, keeping pace with the enthusiasm of the people and the liberality of the king. They were now produced not only in the streets and at the time of Corpus Christi, but at other seasons, in the houses of noble families, and in the royal palaces, and they were represented with a magnificence which it is hard for us to conceive. We have no detailed description of the whole arrangement of any one of them, but it was not inferior to that of the secular dramas. There are still in existence the directions for the production of one of Calderon's dramas at the palace of Buen Retiro, a royal residence situated near one of the gates of Madrid, and celebrated for the richness of its interior and the beauty of its gardens. An Italian artist managed the stage machinery, working, however, for the most part, in harmony with the preconceived designs of the poet. The drama was "Love, the Greatest Enchantment," a fanciful expansion of the story of Ulysses and Circe. In one feature it partook of the character of an *auto*, a personification of Virtue being introduced, and finally giving Ulysses victory over all the power of the enchantress.

The drama was acted on a floating stage. An island was formed in the centre of the lake of the palace, and in the midst of the island was a lofty and rugged mountain with precipices and caverns, and at its base a dark wood, some of the trees having the appearance of the human form covered with rough bark. The theatre at first was dark, the lights being subdued and concealed. Then was heard the murmuring and rippling of water, and there appeared on the lake a floating chariot, beautiful in form and covered with silver. It was drawn by two "monstrous fishes, throwing fountains of water from their mouths," and, as it came nearer, the lights slowly brightened, disclosing the whole scene, and the goddess Aqua, seated high on the car "in great pomp and majesty." From her head and from her "curious vesture," trickled little streams, and she held a vase reversed, pouring out a torrent of water filled with darting and playing fishes, which, as it flowed all over the car, glided down and fell into the lake. In the lake itself a choir of fountain nymphs floated round the throned figure, singing and playing on various musical instruments. When the *loa* had been represented and the whole pageant retired, the drama itself began with the landing of Ulysses and his followers on the island. Next came a thunderstorm. Lightning struck the mountain summit, and it fell shattered, disclosing in its stead the palace of Circe, radiant

with precious stones, and supported on columns of agate and crystal. At the close of the drama, through power given to Ulysses by Virtue, the trees of the wood were burst asunder, liberating many former victims of the enchantress, who had lost their liberty, and had given to the trunks and boughs their grotesque, half-human shape. From all this we may form some idea of theatrical resources in the seventeenth century. We shall now proceed to see what was the scope and character of those *autos*, the effect of which was so much enhanced by gorgeous scenery and most elaborate mechanism.

First, let it be remembered that the *autos* of Calderon were written without any thought of their surviving the day of representation; yet they take rank among the grandest and most subtle dramatic pieces Spain ever saw. To those who can rise into their high spiritual region, sympathize with their feeling, and fully understand them, they are unquestionably the greatest work of this great mind, and his best title to fame. They derive an additional interest from being the fruits of the last years of his life, his labour of love, his swansong which he sang till death, and, dying, left unfinished. They differ essentially from the mystery plays, in which generally a portion of the Scriptures was acted, or at least, something with human beings for characters. On the contrary, the characters in the *autos* were almost always personifications of abstract ideas. Thus, in their very conception, they were higher than the mystery plays; and the composition of these spiritual dramas and sublime allegories was not only a noble work, but a most difficult one. They required a theologian to give them their most valuable element, a poet to cast them into so admirable a form, a dramatic writer of no ordinary power to impart to them the striking situations and the interest of the drama.

They may be broadly divided into two classes—those relating directly, and those relating indirectly to the Blessed Sacrament. Of the first division “The Divine Philothea” is a good example. It was the last *auto* written by Calderon, and he himself gave directions for its scenery. The cars mentioned were drawn forward through the street, bringing with them the actors and the scene. The first car was to contain a fortified castle; the second, a ship, with a great chalice at the masthead, and on all her flags pictures of the chalice and host; the third car, “a globe of clouds, stars, and seraphim,” which was to open at the proper time, and to reveal within it a person seated upon a celestial throne, the interior painting to represent the glory, as it were, of heaven, “with its splendours,

seraphim, and stars." The fourth car was to contain a wood and a garden with a fountain, also a scene in which a representation of the chalice and host was to be shown to the people, as was usual at the close of the *autos*; and at the end a child with the instruments of the Passion. In "The Divine Philothea" the Soul, the Spouse of Christ, waits for his coming in the castle of the body, having with her the five senses and the virtues. The stronghold is assailed by the army of the demon, but the Prince of Light comes in the ship of the pageant, bringing a heavenly food that will give strength and victory to his spouse. An immense amount of doctrine is involved in all the speeches and action of this allegory, and in the present edition Mr. MacCarthy's critical notes form a valuable supplement to the text, elucidating at once its doctrinal allusions, its quaint points, and its beauties.

Somewhat similar to this in its direct reference to the Eucharist, and the Soul as the spouse of Christ, is the *auto* founded on the beautiful myth of Cupid and Psyche. It has not been translated, and is only known in England through Southey's flippant description in the "Omniana." But we can easily imagine how beautiful the allegory became in Calderon's hands when it had for its keynote the Divine Lover of souls, mysteriously hiding Himself, not in darkness, but behind the white veil of the Eucharist, and thus drawing to Him Faith, who worships but may not see Him.

"The Sorceries of Sin," a wonderful religious adaptation of the story of Ulysses and Circe, is a good example of the second class of *autos*, which only indirectly refer to the great mystery of Corpus Christi. Another is "Belshazzar's Feast," which was the first *auto* written by Calderon. The soliloquy of Death is especially beautiful, and the whole action of those scenes in which Death would strike the impious king, but the prophet of God holds back his arm, for it is not yet the time. Daniel from the beginning has some mysterious knowledge of the hand that is to write the last sentence on the wall. Hence his deep meaning, when he threatens Belshazzar with the hand of God. The king makes answer:—

And can it be,
That you thus so bold have grown,
In Jerusalem the holy
Late a captive, now a lowly
Dweller here in Babylon?
Exiled from that native sod,
Which a home, a shelter gave you;
Poor and wretched, what can save you
From my power?

Daniel.

The hand of God!

A presentiment of his end conveyed to him by the word for a moment overcomes the arrogance of the king. He speaks :—

Oh ! this potent voice that dares me—
Strong to stop the heart's pulsations—
Makes me wonder at my patience,
From my very anger scares me ;
Something strange, mysterious, odd
Marks us two.

Then vanquishing the momentary thrill of fear, he cries aloud :—

Since I intend thee
Here to die, can aught defend thee ?
Speak ! say what ?

Daniel.

The hand of God !

One *auto* of Calderon gives us no idea of the end he had in view. We must at least have some acquaintance with the scope of the others. Through the Old Law and the types and figures, through the fantastic shadows of heathen mythology, through all human life with the soul's perils and its victories, his fancy wandered, drawing from each record of the past, and each phase of life, a new idea to be elaborated in an *auto* ; and thus the whole number unite in one great hymn of praise, each part of which may be admirable in itself, but, taken as a portion of a magnificent whole, is a thousand times more admirable ; even as we can listen to a snatch of sweet melody and enjoy it, but it becomes something immeasurably better and higher when we know that it is only one thought of a master mind taken out from the midst of a long marvel of harmony.

It is for this reason that we desire to see more of the *autos* of Calderon translated, or at least, their best parts given to us literally, and the rest in abstract. The present translator has furnished excellent versions of the few we have before us. His work is as remarkable for its fidelity to the original as for its spirit and poetical beauty. We may say at once that Mr. MacCarthy, as a translator from the Spanish, has left all competitors far behind. Shelley translated portions, the periodicals at one time gave numerous glimpses of Calderon, Archbishop Trench attempted the Spanish unrhymed metre ; but the present translator, and he alone, truly represents to us the great dramatist of Spain. His progress is immense between the first volumes published, which did not attempt the Spanish metre, and the later ones, in which, while a comparison with the original shows us thought for thought

and generally line for line, we have also the very versification of Calderon and his whole atmosphere and spirit. It was a bold effort to present to the English-reading public such a verse as the assonante, where we have no rhymes of combined vowels and consonants, but short trochaic lines with a rhyme formed of similar vowel-sounds; and the same vowel-sounds having to recur again and again through a whole scene. Thus, in the following passage from the beginning of "The Two Lovers of Heaven," the vowel-sounds are *i* and *e*, and every second line through the whole scene ends with these sounds:—

"In the beginning was the word."
If in language plain and *simple*
Word means speech, how then was it
In the beginning? Since a *whisper*
Presupposes power to breathe it,
Proves an earlier *existence*,
And to that anterior Power
Here the book doth not bear *witness*.

The full flowing sound of the musical Spanish tongue made the melody of vowels noticeable and pleasing to the ear. But in our harsher northern language the assonance is at first not remarked without special attention; but when one has become accustomed to reading it, the peculiarity of the verse strikes the ear, not as in our rhyme with distinguishable melody, but as being made complete, which without the assonance it would not be. On account of the difficulty of perceiving it, translators, with scarcely an exception, did not attempt this verse before; and hence their versions failed to have the true Spanish character.

As to translations, two ideas are popular. One is that a translation should be so English that in reading it we should never perceive that its subject was not originally written in our own language. The other view, which men of culture and taste more readily adopt, is that in a translation we should be left the whole spirit, so to say, the atmosphere of the original, and the only thing changed should be that medium of words which enables us to comprehend it. We prefer the second opinion; and hence what is desirable in a poetical translation is, first, the entire meaning most accurately given, not in all cases the literal translation of words, but rather the literal translation of ideas; second, the same metre as that chosen by the poet, so that we are presented with his own versification, which is eminently characteristic of his own feelings, and of the subject, especially in the case of the

Spanish drama, where the verse continually changes ; lastly, poetry. It is an arrogant assumption for any one who is not by nature a poet to translate poetry, and the task is all the more difficult because we require accurate translation. On all these points Mr. D. F. MacCarthy is an example to translators. As to the first, fidelity, we have already remarked that his dramas may generally be compared with the original line by line. As to the second, his courage and perseverance in giving the assonante metre, has secured for us the only perfect versions of the poet in our language. As to the last, it may be said that no translation of Calderon can approach the poetry of Shelley. We do not entirely cede the point ; but the portions alluded to are not Calderon pure and simple, they are Calderon and Shelley ; and however attractive the result produced, it cannot be called strict translation. We prefer to compare Mr. D. F. MacCarthy's work with that of an accurate translator, Archbishop Trench ; and where both are brilliant and unfailingly close, we shall be able to trace the excellence of the one even above the excellence of the other. We have before alluded to the passage we select. In "Life is a Dream," Sigismund wakes in his former wretchedness after his supposed vision of the glories of the palace, and resolving to restrain his fierce nature if he should ever dream again, he muses that life is but a dream.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH'S VERSION.

And the rich man dreams no less
'Mid his wealth, which brings more cares,
And the poor man dreams he bears
All his want and wretchedness ;
Dreams whom anxious thoughts oppress,
Dreams who for high place contends,
Dreams who injures and offends ;
And though none are rightly ware,
All are dreaming that they are
In this life, until death ends.
I am dreaming I lie here,
Laden with this fetter's weight,
And I dreamed that I of late
Did in fairer sort appear.
What is life ? a frenzy mere ;
What is life ? e'en that we deem ;
A conceit, a shadow all,
And the greatest good is small ;
Nothing is, but all doth seem,
Dreams within dreams, still we dream.

MR. D. F. MACCARTHY'S VERSION.

And the rich man dreams of gold,
 Gilding cares it scarce conceals,
 And the poor man dreams he feels
 Want and misery and cold.
 Dreams he too who rank would hold,
 Dreams who bears toils rough-ribbed hands,
 Dreams who wrong for wrong demands,
 And in fine throughout the earth
 All men dream, whate'er their birth,
 And yet no one understands.
 'Tis a dream that I in sadness
 Here am bound, the scorn of fate ;
 'Twas a dream that once a state
 I enjoyed of light and gladness.
 What is life ? 'Tis but a madness.
 What is life ? A thing that seems,
 A mirage that falsely gleams,
 Phantom joy, delusive rest,
 Since is life a dream at best,
 And even dreams themselves are dreams.

These few verses are sufficient to show how the spirit of the poet shines out through the second version, and through all those of the same translator.

Without doubt translations of Calderon would be attended with far greater success, and more widely called for, if the poet was better understood. The fault is not in the literature itself, but in the unappreciative minds of those to whom it is offered ; and in many cases the want of appreciative power is their misfortune rather than their fault. For no one can understand Calderon to the full unless he have Calderon's faith. This accounts for the extraordinary verdict given by some otherwise competent critics, that he is not a philosophical poet, not even a great poet or a profound thinker.* Certainly the last assertion would fall to the ground if the critic who made the charge possessed the one key to the thoughts of the poet. Yet the German Protestant, Herr von Schack saw farther, catching with an impartial mind the spirit of the *autos*. We cannot refrain from adding a few of his words, as expressing the very opposite view to that in which Calderon's title to profundity of thought is disputed. "In these *autos*," says Schack, "we meet with an immense number of real allegorical figures, which are not only the representatives of ideas, but become in their turn individualities themselves,

* E.g. Mr. George Henry Lewes.

which interest us in the most lively way by their being and action, their wills and their thoughts; and metaphysics, without obtaining any independent value except at the cost of poetry, is brought into poetical intuition through the action itself. The creative power which is manifested in these poems must excite astonishment . . . only the most powerful fancy could sharply define and breathe life and soul into abstract deductions of thought; only the highest poetical creative power was able to give form and plastic roundness to what was outside the senses."

There is also a probability of under-estimating Calderon for those who without previous knowledge base their study upon his secular dramas. These are not his higher efforts, and are therefore no standard for measuring his genius. They may be amusing, or brilliant and interesting, but the mind of Calderon only opened freely and produced its best, in comparison, as religion entered into his work. In such dramas as "Life is a Dream," natural religion, if we may so call it, supplies the sublimity of thought. Rising to more definitely religious themes, the "Purgatory of S. Patrick is full of poetry." Witness the prayer of Patrick in his slavery, beginning "Great primeval cause of all," and telling how creation praises God.

O'er the earth dost Thou not write
In the characters of flowers
Thy great goodness? And the air
In reverberating thunder
Does it not in fear and wonder
Say, O Lord, that Thou art there?
Are not, too, Thy praises sung
By the fire and water—each
Dowered for this divinest speech,
With tongue the wave, the flame with tongue.
Here, then, in this lonely place
I, O Lord, may better be,
Since in all things I find Thee.
Thou hast given to me the grace
Of Obedience, Faith, and Fear;
As a slave then let me stay
Or remove me where I may
Serve Thee truly, if not here.

Again the story of the martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria is "one entire and perfect chrysolite." And thus rising through the religious dramas, finding them becoming more admirable as they become more spiritual, we reach the *autos* where the poet and dramatist has reached his utmost height of excellence. Thus are his works an index of his mind and of his life. Both

Lope de Vega and Calderon died peacefully in religion. But before Lope left the world for the sanctuary, we hear of his passions and his errors ; but the few records of Calderon's life lead us to believe that it was otherwise with him ; that, in writing for many years as a dramatic poet, he did a great work, even if it were only in securing for his noble mind the possession of the much-abused stage ; and then that he retired to the sanctuary to prepare for his end, and though he was summoned back to become a court chaplain, we may see in his *autos* the entire spirituality of his later years. We hear of Lope's two marriages ; but there is no evidence that Calderon ever married. His dramas of passion are evanescent things, brilliant and intricate, but only for the hour ; his painting of human love is thin and artificial ; it was only divine love that he expressed from his own heart, and the life of the higher world that called forth his energy and power. Hence, if we would measure his praise, let the measure be his religious, and not his secular dramas, since the former alone were his untrammelled efforts, written in truth *con amore*, and hence under his best inspiration.

How great an effect these religious dramas had on later poetry may be traced in the works of the foremost poet of Germany, Goethe. Not only did he admire the genius of Calderon, but he actually permitted himself to be influenced by it, when he was laying the corner-stone of his fame in "Faust." How else can we explain the similarity not only of the general idea, but almost of the words in a passage near the beginning of that drama, and in one of Calderon's. Faust in his "musty room,"

Where Heaven's dear light itself doth pass
But dimly through the painted glass !
Girt round with volumes thick with dust,

takes down the Testament that he may render it faithfully "in the lov'd accents of the German tongue." Opening at S. John's Gospel, he reads and muses, but cannot penetrate its mystery :—

'Tis writ, "In the beginning was the Word !"
I pause, perplex'd ! Who now will help afford ?
I cannot the mere word so highly prize,
If by the spirit guided as I read,
I must translate the passage otherwise.
"In the beginning was the sense !" Take heed,
The import of this primal sentence weigh,
Lest your too hasty pen be led astray.
Doth sense work all things and control the hour ?

'Tis writ, "In the beginning was the Power!"
Thus should it stand; yet while the words I trace,
I'm warned again the passage to efface.
The spirit aids; from anxious scruples freed,
I write, "In the beginning was the Deed!"

In the first scene of "The Two Lovers of Heaven," Chrysanthus, reading the volume of the Scriptures, argues with himself over the same passage, determined, until it be explained to him, to brood his whole life long over that mystery. We quoted one passage from this part as an example of *assonante* verse; but he goes on much farther than Faust, pondering on "the beginning," on creation, until finally his whole reason is overthrown by the few words that are the centre of all theology, "and the Word was made Flesh." He cries out to Heaven in pity to grant him some glimmer of light through these dark shadows; and then prays:—

God or Word, whate'er Thou beest,
Of Thyself the great beginner,
Of Thyself the end, if, Thou
Being Thyself beyond time's sickle.
Still in time the world didst fashion,
If Thou'rt life, O living spirit,
If Thou'rt light, my darkened senses
With thy life and light enkindle.

Unquestionably Goethe was indebted to the magnificent opening of this drama. Calderon, with whom the idea was original, cannot receive too much praise for its conception. The young Pagan, Chrysanthus, is led by this mysterious book to seek the wisdom of a solitary, who, unknown to him, is a Christian priest. Daria, on the other hand, is led to Christianity through a similar path of mystery, proclaiming her readiness for the love of the Crucified, while yet a priestess of Diana she knows Him not:—

When of all mankind I knew
One who felt a love so true
As to give his life for me,
Then until my own life fled,
Him, with gratitude and pride,
Were I sure that so He died
I would love though He were dead.

There is no more beautiful feature in this exquisite drama than the two mysterious paths by which Chrysanthus and Daria are drawn, as it were, irresistibly to the open arms of Him who is to unite them in one martyrdom.

Another poet who deeply admired, and in some instances copied Calderon, was Shelley. He himself acknowledged that he had borrowed from "a most sublime passage in 'El Purgatorio de San Patricio.'" Calderon's stanza described the entrance to that unseen world into which a mortal enters in the drama to catch a glimpse of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven:—

See ye not here this rock some power secureth,
That grasps with awful toil the hill-side brown,
And with the very anguish it endureth
Age after age seems slowly coming down?
Suspended there with effort it obscureth
A mighty cave beneath, which it doth crown;
An open mouth the horrid cavern shapes,
Wherewith the melancholy mountain gapes.

The awful grandeur of mountain scenery was never more powerfully expressed in a few words. Calderon brings the same imagery into other dramas, and Shelley reproduces it in "The Cenci," act iii., scene 1.

And in its depth there is a mighty rock
Which has from unimaginable years
Sustained itself with terror and with toil
Over the gulf, and with the agony
With which it clings seems slowly coming down.
. Beneath this crag,
Huge as despair, as if in weariness,
The melancholy mountain yawns.

There are few who, after reading these two treatments of the same imagery, will not admit that here for once Calderon outshines even the rich and melodious-tongued Shelley.

It is not surprising that the influence of the Spanish poet on French dramatists was very large. His comedies were borrowed, with many changes and adaptations, by Molière, Corneille, le Sage, Boissy, and others, and by that means, much altered, they found their way to England. An adaptation of one of them was played about a hundred years ago, in Garrick's time, at Drury Lane. Nineteen years after, in 1789, it was revived; and when the storm was brooding over France, the playgoers of London, calmly bent on pleasure in a quiet capital, filled the same house to see Mrs. Kemble in the revived drama, much abridged, and called now "The Pannel," originally from the Spanish of Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca.

In our own literature Cibber and Steele both borrowed from him; and as for his success in other countries, his dramatic

works have found their way to almost every stage of Europe. Mr. MacCarthy tells us that when, but a few years ago, the Queen of Sweden died in the theatre at Stockholm, the entertainment of the night was one of Calderon's dramas, and singularly enough it was that one which proclaims that, "Life is a Dream."

It is a healthy sign for American literature, that beyond the Atlantic Calderon is admired. Appreciation of his works and falsified taste cannot go together; and wherever his highest efforts are understood and valued aright, it is a token that there is a genuine love of that literature which is at once of original merit, pure, simple, beautiful in its conceptions.

In his works, especially in those dramas which we have selected for notice, we see another evidence of the often reiterated fact that the drama is not necessarily, and by its own nature, opposed to religion. Unhappily it has become so perverted that religious minds instinctively and justly shrink from it; but it is not the nature of the drama itself that has set it in the centre of the evil heart of the world. Dramatic art had its birth in religion. In some sense the old Greek plays were religious, and the modern stage grew by slow degrees out of the mystery plays sanctioned by the Church in the Middle Ages. An example of what it might be when conducted with reverence and simplicity and devoted to its original object, and in its primeval purity, was the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau, which bore witness to the world of the power, and irresistible beauty of dramatic art, when linked in humble worship with the true religious spirit.

Again, we trace in the works of Calderon that everlasting truth which the voices of the ages are telling to the generations of men. The truest art, the most lasting and resplendent beauty, whether in marble, or colour, or melody, or even in the living representations of life, is to be found where there is in the mind of their author the light of God, in his hand reverence, in his heart adoration. What is true of the labours of Calderon is no less true with regard to all other creations of human art. In proportion as they are illumined by the spirit of religion, they rise from a lower to a higher sublimity and beauty; till, when they become wholly unearthly, not only wedded to religion, but all spiritual and transformed into worship, they have reached their utmost excellence, and while they look up only to God, they command the unsought admiration of men.

ART. V.—THE TRUE VIEW OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism. By NICHOLAS SANDER, D.D., sometime Fellow of New College, Oxford. Published A.D. 1585. With a Continuation of the History by the Rev. Ed. RISHTON, B.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by DAVID LEWIS, M.A. London: Burns & Oates.

AN eminent French critic has remarked, "Ce qui frappe surtout dans la plupart des écrits historiques publiés à la fin de XVII^e siècle, et pendant le XVIII^e siècle, c'est l'absence d'idées originales, de connaissance des hommes et des affaires."* This judgment is, we think, correct, and might be extended beyond the chronological limits which M. de Viel-Castel specifies. With very few exceptions, the historians of the three centuries which ended with the French Revolution were hardly more than annalists. The births and marriages, wars and amours, deaths and burials of monarchs, the formal acts of public bodies, the occurrence of unusual physical phenomena, and the rearing of great public monuments, are the staple of their volumes. That any moral significance underlay the "tale of sound and fury" which they related, that any great spiritual or intellectual movements ran through the ages, that any time-spirit informed the minds and shaped the acts of generations, were matters of which they never dreamed. History, treated as they treated it, is of little more human value than an old almanack.

Perhaps it would be difficult to find a more signal illustration of the truth of these remarks than is supplied by the accounts received until almost within our own day, as satisfactory and complete, of the great moral, political, and religious revolution of the sixteenth century, commonly known as the Protestant

* "L'Esprit moderne dans l'Histoire," par M. L. de Viel-Castel. "Revue des deux Mondes," vol. lx. p. 1023. The single exception M. de Viel-Castel allows to his remark is Voltaire. "Personne avant lui," he writes, "n'avait su à ce point fondre le récit des événements avec le tableau des mœurs et des usages, montrer la différence des temps, les progrès de la civilisation, peindre à grands traits, presque toujours avec vérité, la physionomie des personnages remarquables, faire comprendre les ressorts de la politique, les mobiles réels de révolutions les plus importantes, éviter les fables absurdes, dont les passions et la crédulité encombrant l'histoire" (p. 1024).

Reformation. If any one period in modern history more than another deserves the exercise of that "large discourse, looking before and after," which is man's highest intellectual prerogative, if any period requires, for its true comprehension, a patient application of the philosophic mind, a search into hidden causes, the investigation of the connection of event with event, the use of analysis, comparison, deduction, it is surely the half-century that witnessed the breaking up of the system under which Europe had so long existed as a spiritual commonwealth, and the introduction of a new order. To view it as an isolated event—even with a true knowledge of its facts—is, almost certainly, to misunderstand it. A correct appreciation of it is only possible after careful study of the times which precede and follow it. It was the child of that earlier period, the bodying forth and manifestation to the world of the ideas which had been maturing through centuries; and from it came the succeeding age, in which those ideas were to run their course. Fully to comprehend it, neither its causes nor its effects must be overlooked. It is perhaps worth while to trace, in such outline as our limits will allow, what its actual meaning and true significance, if thus judged of, would seem to be.

The great broad facts which stand out regarding the first half of the sixteenth century, as we may roughly reckon the Reformation period, are these. At its beginning Europe was morally and religiously one vast territory owning the jurisdiction and reverencing the person of a High Priest, the depositary and interpreter of the Christian law: the sway of common principles was acknowledged; the same standard of right and wrong was received; Christendom had a real existence as one body, and of this body the Church was the conscience, the voice of the Unseen Judge, the oracle of those unwritten, unchangeable divine laws,—*ἀγραπτα καὶ σφαλῇ θεῶν νόμιμα*, as the tragic poet speaks—the sanctions of which are in the hearts of the individual men whose aggregate makes up human society.

At the end of these four or five decades all this is changed. Half Europe has been torn away from the spiritual commonwealth, and has exchanged its old political and religious organization for a new, in which the authority of the common Father at the centre of the Christian world is no longer recognized, and the conscience, under the influence of the doubts cast upon the prime principles of truth and justice, is weakened in private life and becomes inoperative in public. The rest of Europe maintains its profession of allegiance to the Apostolic Chair; but, even here, the new ideas bear fruit, in the impairment of the ecclesiastical authority and a corresponding increase in the power of material force.

These are the two great facts which mark the eve and the morrow of the Reformation. And if we descend the stream of time, and follow the course of the spiritual history of Europe to our own day, we shall find it steadily tending in one direction, the result being the elimination of a supernatural standard from human society and the unchecked domination of numerical superiority and brute strength. In Catholic countries the Sovereign Pontiff, although still ostensibly honoured as the herald of the moral law and the champion of the sacred and infeasible rights of conscience, exercised less and less influence, until, as the last century drew to its close, we find his office, with its high prerogatives, little more than *magni nominis umbra* in the European system. In Protestant nations, the ecclesiastical power was absolutely subordinated to or completely merged in the secular, and the spirituality became wholly Erastian,—a sort of department of moral police, to be directed and employed by the State at its will, for the maintenance of public order. The consequence has been that the faint shadow of a public conscience, fitfully haunting the world for a time after the breaking up of Catholic Unity, has disappeared. Not the will of God, but political expediency, is openly recognized as the rule of public action. "To make two blades of grass grow where one grew before," is held to be the highest mission of the statesman. The old idea of a Christian polity is discarded. As Lamennais has remarked—

Après dix-huit cent ans de combats et de triomphe, le Christianisme éprouve enfin le même sort que son fondateur. Cité, pour ainsi dire, à comparaître non par devant un proconsul, mais devant le genre humain tout entier, on l'interroge, 'Es-tu roi? est-il vrai, comme on t'en accuse, que tu prétendes régner sur nous?' 'C'est vous-même qui l'avez dit,' répondit-il, 'Oui, je suis roi, je règne sur les intelligences en les éclairant, sur les cœurs, en réglant leurs mouvements, et jusqu'à leurs désirs; je règne sur la société par mes bienfaits. Le monde était enseveli dans les ténèbres de l'erreur: je suis venu lui apporter la vérité; voilà mon titre; quiconque aime la vérité m'écoute.' Mais déjà ce mot n'a plus aucun sens pour une raison pervertie; il est nécessaire qu'on le lui explique: 'Qu'est-ce que la vérité?' demande le juge distrait et stupide: et sans attendre la réponse, il sort, déclare qu'il ne trouve rien de condamnable dans l'accusé, et le livre avec indifférence à la multitude, pour en faire son jouet et bientôt sa victime.*

Again the cry goes out, "No king but Cæsar." Protestantism, little as its author intended it, by substituting a book for a living voice, installed the human reason, which in the vast

* De la Mennais' "Essai sur l'Indifférence," Int., p. 27.

majority of cases is but another name for the human will,* in the place of conscience. Hence the alleged right of every man to believe anything or nothing, as he thinks fit, without moral responsibility; hence the so-called "freedom of thought" which has issued in the conclusion that absolute truth is unattainable, each man having his ideal, but no man knowing certainly of anything except as revealed by appearances; and hence the last development of Rationalistic philosophy in the apotheosis of the State, which, according to the Apostolic prediction, "adversatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod collitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat, ostendens se tanquam sit Deus.†

Such is the goal which has been reached under the guidance of the Reformers and their spiritual successors. Men have passed through phase after phase of negation, morality, God, nay their own existence disappearing in the "vast shipwreck of all truth and of all virtue,"‡ until this only remains, that "the State is the sole power: that it claims unlimited obedience; that it walks roughshod over the human conscience, *because it knows no conscience*; it knows only of beings modified by phenomena. . . . It is the "present God," at whose bidding every man must surrender his profession, his home, his conviction, for the State is the only, and the only possible possessor of right."§ Let us now turn to the period which preceded the

* Warburton has remarked, with equal pungency and truth, "The common definition of man is false: he is not a reasoning animal: the best you can predicate of him is that he is an animal capable of reason, and this too we take upon old tradition." And he adds, "It has not been my fortune yet to meet, I won't say with any one man, but I may safely swear with any one order of men, who ever did reason."—Correspondence with Hurd, Let. lxxxvii.

† Epis. B. Pauli ad Thess. Secunda, c. ii.

‡ De la Mennais, "L'Indifférence," &c., Int., p. 22.

§ We quote from an admirable paper of Mr. Allies,—a reproduction of a speech delivered by him before the Catholic Union—published in the "Catholic Union Gazette" of February, 1876. Mr. Allies' argument is so clearly conceived, and so powerfully stated, that we venture to subjoin the following portion of it:—"The new German Empire is acting upon principles as distinct as those of the Christian Church, and their exact antagonist. I proceed to explain my words. The contest, of which Germany is the focus, is not of sudden incidence, nor of transient cause. It is the summing up of a long antagonism which has at length come forth to the full light of day. The whole intellect of Northern, that is, of un-Catholic Germany, has been led captive by the leading principle of Kant's Philosophy. Kant himself was the successor of Hume, of Spinoza, and of Descartes. His mind had gone through their alembique. He is himself an Epigonus of a long Protestant tradition. Judge, then, what his Epigoni, the men of the present day, must be. The principle to which I refer is this: Kant laid down that all truth which the human mind can reach can only be relative, not absolute. He held that the human mind

"Reformation," and in which we may trace its germs and rudiments. It has been truly said that the history of Christianity is the "history of a certain principle of universal empire,

can only deal with phenomena. That as to these the conception it formed of them by the process of abstraction was really only a modification of the mind itself. But if this is the case with regard to all things of which we obtain knowledge by the senses—if we cannot prove that they have any existence independent of ourselves—much more is this the case with regard to all those things which are the proper objects of the intellect, all universals, Noumena; in fact, the whole world of spirit—As to these our conception—the conception of beings whose whole thought runs in the groove of time and space—is relative only—ourselves modified in a particular way—and no more. This is the grand discovery of the Criticism of Pure Reason, and it has passed into every system of German philosophy; it has filtered through Fichte, and Schelling, and Hegel and Herbart, and Schopenhauer, down to that ultimus Germanorum—Hartmann, in his 'Philosophy of the Unknown,' which has gone through seven editions in two ponderous volumes, at Berlin. But you will see at once the first and chief deduction from this principle. If man is a being who can have no certainty that there is spirit—if his conception of spirit is only a modification of himself—Philosophy has no longer any object. For Noumena are the proper objects of Philosophy. All the truths of the Natural Order—as truths, independent of man, eternal, unchangeable—are swept away. God, as we know Him by reason, mounting to Him from the creature, as the First Cause, has no existence independent of ourselves; for our very conception, hemmed in by the necessary conditions of time and space, is but a portion of ourselves. But this false principle, which sweeps away all the truths of the Natural Order, the spiritual being of man, and God the Creator and Father of Spirits, destroys *à fortiori* every part and parcel of the Supernatural Order. It is labour lost to talk to men of the Incarnation, who do not believe in spirit—to proclaim a future life with its magnificent rewards and its endless retribution, to those for whom God is a creation of a conception itself untrustworthy.

"Now it is a fact to be deplored with a never-ending lamentation, that the noble intellect of the German race is fallen in large part a victim to such—I cannot call it Philosophy, but absolute impotence of Philosophy—as this. But so it is. Every false system at present in vogue rests upon this impotence of the human mind to attain certitude as to Noumena. It is the very heart of one of the last and most miserable of them—Positivism.

"What is new in the situation is this. For the first time I think in human affairs—but certainly for the first time in the eighteen centuries of the Christian Church—a great Government has made itself the organ of this unbelief. It lies at the bottom of the proscription of the Church by the May Laws. For what remains to people who deny the certainty of the whole Supernatural Order, and of the Natural Order also, except so far as it regards phenomena, reducing that certitude even in the case of phenomena to be merely relative? This remains: that the State is the sole power; that it claims unlimited obedience; that it walks roughshod over the human conscience, because it knows no conscience; it knows only of beings modified by phenomena, not of beings who live upon truth and worship sanctity, and suffer for what they believe, because they know with the certitude of faith that it is true, hope for its enjoyment, and love it as the fairest of all things. The seat of the German Government is Berlin; and that is a city of which the 'Times,' an unsuspected witness, writing six years ago, before the war, said, that though the accommodation

repressed and thwarted by circumstances": * "universal empire without earthly arms; temporal pretensions without temporal sanction; a claim to rule without the power to enforce; a continual tendency to acquire, with a continual exposure to be dispossessed; greatness of mind with weakness of body. What will be the fortune of such an empire in the world? . . . The world is strong; men of the world have arms of the world; they have swords; they have armies; they have prisons; they have chains, they have wild passions. The Church has none of these, and yet it claims a right to rule, direct, rebuke, exhort, denounce, condemn." † These are the two antagonists which are ever arrayed against each other throughout the long drama of human history. The conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, ‡ the secular and the ecclesiastical, the powers of this world and the powers of the world to come, is perennial. The Middle Ages exhibit this conflict in a peculiarly simple and striking form. The condition of society then was less complex and artificial, and men's minds were not confused as to the real point at issue. Whether the contest was between William Rufus and S. Anselm; between Henry IV. and S. Gregory VII.; between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII., Europe knew that the question at stake was nothing less than this—whether the spiritual should be subject to the temporal, Christ to Cæsar, the Church to the State—whether

provides only for 25,000 out of a population of 800,000, most of the churches are invariably empty; and of which country it says, that every man of intellect is a Rationalist; so that in the country of Luther not a single man can be found who believes as much Christian truth as Luther, after his apostasy, believed. The cause, then, of that combat with the Church which the new German empire has taken up, and to prosecute which it has revoked its constitution, confiscated the liberties which the Church actually enjoyed, and imposed upon every Christian minister a course of Pantheism in one of its state-ruled universities, the cause in my belief is that infidelity which again is rooted in the false philosophy embraced generally by the cultivated classes.

"In the eyes of all these men who have lost belief in the Christian God, nay, in any God, and in their own souls, the State is 'the Present God,' to whom alone obedience is due: blood is due on the field of battle, conscience is subject in the daily home. At the bidding of this 'Present God,' every man must surrender his profession, his home, his conviction, for the State is the only and the only possible possessor of right. Well has it been said that such a system from above is atheism, from below tyranny. But in the conflict of this trial the Church now stands in Germany, and on the issue of it depends how the Church will stand in the coming Europe."

* J. H. Newman's "Sermons on Subjects of the Day," p. 100, new ed.

† Ibid., p. 200.

‡ "Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum: spiritus autem adversus carnem: hæc enim sibi invicem adversantur."—Ep. B. Pauli ad Galat., v. 17.

European society should be Christian or not. For a time the Church triumphed and won for the human race benefits of which it has never been wholly deprived :* but during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries her influence gradually declined, her liberties steadily disappeared, the secular power constantly and successfully infringed upon her prerogatives, exceeded the checks and limits she had placed upon it, and set aside her jurisdiction. F. Newman observes :—

This period was the most disastrous and melancholy in the internal history of the Church of any that can be named. It was that miserable period which directly prepared the way for Protestantism. [There was] resistance to the Pope's authority on the part of the states of Europe generally. . . . There were scandals among Bishops and Priests, as well as heresy and insubordination. As to the Pontiffs who filled the Holy See during that period, I will say no more than this, that it did not please the good Providence of God to raise up for His Church such heroic men as S. Leo, of the fifth, and S. Gregory of the eleventh century.†

It is a subject upon which a Catholic writer would gladly say no more. The state of the world, as Ranke has pointed out, was directly hostile to the Papal domination. . . . The civil power would no longer acknowledge any higher authority. The Popes no longer find allies in the middle classes. Their interference is resolutely repelled by princes and legislative bodies.‡

It is true that when the great schism had been definitively healed, the Papacy put on the semblance of its former greatness, and the Pontiff was

once more the object of the highest reverence and of universal obedience. The Emperor still continued to lead his palfrey. . . . In the North the

* M. Avenel, in the "*Journal des Savants*" (1856, p. 541), remarks :— "La véritable grandeur, la gloire légitime de Grégoire VII., est d'avoir su élever une digue infranchissable aux entreprises ambitieuses et injustes du pouvoir laïque sur la puissance spirituelle, et d'être parvenu à sauver celle-ci de l'oppression qui la menaçait." Quoted by M. de l'Épinois, "*Critiques et Réfutations*," p. 97. M. de l'Épinois adds that Gregory, "tout en reconnaissant la distinction des deux puissances en des termes formels a été amené, par l'excès de la réaction à dépasser les justes limites et à trop subordonner le pouvoir temporel au pouvoir spirituel." But, he continues, "qu'importe si l'idée ait triomphé autrement que ne pensait Grégoire VII. : l'essentiel est que, l'idée ait triomphé, et, je répète, elle a triomphé dans son expression juste, qui était d'assurer la liberté de l'Eglise." So M. Guizot, in his second lecture on the General History of Civilisation in Europe, maintains with much force that the separation between the temporal and spiritual powers, laid down by the Church, is the source of liberty of conscience.

† "*Hist. Sketch*," vol. i. ("*Lectures on the Turks*," &c.), pp. 139-142.

‡ Ranke's "*Popes of Rome*," book i. c. i. sec. iv.

Peter's penny was regularly levied. At the jubilee of 1450 countless pilgrims from all lands sought the "steps of the Apostles." An eyewitness describes them as coming like swarms of bees or flocks of migratory birds. Yet, spite of all these appearances, the old relations no longer existed. . . . Other interests agitated the world. . . . The papacy soon came to be regarded in a political point of view. The pretensions of kings were infinitely higher than they had been at any preceding period.*

This, according to Ranke, was the condition into which Europe had come at the period which preceded the Reformation drew to its close, and there can be no question of the facts as he states them; the evidence for them is incontestable. We may, of course, give them what name and interpretation we please. We may speak of them as indicating the loss by the world in a great measure of the supernatural principles of the Middle Ages,† or we may regard them as a testimony of the "incipient revolt of Intellect against spiritual despotism."‡ But whatever terminology we choose to adopt, it is abundantly clear that, at the end of the fifteenth century, there was "throughout all Christendom, in the south as well as in the north, a general struggle to curtail the rights of the Pope."§

We have glanced briefly at the consequents and antecedents of the Reformation. We now proceed to view that event in the light thus shed upon it. Our limits will oblige us to confine our remarks to our own country. But what is true of the English Protestant Reformation is true, in many respects, of the foreign. The movement was European; and, widely as the history of its progress differs in the several countries, its spirit was the same everywhere. Its very essence lies in this: not that some portions of Christian doctrine were rejected; not that the goods of the Church were spoiled, and the holy and beautiful homes of religion destroyed or profaned; not that her sacred offices were mutilated and her mystic rites cast aside; but that her divine voice was stifled by the rejection of the Supreme Pontifical Head through whom she speaks. The peculiarity of the English Reformation is the bold usurpation of the whole authority of that Head by the civil power. "It was the very idea of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth to put the supremacy in his single person; his confirmation alone gives their force to canon or dogma according to this idea. In short, the *clavis potentiæ* and the *clavis scientiæ*—the universal power of government in Christ's Church; the power to rule, to distribute, suspend, or restore jurisdiction; and the

* Ranke's "Popes of Rome."

† Dalgairn's "Holy Communion," p. 225.

‡ Hemans's "Mediæval Christianity and Sacred Art," p. 527.

§ Ranke's "Popes of Rome," *ubi supra*.

power to define verities of the faith and to interpret Holy Scripture . . . has descended on the shoulders of the kings and queens of England. . . . The actual bond of the existence of the Church of England, her characteristic as a religious communion, that which makes her a whole, is the right of the civil power to be the supreme judge of her doctrine."* That this is the inner meaning, the very "form" of the English Reformation, the most learned and candid of Anglican writers have admitted;† and the Church of England has ever felt it. In its slavish adulation of "Sacred Charles the Second, Sacred George the Fourth, and other Sacred Charleses, Jameses, Georges, and Defenders of the Faith";‡ in its monstrous doctrine of the divine right of kings; in its consistent opposition, happily unavailing, to the preservation and extension of the ancient liberties of England; in its abject submission to the secular authority, which "uses for its own purposes the slave it has dishonoured,"§—from Cranmer to Laud, from Laud to Tillotson, from Tillotson to Tait,—its spirit is ever the same. Its oracle is an Act of Parliament; not truth, but what its lords deem expediency, is the standard by which its highest courts judge; ceremonies are matters of indifference to it; the most fundamental doctrines of religion it is willing to treat as open questions. There is but one dogma upon which it has ever spoken plainly and without ambiguity; one tenet which it rightly reckons its palladium, and jealously guards against the profane. It is the doctrine of the royal supremacy—the only doctrine, as Mr. Maskell thinks,|| which it teaches.

* Allies "See of S. Peter," p. 54 (3rd ed.).

† Nor have they thought that the admission required extenuation. Thus Prof. Blunt, in a work which was long, and possibly is still, the text-book on the subject at Cambridge, writes: "In transferring the supremacy from the Pope to the King, the Church of England did not act unadvisedly. Nothing could be more inexpedient for the good government of the country or its spiritual improvement, than that there should be in it two sovereign heads; and how was the inconvenience to be avoided, except by making one and the same person, in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme?" ("Sketch of Reformation in England," 18th ed., p. 131.) It is difficult to know what sense Prof. Blunt attached in this passage to the word "unadvisedly." It is notorious as a matter of fact, that the act of Convocation which he had in view was extorted by the penalties of præmunire hanging over the heads of the clergy. The subject is exhaustively discussed in an article contributed to this Review by Dr. Lingard in May, 1840; and there is a good popular account of it in Green's "Short History of the English People," p. 329 (1st ed.). The last free act of the old spirituality of England was their petition, in 1554, for reconciliation with the Holy See.

‡ Carlyle, "Latter Day Pamphlets," p. 220.

§ Newman's "Ang. Difficulties," p. 164 (4th ed.).

|| See his very able pamphlet, "Protestant Ritualists."

The royal supremacy, then, is the central idea of the Anglican Reformation. Among the many scenes of horror and sacrilege which fill the annals of that period there is one which may be regarded as typical. It stands out before us in bold relief, its lesson unmistakably written upon it, and indicates the true significance of the whole movement. The destruction and pillage of the shrine which had so long been the chief treasure and glory of the metropolitan cathedral and the central point of English devotion; the burning of those sacred bones,

Religione Patrum multos servata per annos ;

the mock trial of the "holy blissful martyr," and the decree made in the council, "that any one who should either keep his feast, or mention him in his prayers, or call him a saint at all, or suffer his name to remain in the calendar, should be treated as a capital offender,"* were something more than a manifestation of the unscrupulous greed and uncontrollable fury of Henry VIII. The king was redressing, after his manner, a quarrel of nearly four hundred years' standing. It was by no accident that S. Thomas of Canterbury was especially obnoxious to his wrath, nor is it by an accident that the modern apologist of the tyrant finds congenial occupation in vilifying the martyr. The saint, confronting the Second Henry boldly with a "non licet," had purchased with his blood the triumph for a time of the principle which it was the especial mission of the Eighth Henry to overthrow. The faithful prelate, giving his life for the liberties of the Church, and like the True Pastor Bonus Himself, conquering in death, was a meet object for the hatred of the destroyer of those liberties, when the years had passed away, and the measure of our iniquities was full.

Still the scene witnessed in Canterbury Cathedral on that August day in 1538, with its deep meanings, occurring as it did in the midst of a Catholic people, is a portentous phenomenon. The sudden falling away of a whole nation from the unity of the faith in which it had dwelt for well-nigh a thousand years, is an event so terrible and so strange that the mind casts about for an explanation. The explanation is suggested by what we have said of the events and tendencies of the two preceding centuries. But we shall offer yet a few remarks in further elucidation of it. We observe, then, that the authority exercised by the Tudor sovereigns was such both in kind and degree, as it is very difficult for us, in these days, adequately to conceive of. "The prerogative was absolute," writes Mr.

* Sander's "Rise and Progress," &c., p. 142.

Brewer, "both in theory and practice. . . . Government was identified with the will of the Sovereign, his word was law for the conscience as well as the conduct of his subjects. . . . Any wrong, any injustice, any royal violation of the law, however flagrant, was a more tolerable evil than disobedience or opposition to the will of the prince, however just or sacred the cause. For that, in the temper of the times, people had no sympathy; the will of the prince, however expressed, as Romanist or Protestant, in passing the Six Articles or beheading More, in divorcing Queen Katherine or marrying Anna Boleyn, was to be respected. Innocence itself was to plead guilty, or suffer as guilty if the king required it." * Again, the patrimony of the Crown was immense, and the servility of Parliament, together with the system of forced loans and benevolences, rendered its pecuniary resources almost limitless. † And this vast power was practically without check or limitation. The wars of the barons had swept away the old nobility, who, in the absence of constitutional restraints, kept down the extension of the royal prerogative, and the new race of ministers were the mere creatures of the Sovereign, usually taken from a low rank in life, flourishing in his smile, annihilated by his frown, made or unmade at his will or caprice. How utterly subservient Parliament was to the royal pleasure, how destitute of any spark of the spirit of freedom, how void of any, even the slightest, feeling for the liberties of the subject, a glance at the statute-book is sufficient to show. Its functions were confined to registering the edicts of the Sovereign and voting the supplies which he required. ‡ Nor was the power of the monarch tempered by a force which in our day is of great influence even in despotic countries. "Public opinion" can hardly be said to have existed in the days of the Tudors. It is not easy for us, living in this nineteenth century, when every one reads his newspaper, and judges according to his ability of

* Brewer's "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," &c., vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxiv. (pref.).

† "The king had the entire and exclusive control of the money paid into the Exchequer. The country was called upon for loans and subsidies, and the Parliament determined the amount; but it never presumed to regulate the expenditure of the money so collected, or even dictate how it should be applied."—Ibid., xciii.

‡ "The king was the only representative of the nation, Parliament was little more than an institution for granting subsidies and regulating the duties on hats and caps. No ambassador or political agent cared in the least what Parliament might or might not think of his conduct. . . . His sole object was to please the king and perhaps his minister. . . . The entire personality of the nation was wrapped up in the king."—Brewer's "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," &c., vol. ii. part i. p. lxxv. (pref.).

"quidquid agunt homines," really to understand a condition of society in which the meagreness of the facilities for inter-communication barred the generation of popular feeling, and no journals existed for its expression. Rumour was doubtless a political power, which sometimes aroused men to action in a sort of explosive way : "a pipe," as the poet terms it,

Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures ;
And of so easy and so plain a stop,
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still discordant wavering multitude,
Can play upon it.

But as a popular safeguard it was almost valueless. The force most resembling the public opinion of these days was that which had been wielded by the ecclesiastical order. Human society, as we have pointed out, was then held to have a conscience, and of that conscience the Church was the keeper. The pulpits of England in Catholic times, discharged some of the functions which the newspapers have now assumed, and—incalculable difference—discharged them in the name of God, "preaching to the people daily, weekly, admonishing kings themselves, advising peace or war, imparting moral encouragement, consolation, edification."* But in the days of Henry VIII. this force had well-nigh ceased to act as a check upon the authority of the Crown. Mr. Brewer dates its total extinction as a barrier upon arbitrary power at the death of Wolsey.† By the end of the fifteenth century, the Church in England, as well as in the rest of Europe, was in the most deplorable condition. There is only too much evidence that multitudes of Christians lived in almost total ignorance of the doctrines, and in almost complete neglect of the duties of their faith. The Pater Noster and Ave Maria formed the sum of the knowledge of their religion possessed by many, and many passed through the world without receiving any Sacrament but that of Baptism. The clergy, from

* "The true Church of England at this moment lies in the editors of its newspapers. These preach to the people daily, weekly, admonishing kings themselves, advising peace or war with an authority which only the first Reformers, and a long-past class of Popes were possessed of ; inflicting moral censure, imparting moral encouragement, consolation, edification, in all ways diligently administering the discipline of the Church. It may be said too that in private disposition the new preachers somewhat resemble the Mendicant Friars of old ; outwardly full of holy zeal ; inwardly not without stratagem and hunger for terrestrial things." —Carlyle, "Miscellaneous Essays," vol. ii. p. 114.

† "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxiii. (pref.).

the head downwards, had fallen from their high estate. The religious had lost their first fervour, and among the secular the corruption of life was great and general. The saintly Pope Adrian VI. has left on record* his conviction that the troubles in the Church which he was called upon to face, had arisen propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiæ prælatorum. Even in the Holy See itself, he sadly acknowledges, there had been for many years past, multa abominanda, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis et omnia denique in perversum mutata. It was these things that had stirred the heroic spirit of Savonarola, and had led him to enter upon his Apostolate at Florence, which, obscured as it was by many touches of human error and passion, was yet so noble a testimony to the truth that it may well endear his memory to us, as it did to S. Philip Neri. It was these things that inspired many another devout soul with passionate indignation and a burning zeal for the purification of the temple of God, a zeal which too often, not being according to knowledge, nor tempered by charity, nor moderated by obedience, led to disastrous issues, and the exterior darkness which is beyond the one Fold of Christ. It would be disingenuous to deny, and Catholics are not concerned to deny it, that in some who afterwards became of evil fame as heresiarchs, there was originally true Christian fervour. It must not be forgotten that in most Continental countries Protestantism was not merely a political movement, it was often found in connection with strong religious impulses. Möhler does not hesitate to say (he is speaking especially of Germany) that "it arose partly from the opposition to much that was undeniably bad and defective in the Church."† That opposition had two issues. Working honestly and faithfully within the limits prescribed by authority, in the highest sense a "vis temperata," it led to the true Reformation effected by the Council of Trent. Allying itself with the spirit of disobedience, disregarding the guidance of that celestial wisdom which is "pacifica," it resulted in the apostasy of millions; vis consili expers mole sua ruit. It is true that in the Anglican Reformation, under Henry VIII. it is impossible to trace any religious motive,‡ for it will hardly be pretended now that the plunderers of the monasteries were animated by

* In his letter to his legate Chieragato, as to which see Pallavicino, l. ii. c. vii. The original of the letter is given in "*Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*," printed in 1535.

† "*Symbolik*," p. 9, 5th edition.

‡ "Of those who had any important share in bringing the Reformation" in England "about, Ridley was, perhaps, the only person who did not consider it a mere political job," and "Ridley did not play a very prominent part."—Macaulay, "*Works*," vol. v. p. 172.

godly zeal for the correction of abuses. But the lax and scandalous lives too often led by the clergy, had tended greatly to weaken ecclesiastical influence; and under the second Tudor the priesthood had sunk very low in public esteem. We have already seen how allegiance to the common Father of the Christian family had decayed throughout Europe generally. In England it had faded to a mere shadow,* and with it the liberties of the Church, of which it was the main stay, had dwindled away. The difference between Thomas à Becket and Thomas Cranmer is the measure of the change which had come over the spirituality of this country between the period of the Angevins and the period of the Tudors.

To sum up what we have said in the last few pages. The power of the Crown under Henry VIII. was immense, and no restraint upon that power had any real existence; the old aristocracy was broken; neither constitutional checks nor public opinion had come into being; the authority of the Church, as the expression of the public conscience, was paralyzed; the long contest which had lasted from the Norman conquest, between the spiritual and temporal power, having at last ended in the abject abasement of the former. It was the opportunity of Cæsarism, and it was used to the full. "The royal supremacy," we are using the words of Mr. Brewer, "was now to triumph after years of effort, apparently fruitless and often purposeless. That which had been present to the English mind for centuries was now to come forward in a distinct consciousness, armed with a power that nothing could resist. Yet, that it should come forth in such a form is marvellous. All events had prepared the way for the king's temporal supremacy; opposition to Papal authority was familiar to men, but a spiritual supremacy, an ecclesiastical headship, as it separated Henry VIII. from all his predecessors by an immeasurable interval, so was it without precedent and at variance with all tradition."†

* See Mr. Brewer's very able account of the affairs of Dr. Standish, in 1515. Mr. Brewer observes, "the notions that the royal supremacy leapt full armed from the brains of Henry VIII., that the clergy were irresponsible, even in spiritual matters, or that the Pope could dictate from Rome to the Sovereign of this country—at least to Henry VII. or Henry VIII., beyond what those princes were willing to allow, . . . are idle phantoms. . . In the reign of Henry VIII. the Papal authority had ceased to be more than a mere form, a decorum to be observed."—"Letters and Papers," &c., vol. ii. part i. p. ccxxvi. (pref.).

† Brewer's "Letters and State Papers," &c., vol. i. p. cvii. (pref.). This point has been well drawn out in the following passage of Mr. Allies' "See of Peter," p. 38:—

"The difference between the regale, as exercised by the earlier or later Norman princes, and that supremacy which was settled on the Crown in

Such is the general view of our great religious Revolution in the sixteenth century, which seems to us to be the true one. It is needless to say that it is not the view taken by any of the older schools of historians. Two theories of the Anglican Reformation have obtained in the popular mind. The one, common among Catholics, proposes as a sufficient explanation of it the fury of Henry VIII. at the refusal of the Pope to allow him to exchange a faded consort of forty-three for the fresh charms of beauty still in its teens,* just as the religious revolt in Germany is referred to the anger of the Augustinian monks, because the preaching of Leo X.'s pardons was committed to the Dominicans. No doubt weighty authorities may be quoted for the position that the Reformation in Germany was accelerated by scandals attending the sale of indulgences. Niebuhr was of opinion that it might have been retarded for a

1559, is a difference not of *degree* but of *kind*. There are a vast number of mixed causes in which the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction may seem to come in contact, and in which, unless wisely and considerately wielded, they will clash. Here such princes as Edward I. and Edward III. would be jealous of their temporal authority being infringed; but that they claimed to themselves supremacy of spiritual jurisdiction, might about as reasonably be contended as that S. Louis, in France, did so, whose jealous care of his temporal prerogative is equally well known, and who yet has been canonized by the Roman Church. The same prerogative in spiritual matters, which was claimed in right of their crown by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, belonged, so far as it was legitimate, to the crowns of France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and all the princes of Europe. Which of them has ever been accused of annexing to his throne a spiritual supremacy? Louis XIV. pushed to their furthest extent what are called the Gallican liberties; but will any one say that he claimed to give to his bishops their spiritual jurisdiction, or to be the supreme judge of doctrine? Is there not the greatest possible difference between the occasional clashing of two powers, one founded in men's belief and opinion on the special grant of Christ, and the other strong in material force and representing the natural right of society to govern itself, wherein the latter would often commit acts of injustice on the former; between such a state of things, I say, on the other side, under which falls the act of our own ante-Reformation princes, and of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese kings, and the German emperors in all times; and, on the other side, the settled and undisputed combination of the two powers of jurisdiction, civil and spiritual, in one head? . . .

"Had the intent been simply to take away a foreign court of appeal, and to make all spiritual causes determinable in this country, the obvious way would have been to allow no appeal from the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of *all* England. This would in effect have made him a Patriarch, as far as British rule was concerned; but the civil power was as far as possible from having any such intent; it coveted and it seized the supreme spiritual jurisdiction—the whole Papal Supremacy—for itself."

* Anglicans of a certain school adopt a similar view; thus a writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" (vol. i. p. 337) observes, "the divorce was almost the sole cause of the English Reformation."

long time if the abuses alleged had been promptly discountenanced.* Again, the proximate occasion of the English schism undoubtedly was Henry's fierce resolve to allow nothing to thwart the gratification of his overmastering passion. But it is not true that "great events from trivial causes spring." The matter of indulgences, and the matter of the divorce, were but as sparks falling upon materials already disposed for combustion. The theory of the Reformation, long dominant in this country, was of another kind. Johnson defined the word as "the change of religion from the corruptions of Popery to the primitive state," and the definition undoubtedly expresses the popular conception. F. Newman, in one of his most powerful writings, has shown in detail how tradition is the sustaining power of the Protestant view in this country regarding Catholics;†—a tradition, not single and isolated, but huge, vast, imposing, having the monopoly of the English mind and brooking no rival. There is the tradition of law, the tradition of fashion, and the tradition of literature,—a tradition dominant for the last three centuries, and which it was the height of temerariousness to call in question. Our popular histories have been the vehicles and mouthpieces of that tradition. "They have presented the Reformation from the Elizabethan point of view,"‡ the point of view taken by Foxe and Strype, defended by Burnet, assumed, as a matter of course, by subsequent writers down to almost within our own time, and impressed upon the mind of the people, as is usual, by epithets. Englishmen were taught from their childhood to talk of Henry VIII. as "bluff," § of Elizabeth as "good," of the Reformers as "glorious," of Cranmer, in particular, as "honest," || of Mary I. and Bonner as "bloody." The religious changes of the sixteenth century were "happy"; the thousand years England passed in Catholic unity before—

Gospel light first dawned from Bullen's eyes,

* "Reminiscences of M. Niebuhr," by F. Lieber, p. 153.

† "Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics." Lecture III.

‡ Brewer, "Letters and Documents," &c., vol. ii. part i. p. cxxxvii. (pref.), note. So Dr. Maitland: "We have received almost all that is popularly known of things and persons belonging to the Reformation from Puritan sources."—"Essays on the Reformation in England," p. 22.

§ The sense attached to "bluff" we suppose to be much that indicated in Dryden's line, quoted by Johnson—

"Black-browed and bluff, like Homer's Jupiter."

Gray, in his Installation Ode, speaks of Henry VIII. as

———"the majestic lord
That broke the bonds of Rome."

|| It is noticeable how Shakespeare, in "Henry VIII.," rings the changes on Cranmer's "honesty."

were the dark times of Popish superstition. "The voice of Henry and Elizabeth, with its thousand echoes, had gone forth with irresistible power, and successive generations were indoctrinated in the popular misconceptions." *

The day, we may well hope, is now fairly over when either of the two views which we have just sketched would be deemed full or sufficient by any writer of repute. As M. de Viel-Castel has remarked, a new school arose in the early years of this century, whose business it was, in some sort, to recast history. "L'art de raconter, avec clarté et agrément," he adds, "ne fut plus le seul talent exigé de ceux qui s'y appliquaient; il fallait encore un jugement sain, de la sagacité, une certaine science, au moins théorique, des affaires de la législation et de l'économie politique." † We cannot indeed say that any account of the Reformation has been written—in this country, at all events—with the completeness and accuracy, the wide grasp of principle and philosophic breadth of view which the modern spirit in history demands. But we can say that the time has now come when such a work might be undertaken with fair prospect of success. Many difficulties which stood in the way of the task have disappeared. In particular the actual facts, long buried under a mass of misconception or fable, have to a very great extent been brought to light, and established beyond the possibility of doubt. In England we may date this salutary change from the publication of Dr. Lingard's most valuable work. It is curious now to recall the suspicion with which his views were at first received, even by those whose candour and honesty are beyond question. Thus Mr. Hallam, who certainly had no wish to be unfair, attributes to him "undisguised partiality," ‡ and even "oblique artifices." § Fifty years have passed away since these words were written, and posterity has completely reversed the judgment they express. The most competent critics of the present day, critics who are far from sharing Dr. Lingard's theological opinions, acknowledge his "impartiality" and "wonderful exactness," || and pay an ungrudging tribute to his "sagacity" and "caution." ¶ It would be interesting to trace, if our space allowed, how one article after another of the Protestant tradition has gone, until now there is hardly any of it left; how Maitland** gave a rude shock

* F. Newman's "Present Position of Catholics," p. 81.

† "Revue des Deux Mondes," vol. x. p. 1026.

‡ "Const. Hist. of England," vol. i. c. ii. note q.

§ Ibid., c. i. note n.

|| "Christian Remembrancer," vol. i. p. 51. As to this article see the following note. §§

¶ "Saturday Review," of June 23, 1877, p. 778.

** "Essays on the Reformation in England."

to the popular tales of the bloodthirstiness of Bonner, and the number of his victims, with many another similar legend; how Lord Macaulay astonished the minds of men by declaring that the Reformation in England "sprang from brutal passion, and was nurtured by selfish policy,"* how he pronounced the "bluff" monarch who wrought it "a shameless tyrant"; how in a few pages, perhaps among the most masterly which ever came from his gifted pen, he disposed, for ever, of the pretensions to "honesty," made on behalf of the singular "martyr," who "rose into favour by serving Henry in the scandalous affair of the divorce," who was ever ready to prostitute his spiritual authority to the amorous or bloodthirsty passions of his master, who "changed his religious creed backwards and forwards as the king changed his," and who "died solely because he could not help it," never recanting his recantation until he found that he had made it in vain, and that he "could not succeed in purchasing by another apostasy the power of burning men better and braver than himself";† how the spurious halo which so long encircled the other Reformers has in like manner disappeared; even those who maintain the "goodness of their cause" being obliged to admit frankly the "badness of the agents."‡

But these are details upon which we must not linger. It is more important to our present purpose to point out how, of late years, a juster estimate of the authorities for the Reformation period has become current. The guides long unquestionably followed in this country have been effectually discredited. Of Foxe, the martyrologist, the very fountain-head of the view for so many generations in possession of the English mind, Mr. Brewer observes, "Had he been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents."§

* See his essay on Hallam's Constitutional Hist., "Works," vol. v. p. 172.

† A writer in the "Quarterly Review" (vol. cxxv. p. 416), finds an evidence of the "goodness of God" in the fact that the English Reformation was wrought by men of the calibre of Cranmer. We fully agree in this view, although on different grounds, from those which the reviewer urges in support of it.

‡ It is remarked somewhere by A. H. Clough, "In judging of the English Reformation it is especially necessary not to forget the badness of the agents in the goodness of the cause, nor the goodness of the cause in the badness of the agents."

§ Brewer, "Letters and Papers," &c., vol. i. p. lx. (pref.), note. Foxe

Strype, a writer of higher character, has not fared well in the examination to which he has been subjected by Dr. Maitland and others. Burnet is convicted of "habitual carelessness and inaccuracy." * And with the credit of Foxe, Strype, and Burnet, the credit of their copyists has also disappeared, while other and more trustworthy sources of information have been opened. In particular, access has been open to a vast mass of original authorities, by which a flood of light has been shed upon almost every point of doubt and difficulty. "Perhaps out of the thousands [of documents] here noticed," Mr. Brewer tells us, in the preface to his second volume, "a dozen or a score were known to Lord Herbert and about the same number to Strype and Burnet."† We may add that we owe it in no small degree to the indefatigable zeal, and the indomitable energy of Mr. Brewer, that the addition to our stores of knowledge is so vast. "The Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.," which he has edited with the most scrupulous care, already fill nine huge volumes. But Mr. Brewer has done more than edit; he has enriched his "Calendar" with those prefaces replete with learning, upon which we have so largely drawn in this article. Mr. Pocock is perhaps the only other English scholar who can be ranked with Mr. Brewer as an authority upon the period with which we are concerned. His "Records of the Reformation" and his edition of "Burnet" give him a very strong claim upon our gratitude, to say nothing of his persevering claims to disseminate juster historical views through the periodical literature of the

appears to have acquired very soon the reputation he enjoyed; thus Warner writes (temp. Eliz.) :—

So dyde the gracious mother of
Our now most gracious Queen,
Whose zeale in reverent Fox his works
Authenticall is seen.

"Albion's England," book viii. chap. xxxviii.

* "Christian Remembrancer," vol. i. p. 60. "The Church of England under Edward and Elizabeth." This very able article, and another entitled "Sandars and Burnet," which appeared in the "Christian Remembrancer" a short time before, viz. in January, 1865, under the title of "Sandars and Burnet," are attributed, we believe correctly, to Mr. Pocock. In the course of the earlier article the writer remarks, "Burnet's dates are nearly as often wrong as right, while with regard to individuals he constantly makes mistakes from mere ignorance of the history of the period He selected from the immense mass of papers which were open to inspection, such as suited his purpose He can never be trusted except when he gives a reference, and will generally be found to have misrepresented the author he quotes."—"Christian Remembrancer," vol. xlix. pp. 147—163.

† "Letters and Documents," &c., vol. ii. part i. p. cclxxviii. (pref.).

day. Of the documents published from the Simancas Archives, and the many valuable historical materials given to the world by the Camden and other learned societies, the time would fail us to speak. We hasten on to say a few words as to the author whose name stands at the beginning of this article, and upon whose credit the discoveries of recent years have exercised a singular influence.

Nicholas Sander*—for thus he appears to have spelt his own name in the titles to his English works—was born in the year 1527, and received his education at Winchester and New College, Oxford. He seems to have attained some distinction at the university, for in 1557 we find him lecturing publicly in divinity. In 1561—three years after the accession of Elizabeth—he left England on account of the religious changes introduced by her, and went to Rome, where he was ordained priest. Here he made the acquaintance of Cardinal Hosius, to whom he remained attached for several years during that prelate's employment as legate, first at the Council of Trent, and subsequently in Poland, Prussia, and Lithuania. He then went to Louvain, where, in 1571, he published a treatise, "*De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*," which excited considerable attention at the time, and still enjoys a certain amount of consideration. In the course of the next year, S. Pius V. sent for him to Rome, where he was employed by the Holy See in various capacities until 1577, when, upon Mgr. Sega proceeding to Spain as Nuncio, Sander accompanied him. In 1579 "he was himself sent as Nuncio from Gregory XIII. to Ireland, with the view of encouraging the Irish to take up arms against Queen Elizabeth; but upon the failure of the rebellion he was obliged to hide himself, and somewhere about the year 1581 he was starved to death."† While in Rome he had occupied himself in writing a history of the change of religion in England, which was published at Cologne four years after his death, under the title, "*Nicolai Sanderi de Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani libri tres*." In the next year another edition, enlarged and corrected, was brought out at Rome by Edward Rishton, one of the Douai Seminarists. The book had a great success, and went through many subsequent editions, which it is unnecessary to enumerate here. It also was translated into French, Italian, Spanish, and German while Elizabeth was still living. Its reception in England was very different from that which it met with in Catholic countries, and no wonder, for it was in the highest degree unfavourable to the authors of the change of

* This sketch of Sander's career is mainly abridged from Mr. Lewis's Preface.

† "*Christian Remembrancer*," vol. xlix. p. 126.

religion among us, and unpalatable to those in power. Mason* declared that there were as many lies as lines in it. Heylyn says that the author's frequent falsehoods make him unfit to be built on in any matter. Strype pronounces him "a most profligate fellow, caring not what he wrote if it might throw reproach and dirt enough upon the reforming kings and princes, the reformers and the Reformation." In the next century Burnet described the book as "filled with foul calumnies and detracting malice"; to the refutation of which he addressed himself in his "History of the Reformation."† Nor has Sander fared much better at the hands of many later and more judicious writers. Mr. Hallam speaks contemptuously of his "strange and extravagant lies,"‡ and Dr. Lingard makes little use of him, and evidently holds him in great distrust.

Very different is the estimate formed of him by critics of the present day, whose researches best qualify them to express a judgment. Thus, in an article which appeared nearly nine years ago in the "Saturday Review,"§ and which is evidently the work of a scholar who is completely master of his subject, we read:—

It has been customary to regard Sanders as a man who would not scruple at anything which would damage the Protestant or uphold the Catholic side; but we venture to assert that nearly all the recent publications of original papers of the sixteenth century tend to verify Sanders' facts, even in cases where he was thought to be lying most outrageously. . . We need hardly remind our readers how the virginity of Catherine, the scandalous connection of the king with Mary Boleyn, the exact number of children that Catherine bore to Henry, the adulterous life of Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, and numberless other little pieces of history,|| which people have disbelieved because Sanders was the only authority for them, have been verified. . . . Any one who will take the trouble to go through Burnet's enumeration of the errors in Sanders, will see how often Burnet was himself in the wrong, and how trivial are the faults which he exposes;

* Mr. Lewis has collected these and other similar opinions in his Preface, p. xx. et seq.

† The writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" points out that we owe the publication of Burnet's "History" to the appearance of Man-croix's new French translation of Sander in 1676 (vol. xlix. p. 126).

‡ "Const. Hist. of England," ch. i. note n.

§ Oct. 3, 1868.

|| The writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" similarly remarks: "If we follow Burnet in his analysis and (as he thinks himself) triumphant refutation of Sanders' assertions, we shall find that many of the facts stated by Sanders, such, for instance, as the account of the marriage of Sir Ralph Sadleir and the adulterous life of Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, to which Burnet objects on the score of want of evidence, have since been proved to be true" (vol. l. p. 60).

and in other cases may judge how frivolous and captious are many of the objections taken to Sanders' remarks. Burnet's animadversions had indeed been efficiently exposed by Le Grand ; but it has been reserved for this present generation to show that where Le Grand was obliged to rest upon mere probabilities, and to content himself with saying that he believed Sanders was right and Burnet wrong in almost every instance, it turns out to be as he said. It is worth while mentioning, though it is no absolute proof of the authoritative character of the work, that Raynaldus, in his "Annals," quotes it as of first-rate authority. Indeed the history of the relations of Henry VIII. with the Court of Rome is almost wholly told in Sanders' words, the narrative being amplified by numerous original documents transcribed from the Vatican Library. Further revelations from the same library, such as those furnished by M. Theiner, and from our own Record Office, and other sources hitherto unknown, are remarkably confirming the truth of many of the details of Sanders' narrative.

The very competent critic from whom we have made this long quotation—thinking it better to present opinions with which we fully agree, in the words of one who is serving in a camp outside that in which we are fighting—further expresses his conviction that "Sanders is in general, as regards facts, trustworthy," and that "his work must take rank as a first-class authority." And in another part of the article he observes, "We would recommend any one who wishes to get a clear idea of the political and religious movements of the sixteenth century to read Sanders' book, 'De Schismate Anglicano,' as presenting a more discriminating account of the various disturbances of the Church and State than can be found in so small a compass anywhere else. We hope some day to see it translated into English, partly on this account, partly, however, and indeed principally, because of the truthfulness of the relation of facts which it contains."

We do not know whether it is to this suggestion that we owe the excellent translation now before us; but, however that may be, Mr. Lewis has certainly done good service in executing it. He has rendered the Latin of his author into grave and sober English, which well represents the original, and his text is enriched by an elaborate Introduction and by frequent and learned notes, which render his volume an admirable handbook to the history of the period with which it deals. Almost every available source seems to have been laid under contribution by him for the better elucidation of his author. The extracts he has made from Mr. Eyston's MS. of Harpsfield—one of the four copies known to be extant in England—his frequent references to Puritan divines in illustration or support of Sander's statements; the great amount of minute information he has given regarding names, titles, appointments of persons, and similar

matters, mentioned in the course of the history, may be particularly instanced in evidence of his discriminating research; while in his carefully compiled "Annals of the Schism" he has supplied many dates not generally accessible. With regard to one point, indeed,—the question of Anne Boleyn's paternity—we cannot entirely follow Mr. Lewis. It is well known that the story that she was the offspring of the illicit intercourse of Henry VIII. with Lady Boleyn, was for a long time considered to be the mere invention of Sander, and was quoted as the crowning effort of his unscrupulous malignity. It is now evident that the rumour was current many years before Sander wrote, and it is clear that he merely gives it as a rumour, although himself more than inclined to believe it.* Mr. Lewis devotes twenty odd pages of his Introduction to the investigation of this story,† and—going beyond his author—arrives at the conclusion that "nothing remains but to accept it." We cannot say, after very carefully weighing his arguments, that such is the conclusion to which we are led: we do not think that the truth of the story is established: nay more, we incline to agree with the learned writer in the "Christian Remembrancer" that, whether true or not, it is "altogether incapable of proof."‡ The date of Anne Boleyn's birth given by Camden, if correct, is an answer to it. And although we may hesitate, as indeed we do, to give absolute credence to the date, on the sole authority of Camden, still we cannot regard ourselves as justified in absolutely rejecting it, with Mr. Lewis, on the chance of its being only conjectural. On the other hand, the nature of the "just, true, and lawful impediments" referred to in the Act of the 28th Henry VIII., c. 7, § as "unknown"||

* On this subject Mr. Pocock writes as follows:—"The King's intrigue with Mary Boleyn, the elder sister of Anne, can no longer be denied with any show of reason. Whether there was any connection of a similar kind between Henry and the mother of Anne Boleyn may, perhaps, still be somewhat doubtful. . . . That the report of such intercourse spread during the first years of the marriage is plain from the document numbered cccxxix. . . . Hitherto it has been supposed that Nicholas Sander was the inventor of the libel, but this document shows that this report existed at least half a century before Sander's book 'De Schismate' was published."—"Records of the Reformation," pref. xxxviii. Mr. Lewis (p. 135) gives the following epigram from Raynaldus as current in 1536:—

"Juno Jovis soror atque uxor : verum Anna Bolena
Et spuria Henrici, filia et uxor erat."

† Pp. xxii. to xlvii.

‡ "Christian Remembrancer," vol. xlix. p. 130.

§ The Act declaring Anne Boleyn's marriage void.

|| Those "impediments" could not have been the alleged precontract of Anne with Henry Percy, for that, if it ever existed, would not have made

at the time of Anne Boleyn's nuptials, and confessed by her to Cranmer (probably with the hope of saving her life by manifesting the nullity of her marriage) has never been disclosed; and hence arises reasonable ground for the most terrible suspicions. We think that Mr. Lewis has, in fact, attempted to prove too much. We consider that Sander does not deserve the imputation of "credulity" for believing the story that Anne Boleyn was the daughter of Henry VIII., or of malignity for repeating it. In the circumstances in which he wrote he may reasonably have believed that story, and that, as it seems to us, is a sufficient vindication of him, nor can we go beyond it.*

Mr. Hallam has remarked that "prurient curiosity about obsolete scandal is unworthy of the dignity of history,"† and with this remark we fully agree. We confess ourselves to be entirely out of sympathy with a class of writers who make it their business to rake up the personal faults, defects, and sins of political or theological opponents, who do not scruple to let their pen

"Rage like a fire among the noblest names,"

and who, from the private failings of personages whose opinions they dislike, proceed to draw unfavourable conclusions as to their "modes of faith" or their public acts. It is a species of ratiocination which is radically bad and vicious. There was a Judas in the Apostolic College; "sons of perdition" have found a place among the Vicars of Jesus Christ. There are ages in which the members of the One Church, which alone has the promises, are "degenerate, and corrupt, and surpassed in conscientiousness and in virtue, as in gifts of intellect, by the very heretics whom it condemns."‡ But this is no argu-

the marriage null, nor could they (as Dr. Lingard supposed) have arisen from the King's intrigue with Mary Boleyn, for that was perfectly well known at the time of the marriage, whence the clause inserted in the draft dispensation prepared in England by order of the King in 1527, in which the removal of the affinity so created was sought from the Pope, in order to Henry's marriage with Anne.—See Pocock, "Records," vol. i. p. 23. Of course this dispensation was never granted.

* Harpsfield writes, "Yea, I have credibly heard reported that the king knew the mother of the said Anne Bulleyne, which is a fourth impediment and worse than the precedent. Of the which impediments Sir Thomas Moore was not by likelihood ignorant, and seemeth to touch them or such like in these words, which he wrote to Dr. Wilson, 'Finally as touching the oath, the causes for which I refused it, no man wotteth what they be, for they be secret in my own conscience; some other peradventure than those that other men would ween, and such as I never disclosed to any man living, ne, nor never intend to do while I live.'"—Harpsfield, bk. iii. p. 28, Eyston MS., quoted by Mr. Lewis, p. 98.

† "Constitutional Hist. of England," vol. i. chap. ii. note g.

‡ J. H. Newman's "Development of Christian Doctrine," p. 316.

ment against the household of faith, nor, as a rule, can the errors and weaknesses of individual professors of any religion be fairly urged against the doctrine of the sect they follow. With regard to the religious innovators of the sixteenth century, however, the case is essentially different. The claim which is made for them, and which is implied in the very name of "Reformers" by which they are most commonly known, is in itself a challenge to an inspection of their characters. It is maintained that the work which they did was to bring religion back to its primitive purity; that they were "favourers of the Gospel," preachers of justice, like Noe, to a world "drowned in abominable idolatry."* Now, it is certain, as F. Newman has powerfully argued, that "those only can preach the truth duly who feel it personally; those only transmit it fully from God, who, in the transmission have made it their own."† It is not a question of Sacramental powers or of miraculous gifts, which do not imply personal holiness, but of divine mission, of the prophetic office. And, although there are exceptions, although it may please God to convey intimations of His will through bad men, although a Caiaphas may speak, "not of himself," and a dumb ass may become the instrument of a divine revelation, yet the rule of God's dealings with the world is, that "there is an intimate connection between sanctity and truth." "The fountain from which pure doctrine comes should itself be pure; the seat of divine teaching and the oracle of faith should be the abode of angels. . . . How can the word of truth and holiness proceed from an impure life and an earthly heart? . . . No; 'as the tree is, so is the fruit'; . . . the child is like the parent."‡

It is important, then, to know what manner of persons the parents of the "Church of England, as by law established," were, and this knowledge may be obtained more accurately than elsewhere from the pages of Sander. The author professes, in his preface, that it is his intention to write the history

* Book of Homilies. "The Third Part of the Sermon against Peril of Idolatry." In another of these authoritative documents of the Anglican Establishment we read, "Honour be to God, who did put light in the heart of His faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and gave him the knowledge of His word, and an earnest affection to seek His glory, and to put away all such superstitious and pharisaical sects" [viz. the religious orders] "by antichrist invented, and set up again the true word of God and glory of His most blessed name, as He gave the like spirit unto the most noble and famous princes, Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias."—"The Third Part of the Sermon of Good Works."

† "Discourses to Mixed Cong.," p. 365.

‡ Ibid., p. 369.

of the schism "in all sincerity, as he has gathered it from public records, or from the testimony, oral and written, of men of the greatest consideration; or, at least, from his own knowledge and observation";* and these words are a true description of his book. He makes no pretence to judicial calmness: an actor in the events which he relates, that would have been impossible to him. His strong convictions are everywhere manifested; and in the terrible story which he relates he traces, from time to time, the just judgments of God.† It is remarked by a writer whom we quote with the greater pleasure as it is seldom that we find ourselves in agreement with him: "We cannot point to any past time when an intellect short of gigantic could have seen beyond the controversies of the passing age, or could have held itself unaffected by the prejudices and opinions of its times. . . . Solon's law that, in times of trial, it was the duty of all good citizens to take a side, remains, as it ever was, a law of human nature itself. Impartiality . . . on great questions at issue is but another name for an unworthy indifference."‡ Certainly to this charge Sander is not open. Living in times when no halting between two opinions was possible, he gave himself up, with his whole heart-devotion, to what he believed to be the cause of God: he was one of those few found faithful, when our nation was faithless,

"Who loved, who suffered countless ills,
Who battled for the true, the just."

But the arms which he wielded were those of a warrior, not those of an assassin. We do not believe it possible for any impartial person, really versed in the history of the period, to read his book carefully, and doubt the good faith of the writer. To give only one instance. He by no means leaves upon our minds the impression that he thought highly of the Pontiff under whom the question of the divorce arose. In one passage he has not obscurely recorded his opinion that, but for the Divine "assistencia" which guides the Pope in the government of the Church,—that shadow of Peter which falls upon his successors, Clement VII. "would have yielded to the wishes of the King."§ Burning as he was with zeal for Rome, thorough in his loyalty to the Holy See, it is no small token of his candour that he should have written thus. The imputation of not scrupling to "invent a scene or a fact that suited his purpose,"|| lately brought against him in the "*Quarterly Review*," is simply discreditable to the author of it. The

* P. cxlvii. † E.g., pp. 98, 132, 134, 160, 165, 217, 229, &c.

‡ Mr. J. A. Froude, in "*Oxford Essays*," 1855, p. 78.

§ P. 34. || "*Quarterly Review*," Jan., 1877, p. 47.

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revival of this exploded calumny would seem inexplicable, except on the hypothesis of a great want of judgment or a deplorable absence of common fairness; for the article in which it occurs affords such ample evidence of wide and varied learning, as to preclude the possibility of our imputing it to want of knowledge on the part of the writer.

ART. VI.—THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT OF
LAST SESSION.

Elementary Education Act, 1876.

Industrial Schools Act, 1866.

Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1875-6.

Owen's Education Acts Manual, 12th Edition.

THE Education Act of 1870 modified by the Act of 1873, has lately again been reviewed by Parliament, and many changes have been introduced into the scheme of Public Elementary Education. The party now in power consists of those who combated, when in opposition, the principles upon which the original measure was framed; and it might have been anticipated that the most obnoxious provisions would be laid aside, or neutralized, in the new Conservative education measure. The former Act, whether good or bad on the surface, contained the seeds of much that was found to be hurtful, which during the short period the Act was in operation had already germinated and given promise of formidable growth. While it is notorious that a portion of the Liberal party are infected with the spirit of Continental liberalism, which thirsts for every change that can be brought about by the reduction of Christian institutions to the level of undogmatic paganism, it is equally remarkable that in England, as elsewhere, it is difficult to stir up the Conservative and Christian mass to any active defence of religious rights: it seems indeed scarcely alive to the perception of attack until the violent party has already gained fortified possession of the scarce defended position. Upon no other theory can we account for the astounding revolution so suddenly, and we may add easily, effected by the promoters of the Bill of 1870.

A vast corporation in possession of the religious endowments of the whole country, enjoying untold wealth, spending literally millions on the foundation, endowment, and daily support of many thousand schools, able too to exert enormous political power, allows without any serious struggle the religious liberty of its schools to be curtailed, the creation throughout the land, nearly everywhere, of a rival and godless system, and the imposition of a heavy tax for the maintenance and perpetuation of the victory snatched by an active and clamorous minority.

It would be of little use now to enumerate the points in which the Act of 1870 tended to the destruction of that system of State-aided religious education which had gradually grown up in England, and which so far satisfied the conscientious needs of the population, that scarcely was a secular elementary school to be found throughout the country previous to 1870, notwithstanding that the same amount of Government grant was offered towards the support of secular schools as had hitherto been given to denominational schools. It might well have been anticipated that the principles maintained by the former opposition would have found considerable expression when they introduced a Bill of their own from the Treasury benches, with a compact majority to secure its passing into law. Moreover, the experience of the preceding five years had been so unfavourable as to demand a change in the new system, and mere consistency required that the changes should be in the direction of the principles so strenuously maintained by the party which resisted the passing of the original measure. We regret, however, to find that, though many useful amendments have been introduced, though the universal extension of school boards has been indirectly checked in some degree, nevertheless the main blot of the original system is untouched, and the towns of England, and many groups of the larger villages, are now by the concurrence of both parties in the State, condemned to a system of godless education, which, in its results, must affect, almost immediately, the Church establishment, and, in a not very distant future the hold of positive Christianity itself on the country.

Whatever defence may be offered for this striking dereliction of principle, whatever explanation may be advanced for the fact that the party which loudly maintained the necessity of interweaving religious with secular education did so little when it came into power to abolish the divorce which had been so largely effected between them, the alarming truth remains, that the consent of the Conservative party has now erected into a permanent institution that which until last

session might have been regarded as a reformable scheme, imposed on the country for a time by the declamation of agitators, whose zeal for secular knowledge was but a cloak for their hatred of all dogmatic religious teaching.

The rejection of Mr. Dixon's Bill for the universal extension of school boards early in the session, gave rise to much expectation that the Government measure when introduced would deal vigorously with the question of religious education, and that it would make manifest to Europe that England was not committed to a school system which, while merely *permitting* as a maximum the vaguest possible teaching of religion, expressly excluded the special formularies of every kind of Christianity, and allowed, as a legal alternative, that no religious knowledge whatever should be taught. The Bill itself while doing something for religious schools—and, as will be seen further on, we are far from wishing to diminish the value of what has been secured,—nevertheless left the secular party in undisputed possession of the main victory suddenly achieved by its clamorous activity. M. Gambetta, in a recent speech urging the establishment in France of a compulsory and purely secular system of education, was thus enabled to appeal to England as an example of a nation which had lately determined that it was unlawful to force on the conscience of a child distinctive Christian doctrines which the child had not freely adopted for itself. It is enough to awaken the conscience of England to have such a charge brought against her with so much appearance of truth, and for so detestable a purpose. It would be no answer to M. Gambetta to assure him that the vast majority of existing elementary schools in England are denominational, for he would reply that such schools are merely permitted or recognized by the law, whereas the schools imposed by Parliament, under the order of a department of State, and supported alone amongst all by a compulsory rate, expressly exclude the formularies and catechisms of every particular form of Christianity, and at best allow the teaching of what he would call *la morale libre*. His argument would be even strengthened by reference to the feeble attempt of the code to secure at least the shadow of some moral truths in the teaching of the board schools. Article 19* requires that the teacher should impress upon the

* Code 1876, Art. 19, s. 3. One shilling [according to the average attendance shall be granted] if the inspector report that the discipline and organization are satisfactory To meet the requirements respecting discipline, the managers and teachers will be expected to satisfy the inspector that all reasonable care is taken in the ordinary management of the school to bring up the children in habits of punctuality, of good

children the *importance* (not the religious obligation) of cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour and truthfulness in word and act. But this, as the article states, is "to meet the requirements of discipline" And as applied to the conduct of a school we imagine that no pagan exists or has ever existed who would not willingly subscribe to such a requirement.

It has been urged that it is against the traditions of party Government that a recent law should be reversed upon a change of Ministry. But such a plea, while most fitting as applied to ordinary legislation, loses its force when high moral principles and the religious character of the nation are at stake. And, on the other hand, such a plea would have come with an ill grace from those who had but just been defeated in a strenuous effort to reverse the recent legislation in question by an attempt, under the leadership of Mr. Dixon, to make school boards, with their non-religious system, compulsory and universal, and to deprive denominational schools of all Government support. We have, then, the spectacle of a powerful party theorising, on platforms and in Parliament, most correctly on the due position of religious instruction in all true education, and then, when in power, satisfying their consciences with so praiseworthy a deliverance of their views, and leaving almost untouched a novel system which had been enforced against their most earnest protest and prophecies of evil.

Had the Ministry, in the Bill of 1876, proposed that in future, where a deficiency of school accommodation existed, adequate building grants should be offered, in the first place, to the denominations, and that schools on the secular system should then be provided for those, if any, who conscientiously objected to the teaching of the religious schools, we believe that the country would have thankfully accepted such a boon and would have been more than content to see the system restored which, for so many years, had been developing with such fruits of peace and such sense of justice, that no man had a conscientious grievance on this subject against the legislation of his country.

The framers of the Bill of 1870 seemed to have foreseen that some future revival of building grants to denominations was one of the possible dangers to the permanence of their scheme; but the new Act does not even threaten, or make

manners and language, of cleanliness and neatness, and also to impress upon the children the importance of cheerful obedience to duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour and truthfulness in word and act.

under any circumstances possible, the restoration of that which would be but simple justice to those who, in the present as in the past, make enormous sacrifices for the secular as well as Christian education of the poor. The voluntary managers remain deprived of the partial aid they had for many years received towards building elementary schools, while the whole cost of secular schools is thrown upon the rates. Thus, in cases where voluntary managers are willing, with some Government aid, to provide all needed accommodation, school boards are ordered by the Department to be formed to fill up the gap at the entire expense of the rate-payers.

From the fact that there are many districts in which a deficiency of school accommodation may really be provable—and that there are many others in which an artificial deficiency can easily be, or has been, produced by the practice which the Dissenters have for some time adopted of closing their schools in order to create such deficiency—it may well be concluded that not merely all the large, and a great majority of the smaller towns will soon have imposed on them the expense and religious contention which accompany the election of school boards, but also that many hamlets and groups of villages will have been reduced to the same condition. Let us endeavour to forecast the consequences to the country which must speedily arise from such a revolution against the religious traditions of England.

Hitherto all the children attending elementary schools have been taught the doctrines of some special form of religion, the State itself having for many years even required the school inspectors to examine the children in religious knowledge in the numerous schools of the Establishment. Dissenters, no doubt, also taught their children their peculiar doctrines, otherwise they would not have supported the expense of building and maintaining the schools of their several denominations. We need not add that Catholics likewise fully taught the faith in their schools, and we are glad to believe that in the future, notwithstanding the attractions of the board schools, as in the past, the Catholic poor will no doubt continue to seek for their children an education in the faith of their fathers. But among non-Catholics we have much reason to fear that the new system will soon destroy in a large portion of the population that tradition of religious education which has thus far so honourably characterized the country.

Already a certain number of board schools entirely exclude religion from the time-table, and many others afford but the

very shadow of Christian teaching. It is not contended that the ordinary working classes of our large towns have the time and opportunity, much less the zeal and knowledge, required for the religious any more than for the secular education of their children. Consequently we shall soon have a large population growing up, not merely without any definite religious belief, but without even ordinary knowledge of Christian principles or practices. Surely this is a serious danger for the State when so large a portion of political power is enjoyed by the working classes. If it require much teaching and long-sustained effort to make a child understand and commence to practise the ordinary Christian virtues, what will be the result when a considerable portion of the population has been allowed to grow up without the advantage of such knowledge or training? We know already that the preachers of socialism and communism find recruits only among the irreligious classes of a population, and that they obtain no sway except in proportion to the want of Christian faith among their dupes. Hitherto there has been happily so much religious knowledge and Christian feeling in England as to render it an unfitting soil for the growth of anti-religious and anti-social doctrines. This was the reason why the anticipations of the better class in France were not realized when they expressed their fears that the large number of revolutionary conspirators and communists who found refuge in England would soon cause serious social disturbances. But will not the soil soon become congenial when the board schools will have filled the streets of our large towns with men who have been brought up without Christian teaching, and with power for evil considerably enhanced by the secular education they have received? An ignorant neglected wastrel may give trouble to the police when he grows up into a rough or a burglar; but the Government has no fear of him, and the possessors of entailed estates do not find him dangerous to the social settlement of the country. The absence of religious influence in his home has made him what he is. He is a brute, and brute force can master him. But take the poor boy, drive him by the arm of the law into a board school, and what will be the gain? His faculties will be sharpened, he will acquire some knowledge of secular things, but the restraining power of religion and its practices will still be unknown to him. His perceptions of what is enjoyed by the classes above him will stimulate him to rise in the world, but his choice of the means of so doing will be uncontrolled by religion, and thus his education will give him an unrestrained power for evil which he could never have possessed as an ignorant man, however

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badly inclined. We have not seen it stated that the dangerous classes in Berlin, or the rank and file of the Prussian socialists, consist of men who have escaped the operation of the school laws. Though it has been so loudly proclaimed, facts have not yet shown that secular knowledge is a sufficient substitute for religious influence. It is men thus brought up who become the apt scholars of those who teach that the workmen form the *producing* class, while all above them are the *consuming* class who live in comparative idleness on the fruits of the workman's labour; that the maintenance of royalty is an oppressive burden on the poor; that political sagacity is the natural inheritance of a workman, while it is a rare, if even a possible, possession of those in a higher class; and that the *non-productive* portion of society craftily, by means of *class legislation*, fattens on the hard-earned product of the workman's toil. There are not wanting teachers of these fallacies who already have rendered many of the poor dangerously discontented with their lot; and we make no doubt that the board schools, by excluding all real cultivation of the religious intelligence of their scholars, will soon produce a further and larger number of fit subjects for such lessons.

But in addition to the danger to the State, there is another fruit which the board schools will most certainly produce—the disestablishment of the Church of England. The Dissenters see this so clearly that they are closing, or making over to the boards, hundreds of the schools which they have hitherto liberally maintained. Such a course is unintelligible to Catholics, and is a shock to their belief in the religious sincerity of the Nonconformist bodies. But to them the opportunity thus presented of detaching from the Church of England all future generations of school board children seems so overwhelmingly advantageous, that they cannot allow it to pass unused, no matter how inconsistent their treatment of their own children may appear. As Catholics we should consider it criminal to adopt such a course, but, looking at the end they have in view, we cannot but regard them as wise in their generation.

To bring up children without religious teaching at all, is certainly not bringing them up as members of the Established Church; but to bring them up with such religious teaching as the best of the board schools will afford, is far more certain to alienate them from the Establishment, and to inculcate its inutility, than any amount of neglect of ordinary religious teaching. The very principle of such teaching as board schools may afford is, that the religious wants of man's nature can be amply supplied without reference to special

dogmas or formularies, and without the need of sacraments, or a priesthood, or of church-going of any description. The names of boys thus taught will soon swell the voting-lists in almost all our towns, either as occupiers or as lodgers, and is it at all to be expected that they will refrain from voting away an Establishment which they have been brought up to regard as an unnecessary, if not baneful, element in the religious institutions of the country? The Liberation Society may well regard every board school as "an auxiliary branch." The "levelling-down" labours of the Dissenters may now cease, for the bells of the board schools throughout the land are daily tolling the knell of the Church Establishment.

But though we lament that a great opportunity has been lost, and that by the new Act the school board system has been left in secure possession of a large and increasing portion of the country, nevertheless we gladly acknowledge that there are provisions in it for which we are most thankful, and which will be found to be considerable improvements on the former Acts.

Among the most important is that implied by the term, "certified efficient school," now for the first time introduced, the definition of which is given in Section 48.* The disadvantages under which those schools laboured which were not public elementary schools, within the meaning of the Act, were very considerable under the Acts of 1870 and 1873. Under the latter, the school board officer was empowered to summon before a court the parent of every child attending such a school, and the efficiency of the school was to be determined, not by its general worth, but in the case of each particular child, by his success in passing an examination in the standard required by his age under the Code in force in the Government schools.† The school might in itself be a good

* The term "certified efficient school" in this Act means a public elementary school, and any workhouse school certified to be efficient by the Local Government Board, and any public or State-aided elementary school in Scotland, and any national school in Ireland, and also any *elementary school* which is not conducted for private profit, and is open at all reasonable times to the inspection of her Majesty's inspectors, and requires the like attendance from its scholars as is required in a public elementary school, and keeps such registers of those attendances as may be for the time being required by the Education Department, and is certified by the Education Department to be an efficient school.

† Sec. 24, No. 7. If a child is attending an elementary school which is not a *public elementary school*, it shall lie on the defendant to show that the school is efficient, and the court, in considering whether any *elementary school* is efficient, shall have regard to the age of the child and to the standard of education corresponding to such age prescribed by the minutes of the Education Department for the time being in force with respect to the Parliamentary grant.

one, with a highly efficient teacher, but if the child, through irregular attendance, or natural want of intelligence, or through timidity at the examination, did not pass in the required standard, the magistrate was bound to order him to cease to attend such a school, and to be instructed in some other way.

The new Act allows a school to be certified as efficient after an examination by a Government inspector, even though it be not conducted as a public elementary school, and do not comply with all the conditions for the receipt of the Parliamentary grant. The teacher need not necessarily be a certificated teacher, and the Conscience Clause need not be observed, provided registers are kept as in Government schools, and the regulation two hours at each meeting are given to secular teaching. It will be at once perceived that this is a great gain to many schools taught by religions of both sexes who have been unwilling to take Government certificates, or to comply with all the conditions for gaining the Government grant. Moreover, it will secure a recognised position for many small country schools where, for various reasons, a certificated teacher may not be employed. And, more importantly than all, if sad necessity should ever force Catholic schools to give up the Government grant for conscience' sake, they may still under this provision enjoy a recognised position in the school system of the country, without being subject to certain further disadvantages on account of that withdrawal.

These "certified efficient" schools are not merely tolerated by the Act, but have a fairly recognised status. It is true that guardians are not allowed to pay the fees of poor children attending any other than a public elementary school, but this is a matter of comparatively small moment.*. On the other hand, their recognition as schools which may be lawfully frequented, even in preference to existing public elementary schools, is clearly secured by the Act. Section 11 † provides

* Sec. 10. The parent, not being a pauper, of any child who is unable by reason of poverty to pay the ordinary fee for such child at a *public elementary school*, or any part of such fee, may apply to the guardians having jurisdiction in the parish in which he resides; and it shall be the duty of such guardians, if satisfied of such inability, to pay the said fee, not exceeding threepence a week, or such part thereof as he is, in the opinion of the guardians, so unable to pay. . . .

Payment under this section shall not be made on condition of the child attending any *public elementary school* other than such as may be selected by the parent, nor refused because the child attends, or does not attend, any particular public elementary school.

† Sec. 11. If either—(1) The parent of any child above the age of five

that the parent of a child whose education is habitually neglected, or which is found habitually wandering, or in the company of reputed criminals, may, after due warning, be summoned by the "local authority" before a court of summary jurisdiction, and the court may issue an order to require the attendance of such child at school, and the order is to contain the name of the school at which the child must attend. The parent, however, has so far the choice of a school that he may, if he please, have the name of a "certified efficient school," of which the managers are willing to receive the child, inserted in the order. It is only in case the parent makes no such choice that the magistrate is required to insert the name of a public elementary school.

Moreover, "certified efficient schools," not being "public elementary schools," are, therefore, exempt from the operation of section 22 of the Act of 1873, which, under certain circumstances, requires that the "registers, books, and other documents containing information with respect to the attendance of children" should be produced to a member or officer of a school board for his inspection, and for the purpose of making extracts. We do not gather that a school board officer has any right even to enter a certified efficient school, much less to require the filling up of forms, &c. We mention this for the sake of those who might otherwise fear that a "certified efficient school" might, in some sense or other, be subject to a school board.

It may be well to add that the teachers of such schools may become certificated teachers on very easy conditions, even *without* examination, if they be above twenty-five years of age, and have been in charge of elementary schools for at least five years. This, we trust, may prove of some advantage to ladies teaching in convent schools, whose qualifications are far higher than those of ordinary certificated teachers, and

years, who is under this Act prohibited from being taken into full-time employment, habitually and without reasonable excuse neglects to provide efficient elementary instruction for his child; or (2) Any child is found habitually wandering, or not under proper control, or in the company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons, or reputed criminals, it shall be the duty of the local authority, after due warning to the parent of such child, to complain to a court of summary jurisdiction, and such court may, if satisfied of the truth of such complaint, order that the child do attend some *certified efficient school* willing to receive him and named in the order, being either such as the parent may select, or, *if he do not select any*, then such *public elementary school* as the court think expedient, and the child shall attend that school every time that the school is open, or in such other regular manner as is specified in the order.

An order under this section is in this Act referred to as an attendance order.

who are yet unwilling to present themselves to the Government officials for examination. Certificates may thus be obtained if applied for until the end of March, 1879.*

The Bill of 1870, as originally framed, left no discretion to any authority as to the exemption of children from attendance at school. Where bye-laws for compulsory attendance were in operation, all were to attend between the ages of five and twelve. This was afterwards altered, and, finally, section 74 of the Act of 1870 empowered school boards to make bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of children between the ages of five and thirteen, but provided also that total or partial exemption from attendance might be claimed by any child whom the inspector should certify as having passed an examination in some standard which the bye-laws were to specify for that purpose. The inspector, however, was ordered by the Education Department, in a circular (Dec. 22, 1871), to give such certificates to those children only who were presented to him for examination *for the purpose of a grant at his annual visit to an inspected school*. No provision was made for granting such certificates of exemption to children who attended schools which did not comply with the conditions for gaining the Government grant, and thus all other elementary schools were placed at a relative disadvantage. This defect has been remedied by the new Act, sec. 24, and these certificates may now be obtained by all who attend certified efficient schools, whether public elementary or not, and even though no grant be sought by the managers.

* 57. Certificates of the third class do not entitle the teachers to have charge of pupil-teachers.

58. Certificates of the third class can be raised only by examination.

59. Certificates of the third class may be granted, *without examination*, upon the report of an inspector, to acting teachers who satisfy the following conditions:—

(1.) They must, at the date of the inspector's report,—

- (a.) be above 25 years of age;
- (b.) have been in charge of elementary schools for at least five years; and
- (c.) present certificates of good character from the managers of their schools.

(2.) The inspector must report,—

- (a.) That they are efficient teachers;
- (b.) That not less than 20 children, who had been under instruction in their schools during the preceding six months, were individually examined (Article 28); and
- (c.) That at least 15 of the "passes" of these scholars in reading, writing, or arithmetic, were made in the second or some higher standard.

(3.) No applications for certificates under this article will be entertained which do not reach the Department (Article 14) on or before the 31st of March, 1879 (Code, 1877).

And further, certificates of exemption may be obtained, not as formerly only by proof of proficiency, but may now be issued on proof either of proficiency or of a certain number of attendances at not more than two certified efficient schools in each year for a specified period. A child may thus be allowed to go to work after a certain amount of schooling, even though he be unable to pass an examination in any particular standard. This provision is intended to meet the case of those children, some of whom are to be found in almost every school, who, through want of intelligence or other cause, fail each year at the inspector's examination.

The conditions of exemption mentioned in the Act are a successful examination in the fourth standard, or 250 attendances in each of five years. These, indeed, are the normal requirements of the Act. The first schedule, however, provides that these conditions shall not be imposed at once; but that during four years they shall be considerably modified, so as to introduce gradually the full restrictions of the Act. In 1877 and 1878 an examination in the second standard, or 250 attendances in each of two years, will suffice to obtain a certificate of exemption. In 1879 and 1880 an examination in the third standard, or attendance, respectively, for three and four years will be required. A further modification in the same direction allows a child to work at nine years old during the current year only. These provisions are evidence of thoughtful consideration for the condition of the poor on the part of Lord Sandon. They were contained in the Bill as originally introduced, and are not the result of amendments.

Another chief feature of the Act is the method it adopts for securing the attendance of children at school. In school board districts bye-laws had already been made for that purpose, but school boards alone were authorized to make them. This naturally afforded a convenient argument, which was everywhere used by the secular party, for the universal extension of school boards. While it had been accepted by both parties as a principle that it was lawful for the State to enforce attendance at school upon all children who were not proved to be receiving efficient instruction in some other manner; nevertheless, the only machinery for carrying out the principle were bye-laws which none but the members of a school board were empowered to frame. There was thus an apparent necessity for the establishment of school boards, even in those districts which were already sufficiently supplied with school accommodation; and unless some new method to meet this difficulty were devised, the universal establishment of school boards was a mere question of time. The framers of the Act

have met this requirement in a simple, and yet a most satisfactory manner. Everywhere throughout the country where no school board exists, a "local authority" has been set up by the Act, which is empowered to do in many respects what a school board alone could hitherto have done. This "local authority" is a school attendance committee of not less than six nor more than twelve members, appointed annually by the council of a borough, or upon application to the Department, under certain circumstances, by an urban sanitary authority, and in all other cases by the guardians of a parish or union. Among other duties, the local authority is charged with that of enforcing the provisions in respect to the employment of children, and of assisting the inspectors appointed to enforce the Acts relating to their employment in factories, workshops, and mines. In boroughs the local authority may—and in parishes, upon the requisition of the parishioners,* must—make bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of children at school. Although not empowered to build and support new schools, a large number of parishes and boroughs may now, by their school attendance committees, exercise a sufficient authority in school matters to make school boards an unnecessary burden. Those districts which have already elected school boards solely for the purpose of making bye-laws may, under section 41, take steps for the dissolution of the boards, as their powers will be sufficiently exercised by the "local authority." The appointment of the school attendance committee being made annually, it will be possible to change more speedily the character of the committee, if its policy be not approved, than it now is to change that of a school board elected for three years. The power of dissolving a school board was very naturally asked for by the Bill which provided the "local authority" as a substitute, but nevertheless the secular party made the strongest opposition to this portion of the measure. It was acknowledged that the conditions required by the section would very rarely be found existent, but nevertheless the position was most tenaciously defended, as it was felt to be a blow against the most cherished article of the secular creed—the permanent character of the school board system.

Having thus provided an authority to see that the Act is

* Fifty—or one third of the ratepayers of a parish—may sign a requisition for a meeting to consider whether the school attendance committee should be required to make bye laws. A poll may be taken, and the power granted or refused by the majority of those who vote (sec. 22). The General Regulations for this purpose are the same as those issued by the Department for an application for a School Board, Oct. 3, 1873.

enforced, let us enquire what changes are introduced in the penalties imposed for non-attendance of children of the school age. We are all familiar with the police reports of the decisions of magistrates in the case of parents summoned by the school board officer, for not securing the attendance of their children at school. It was not an unfrequent answer on the part of those summoned that it was through no fault of theirs that the children were absentees. The children were sent regularly to school, but were truant while the parent was at work. There were several cases of hardship in which the parent was punished for the fault of uncontrollable children, who were too young to be sent to an industrial school. The law provided no other arrangement than a fine not exceeding five shillings. The provisions of the new Act in this regard are more elaborate and more adapted for securing success than the one penalty of the former Act. Gradations of penalty are set forth which leave much to the discretion of a magistrate. The first step is, that the local authority should give due warning to a parent who neglects habitually, and without reasonable excuse, to send his child to school or to provide for it efficient elementary instruction,—or whose child is found wandering, or not under proper control, or in the company of disorderly persons or reputed criminals. The next step is, that the local authority must complain to a court of summary jurisdiction, and the court may order that the child shall attend some “certified efficient school” which shall be willing to receive him, and which shall be named in the order.* The parent has a right to select the school, and it need not be a “public elementary school,” but the court, if the parent make no choice, must then name in the order a public elementary school. This is called an “attendance order,” and it must specify that the child shall attend such school every time it is open, or some other manner of regular attendance within the discretion of the court. It is only on the failure of these two steps that the question of a fine arises. In the first case of non-compliance with an attendance order, upon the complaint of the local authority, the parent, if he do not appear, or if he appear and fail to satisfy the court that he has used all reasonable effort to enforce compliance with the order, may be fined a sum of not more than five shillings. But if the parent can satisfy the court that he is not in fault, then the court may, without inflicting a fine,

* It might be expedient that, soon after the appointment of these school attendance committees, Catholic certified efficient schools, as well as Catholic public elementary schools, should notify to the courts their willingness to receive Catholic children named in attendance orders.

adopt a further measure of compulsion, which is now for the first time introduced by the Act. This consists in an order issued by the court that the child be sent to a "Certified Day Industrial School," or, if it appears to the court that there is no such school suitable for the child, then to a Certified Industrial School. The steps towards compulsion then are these:—1st, official warning to the parent; 2nd, an attendance order for the child to frequent a certified efficient school; 3rd, a fine of five shillings, or an order to send the child to a "Day Industrial School," or even a committal of the child to an Industrial School; 4th, in a second or subsequent case of non-compliance with an ordinary attendance order, a fine may be inflicted in addition to sending the child to a day industrial school, or to an industrial school, or a penalty may be enforced for each case of non-compliance with the order, without committing the child to an industrial school; 5th, when a child is sent to a day industrial school the parent shall be obliged to pay for the child a sum, determined in the order, not exceeding two shillings per week.

The day industrial school is thus in future to occupy an important position in the scheme for preventing juvenile criminality as well as truancy, and neglect on the part of parents. It is to provide industrial training, elementary education, and one or more meals a day, but not lodging, for the children attending it. It must be certified by a Secretary of State, in like manner as under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, and children may be detained there during such hours as may be authorized by the rules of the school, approved by him, and during the period specified in the order of the court. Moreover (sec. 16) the court may make use of the day industrial school in place of a certified industrial school, and may send to it children whom it is authorized by the Industrial Schools Acts to send to an industrial school. Further the Queen may, by order in Council, apply to a day industrial school the provisions of the Industrial Schools Acts, with such modifications as may be necessary for adapting them to a day industrial school, and whereas a child may be sent to a day industrial school instead of a certified industrial school, so also the same order may provide that a child may be punished for an offence by being sent to a certified industrial in lieu of a certified reformatory school. These provisions seem to secure for the day industrial school a permanent position in the preventative or reformatory legislation of the country. They introduce an intercalary stage between enforced attendance at an ordinary school and committal to an

industrial school, and, while compelling a day attendance, stop short of the compulsory separation of parent and child enforced by the Industrial Schools Act. Again, the power allowed to magistrates to send to day industrial schools those whom they would otherwise have committed to certified industrial schools also gives the new schools a most useful character and function, which will probably soon cause them to be regarded as indispensably necessary as an initial grade of reformatory punishment or discipline. We may further anticipate that they will produce a marked effect upon previous legislation, and may possibly lead to the modification of the Industrial Schools Acts, or even to the amendment of the Reformatory Schools Acts themselves. This is not obscurely indicated by the power now given to substitute the day industrial for the industrial school, and this latter for the reformatory. Moreover, the policy of long detention in industrial schools is somewhat called in question by the power which is now given, in sec. 14, to the managers to grant a license to live out of the school to children sent, under this Act or under the Industrial Schools Act 1866, to a certified industrial school after a detention of only one month (instead of eighteen months as formerly) upon the complaint or representation of the local authority. These measures will eventually tend to diminish the number of committals to reformatory schools, which will probably be reserved for those only who have not merely commenced, but have made considerable progress in, a criminal career. This will be a great advantage, inasmuch as it will save the younger children from the company of elder ones in reformatories, even though they have qualified for such a sentence by having been convicted more than once of crimes punishable by imprisonment. Still further it may be hoped that a large number will thus be preserved from the contamination brought about by at least a fortnight's detention in prison, which, we regret to say, is still the requisite preliminary to introduction to a reformatory.

What the wastrel children really require is discipline, rather than punishment or reformatory treatment. They are neither vicious nor criminal, except in rare instances, and when placed under discipline, or removed from association with unmanageable children, give little or no trouble to those who have charge of them, and are soon undistinguishable from other children who have never tasted the wild liberty of a wastrel life. So far, no proposed system has been officially published for the conduct of day industrial schools, but what is aimed at is a disciplinary system which shall be sufficiently deterrent to the children themselves, without inflicting real punishment

upon them, when the parents, in most instances, are the real culprits. The enforced payment of a certain sum per week for the child attending such a school will be felt by the parent as a punishment for not having kept the child under sufficient control. The payment ordered by the court will probably be in almost every case the full amount of two shillings per week allowed by the Act, as there is a provision that in case of poverty the guardians shall pay the whole or part of the required sum. The Parliamentary grant towards the support of such schools is to amount to one shilling per week for each child. The managers, however, may, upon the request of a local authority and of the parent, receive a child into the school upon an ordinary attendance order—not a compulsory one—or without an order, if the parent undertakes to pay a sum not exceeding one shilling per week, and then for a child attending under these conditions the Parliamentary grant will amount to only sixpence per week.

This sum paid by the Government, amounting to only one shilling or sixpence per week, will, in all cases, go to the managers of the schools; but we regret to say that the additional amount up to two shillings recoverable from the parent, will not be paid to the managers, but will be “paid over to the local authority in aid of their expenses under this Act” (sec. 16). Lord Ripon’s proposal that the amount should be paid to the managers was refused by Lord Sandon, who thereby, we fear, has somewhat endangered the success of this part of his measure. School boards are empowered by the Act to borrow money to build day industrial schools and to supplement the Parliamentary grant from the local rates, and therefore the question of expense will present no difficulty to the managers of schools belonging to boards. Prison authorities also are permitted to establish such schools, and to supplement the Government grant from county rates. But as the Industrial Schools Act is applicable to the new schools, and children sent to them are deemed to be sent under that Act,* such schools may also be established by denominations or benevolent individuals. It is even within the intention of both Acts that denominations should establish such schools, for by the 18th section of the Industrial Schools Act the justices are bound, if possible, to select a school in accordance with the religious persuasion to which the child

* A child shall be sent to a certified industrial school or certified day industrial school in pursuance of this section in like manner as if sent in pursuance of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, and when so sent shall be deemed to have been sent in pursuance of that Act and the Acts amending the same.

belongs ; and the same requirement applies to the order for sending children to the day industrial schools.* But if such schools are necessary in order that so important a portion of the new Act should receive legitimate application, it is evident that some larger amount than one shilling, and in some cases, as we have already seen, only sixpence, per week for each child, should be secured to the managers. We cannot see any reason why two-thirds of the amount paid weekly for the child should be handed over to a committee, whose expenditure on the case may have been almost inappreciable. Even if the payments of the parents were secured to the managers, there would still be a large sum required from other sources. It is true that school boards and prison authorities are empowered to contribute to the support of such denominational day industrial schools, but in view of the success of the Act, it would seem far from expedient that the schools should be dependent for so very large a portion of their necessary expenditure on the fluctuating majorities of such bodies. That denominations and benevolent persons should receive much greater support than is now secured to them is evident from the very remarkable fact that though the new day industrial schools are one of the most important features of the Act, and though without them numerous provisions would be absolutely nugatory, no obligation whatever is laid upon any public body to establish them. A Secretary of State may grant a certificate to such a school, if satisfied that "owing to the circumstances of any class of population in any school district" † such a school is necessary or expedient, but, on the other hand, however necessary such a school may be, no authority is obliged to establish one. If the voluntary managers relieve the rates by undertaking the large expense of establishing such schools, and if moreover they thus secure the application of a scheme intended to produce most beneficial results, it is to be hoped that school boards and county magistrates will proportion their grants to the ascertained needs and expenditure of such schools.

Notwithstanding that Catholics have to build and to support by voluntary contributions all their churches and chapels throughout the country, and though they have received but little aid from Government towards the building of Catholic schools, and no assistance whatever towards the establishment of reformatory, industrial, and workhouse schools, though all

* See Owen's "Education Acts Manual," 12th Edition, p. 295.

† The school districts constituted by the Act are the Metropolis, every borough and every parish in England and Wales and included in any of these districts.—*Education Acts Manual*, p. 77.

these tax their resources very heavily, yet we believe that they will not fail to find the further amounts needed for the new day industrial schools. Where the interests of poor children are at stake Catholics are more liberal than any other body in the State. The statistics in the last report of the Committee of Council on Education give the amount of voluntary contributions from the several religious bodies in England and Wales towards the support of *inspected* schools, during the ten years from September 1st, 1865 to August 31st, 1875. From these we find that whereas the voluntary contributions to Church of England schools increased during that period less than one hundred per cent., the Catholic subscriptions increased nearly two hundred per cent. And if to these sums were added the amounts subscribed to non-inspected schools, we have no doubt that the Catholic subscriptions would show a still larger proportion.

On this subject of day industrial schools we cannot but appreciate the wisdom of the framers of the Act in placing the new schools under the Industrial Schools Acts. Had this course, by any oversight, not been adopted, the religious grievances which Catholics suffer in the treatment of another class of children might have been extended in some degree to those who were ordered by the courts to attend day industrial schools. The clauses affecting religion of the Industrial Schools Acts, now to be in force with regard to the new schools, are most satisfactory to Catholics, and have worked well without friction or complaint from the commencement. In pursuance of them, and of this Act, the court is bound to send a child to a day industrial school, which is in accordance with the child's religion, and if by mistake this be not done, the child may, under the same Acts, be transferred to a school of its own religion if such exist within two miles of its home. Had some such provision, *mutatis mutandis*, been adopted in some one of the several Acts relating to the transfer of Catholic children from workhouse to certified Poor Law schools, Catholics would not have had to complain of the frequent apostasies of young Catholic children brought about in workhouse schools. Although the managers of Catholic certified Poor Law schools are willing to receive those children, and although, by a generosity unheard of in legal matters, the amount of the payment required by law has been left to be determined solely by the guardians themselves, nevertheless a large number of Catholic children are detained in Protestant schools by certain boards of guardians who are unwilling to carry out the several laws which have been passed for their transfer. In the army and navy, in Government prisons (and we hope soon, from the

passing of Mr. Cross's Bill, to be able to add, in all prisons), in reformatories, in industrial schools, and now, also, in day industrial schools, justice is secured for the religion of Catholics. Is it too much to hope that soon the law will be administered by the Local Government Board in such a manner as to prevent boards of guardians from successfully withholding from Catholic workhouse-children—chiefly orphans—the religious protection which Parliament on several occasions determined to secure for them?

With regard to these perversions of workhouse children, we believe that the law under which they are permitted is wrongly understood, and therefore improperly administered, by the guardians. The Act permits a child to change its religion at the age of 14, or even at the age of 12, if the Poor Law Board think the child is capable at that age of forming a judgment on such a subject. While this part of the Act remains unrepealed, and unblamed by the general public, it is difficult, we may say in passing, to understand why so much indignation was lately expressed in the newspapers on the subject of the reception of two youths into the Church, who by age and education were immeasurably better able to judge for themselves than pauper children at 12 or 14 years old. But, taking the law as it stands, we believe that it is only by a misunderstanding of its meaning that such apostasies are so frequently permitted. The law allows a change of creed. But what does such an act imply on the part of a child? It requires a disbelief in the religion which it has always been taught, and a knowledge of and belief in the new religion which it declares it has adopted. The change is the highest possible exercise of conscience, and requires an intellectual and moral effort of the highest order. It is a religious act with which no other can be compared. Now the same law absolutely forbids that a Catholic child shall be instructed in any other creed than its own, or be present at any other teaching or service than that which is in accordance with the Catholic faith as long as such child is visited and instructed by a priest. Under such circumstances, how is it in any sense possible, unless the law has been persistently violated, that such a child should be able to get rid of its faith in the only religion it has ever been taught, and that it should, as by a miracle, know and believe a religion which it has never been taught, and at whose services it has never been present? Such children are, in most numerous instances, presented to the guardians as soon as they attain the age of 14, and there and then, without question by the guardians, their statement

is accepted and their apostasy consummated and registered. We know instances in which the consent was not asked of the parents, nor information on the subject even given to them after the event. Now no one can maintain that this, under the circumstances, can be a religious act at all—or that it is a *change* of religion. But if it is not this, then it is a highly immoral act, a sham, an hypocrisy in the most sacred of matters, which no English Parliament ever intended to permit or encourage, much less to render legal by statutory enactment. The guardians are under the impression that because inquiry into the capability of a child to make such a change is permitted only between the ages of 12 and 14, and not at 14, therefore they have no right to put any question to a child after that age. But the question before them is not one of the child's capacity of forming a judgment on such a subject, but the question of *fact* whether he *has* formed such a judgment—whether it is at all true that he has done what he says he has—*i. e.*, acquired a disbelief in what he has been taught from his cradle, and a knowledge of and belief in a system of doctrines and practices which the guardians themselves are bound by law to prevent him from learning. No law could so far stultify itself as to permit, much less require, the guardians to accept as true that which they are bound to know is not only untrue, but even, under the circumstances, morally impossible. On the question of fact, we have ourselves heard the master of a large workhouse school declare—and he said he was willing to bear the same testimony before any one appointed to inquire—that religion had nothing whatever to do with these apostasies, which were simply the result of the social pressure of the school, which was strongly opposed to everything Catholic. But if religion has nothing to do with the *change of creed* thus officially registered by the guardians, then our argument is well founded, and the apostasies are a perversion of law and fact as well as of religion. In all other cases of declaration made to them the guardians exercise the common sense precaution of testing, in some way or other, the truth, probability, or possibility of the statement made. Neither the pauper who states that he has a claim on the parish, nor the contractor who declares that he has supplied such and such quantities to the house, is credited on his mere assertion. The probabilities are weighed, and any suspicious circumstances are considered to justify the inquiry for some kind of proof. If claim be made for impossible quantities in the one case, or if known circumstances show that the claim in the other is unfounded, they are both rejected. Upon

what grounds, then, do the guardians divest themselves of all the ordinary perceptions and habits of life and business in dealing with this one declaration only?

One word more on the subject of this, we trust pardonable, digression. The Act of 1862, which permitted the guardians to send pauper children to Catholic certified schools, authorizes them to send absolutely to such schools, *without* application from any one, all orphans and deserted children, and children also who are not orphans, if the "parents or surviving parent shall consent."* The Act of 1868 permits application for the removal of children to be made to the Local Government Board if the guardians should neglect or refuse to carry out the law just mentioned. Well-meaning guardians in some cases confuse these two Acts, and are under the impression that they may not send children to such schools unless an application by a relative or some authorized person be made to them in each case. This is clearly a mistake, for, as we have seen, no application is at all needed in the case of orphan or deserted children, and in other cases the consent of the parent is all that is required. It is evident that this mistake throws a burden on the pauper which is not created by the law. To ordinary people the difference may not appear important, but to the poor broken-spirited pauper who, after a long struggle to keep his home, has at length given up hope, and enters for the first time, with his half-starved family into a workhouse—with an ascending staff of officials between him and the board,—the difference between "Do you object to have your child sent to a school of his own religion?" and "Why are you not content to leave him with us? do you think he will be starved or badly treated?" is simply enormous; and in many instances requires an amount of moral courage which some find it most difficult to summon up against, often, the strong pressure of the anti-Catholic opinion of the whole house. Many guardians would, no doubt, if the matter could be made clear to them, be most willing to free the Catholic pauper from a difficulty which the law does not impose on him.

We have ventured upon this matter partly for its own sake, as bearing on the religious education of a class of our children, and partly to show some of the difficulties which are precluded by the enactment placing the day industrial schools

* Vic. 25 & 26, cap. 43, sec. 6. The clause is as follows:—"No child shall be sent to such [certified Poor Law] school unless he or she be an orphan, or deserted by his or her parents or surviving parent, or be one whose parent or surviving parent *shall consent* to the sending of such child to the said school."

under the Industrial Schools Act of 1866. The special rules to be adopted to secure the success of the new schools are still a matter of study, and probably some decision will be made public upon the subject by the Home Office—under which, and not under the Education Office, the new schools are placed by the Act, and under whose administration they naturally fall as being governed by the Industrial Schools Acts. It does not appear that such schools must necessarily be taught by certificated teachers, but, as in other schools under the Home Office and Local Government Board, the children will be examined in the standards of proficiency for the time being in force for the purposes of a Parliamentary grant to public elementary schools.

When the changes required by the new Act come into operation, it will be seen that the duty of providing, maintaining, and enforcing attendance at elementary schools is imposed on a considerable number of public authorities and elected bodies. Commencing with the Education Department and the Home Office, we descend through School Boards, Councils of Boroughs, Urban Sanitary Authorities, Prison Authorities, Boards of Guardians, and School Attendance Committees, down to the various officers appointed by these bodies, to the managers and teachers of denominational schools, of Board Schools, of Certified Efficient Schools, and, finally, of Day Industrial Schools, without reference to the managers and teachers of Certified Poor Law Schools, District Schools, Industrial Schools, and Reformatories.

With such a vast and various machinery set in motion in every district of the country it will, after a time, be almost impossible for children to grow up without, at least, the primary elements of education. Looking at the completeness of the scheme now realized, we, as Catholics, may well be thankful that Mr. Dixon's Bill for the compulsory extension of school boards and their system failed last session, and that the chief argument in support of his Bill—that in no other way could the attendance of children be enforced—has now fallen to the ground. Everywhere the laws against the employment of young children are to be enforced by the "local authority" created by the Act, and everywhere bye-laws compelling the attendance of children may be framed without the aid or existence of school boards. At the same time, all efficient schools, whether accepting the Conscience Clause or not, or whether or not taught by certificated teachers, may receive an official status entirely securing them against certain disadvantages to which they were liable under the former

system.* Had the secular party in 1870 been a little less eager to force their nostrum upon the whole country as a panacea for all moral and educational wants, their success might have been greater. The system they invented was crude, inapplicable to the circumstances of most numerous districts, and in no small degree harsh and tyrannical towards the voluntary system which, without rates, was bearing a vast pecuniary burden for the good of the country. The true interpreter of the intentions of the supporters of the new scheme was not Mr. Forster, who proclaimed that it was only framed in order "to supplement all existing organizations," but Mr. Dixon, Mr. Chamberlain, and the League, who very soon complained "that the election of school boards was not made obligatory in all districts. . . . That it was possible by the existing system to give a large measure of sectarian instruction under the cover of professedly unsectarian forms. . . . That denominational schools were fostered by an increase in the Parliamentary grant. . . . That guardians were bound to pay fees to denominational schools for the children of indigent parents," &c.† Had the secular party gone to work with more caution and produced a measure of a less wooden character, one more adaptable to the characteristics of an ancient and unrevolutionary country, they might possibly have succeeded in introducing the worst part of their system into every corner of the land. Above all, Catholics would have been taken at a great disadvantage had a compulsory system applicable to every district been then introduced. For although immense efforts had been made from 1865-6 to 1870-1, so that the average attendance in our schools inspected for annual Government grants rose from 49,868 to 71,666, we are glad to say that the number increased in a still greater proportion up to 1875-6, when the average attendance was 108,300. This is exclusive of the attendance in schools "simply inspected," and in those which are not inspected. Had universal compulsion been imposed upon us in 1870, it is clear that many thousands of our children would, for want of Catholic, have been forced into board or Pro-

* The duties and powers of the "local authority" with regard to the Conscience Clause are restricted to its observance in public elementary schools only.—Sec. 7 says : "It shall be the duty of such local authority to report to the Education Department any infraction of the provisions of section seven of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, in any public elementary school within their district which may come to their knowledge, and also to forward to the Education Department any complaint which they may receive of the infraction of those provisions."

† Report of the annual meeting of the National Education League. *Times*, Nov. 9, 1876.

testant schools. We have profited more in proportion by these few years than any other denomination, and we believe that we shall gain still more than any other by the official recognition of many of our schools as certified efficient schools. While we shall lament that any Catholic child should be unable to find a Catholic school within a reasonable distance of its home, we are glad on the other hand to believe that every effort will be made to obtain for all our existing schools the status of certified efficient schools. We are, then, in a far more prepared condition for the incidence of compulsory attendance now than in 1870; and in face of the new Act our educational resources will be, officially at least, immensely increased by the recognition of all successful effort, whether assisted by the Government grant or not. This difficulty of providing for primary education once surmounted, and in many places this has already been accomplished, the question of secondary education in grammar schools and high-class schools for girls, will no doubt soon meet with a solution worthy of the Catholic body.

And yet, looking at the condition of the law as it now stands, in respect to the relative positions of the two great antagonistic systems of education—the voluntary and religious as opposed to the school board and secular—we fear that we have only chronicled a temporary retreat of that tidal wave of secularism which rose so suddenly in 1870, and devoured so much of the land which had hitherto been considered completely beyond the reach of danger. An appeal to the country by a general election has since been made, and the answer, we believe, was largely affected by the school question. The invading destructive element has thus for the time been held in check, and some of the damage repaired, but it has left a permanent mark on the formerly peaceful shore, which will facilitate its angry return. Much has been done by increase of recognition of voluntary schools, by larger Government grants, and by several important ameliorations of the Code, to strengthen the position of the religious schools of the country. These we are thankful to acknowledge, and if they are only instalments of intended progress, we shall regard the future with less anxiety. But reflecting on things as they now stand, we cannot but recognize that the victory of the secular party in the establishment of board schools in almost every town of importance remains undisputed. There is no possibility under the law of bringing about the dissolution of a single board which has built or taken over even one public elementary school. And, still more remarkable, there is no obstacle raised by the Act to the spread of the same system over every

part of the country wherever a certain number of ratepayers wish to call upon the Education Department to order the election of a school board. Wherever a want of school accommodation exists, or can be made to exist by the wilful closing of existing voluntary schools, there the secular system has still the unchecked right of entry and permanent establishment. This is the great failure of the Act. If some restraint, however remote, had been devised, if some principle even had been introduced, which in time might have worked a change, the law would have been more worthy of the Conservative party. Now, every day adds to the difficulty of the situation, for the unreflecting, uneducated mass, unaccustomed to analyse the principles involved in the proceedings of public authorities, are being taught to regard board schools as a concession to popular demands, instead of a well-devised method of depriving their children of their most precious birthright, the right to Christian teaching in a Christian land.

Notwithstanding that success, at this moment, may appear hopeless, nevertheless it is especially the duty of Catholics to protest loudly and unceasingly against the destructive principles introduced by the Act of 1870. We fully trust that the question will be re-opened some day, and that sad experience may then incline the most influential portion of the nation to listen to the teachings of the Catholic Church, and to return to the only principles of school policy which are consistent with the Christian progress of a nation. When that day shall arrive we hope that a courageous Government may be in power, which will have regard for the majority of the nation rather than the majority of newspapers, and that before then the Dissenters will have discovered that the religious education of the young was as necessary for their success as for that of the Establishment. In the meantime, Catholics, while thankful for what has been lately recovered, must be ever on the watch to suggest practical remedies for the evils they deplore, and to explain to the nation those principles of true progress and enlightenment of which the Church is the depository and the guardian.

ART. VII.—ARTIFICIAL MEMORY.

1. *The New Art of Memory*, founded upon the principles taught by M. Gregor von Feinaigle, &c., &c. Second edition. London : Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1813.
2. *Memory*. By WILLIAM STOKES, Teacher of Memory, Lecturer at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, &c., &c. Fifty-eighth edition, revised and enlarged. London : Houlston & Sons, 1875.

MEMORY, and the means of strengthening it, is a subject which has received a somewhat intermittent attention in the course of history. At certain times, and in certain states of civilization we hear a great deal about it, and then again it appears for generations to be almost neglected. It must indeed be expected that memory would be most cultivated, where other instruments of record were either scanty or not readily worked. Among nations where writing was unknown, or the materials for writing were cumbrous, men naturally fell back upon memory for the transmission of the past to posterity, and they facilitated its operations by throwing them into the form of poetry. In those times, this faculty consequently assumed great prominence and importance. With us, the power of repeating a whole *Times* newspaper, if it were attainable, would, of itself, be regarded merely as a very curious phenomenon of the mind. We speak here of the faculty as exhibited in the affairs of the world, and in the intercourse of human life. Strings of precedents do not make a speech very telling, and the kind of writing which introduces a quotation at every paragraph must be ranked as among the least valuable. But in education, too much is often made of memory. Many a man, in looking back on his early years, will perceive with regret that scarcely an isolated effort was made to train his reason, or school his imagination, or discipline his will, while hours, and days, and weeks were spent in "learning by heart" a dry jumble of facts and dates, or, at best a collection of conclusions arrived at by able men, without any attempt to enable the student to draw conclusions for himself. The reason is, that teachers are thus enabled to avoid the trouble of thinking, and that is what the indolence of the human mind strives to escape from at any cost, nay, even at the price of what, in the end, proves much greater trouble than thinking would have been. The ridicule of Dickens, in

the description of little Paul Dombey's education, has perhaps not been without its effect, though the evil is very rooted. And when all was done, the memory, to which everything had been sacrificed, was not made an effective instrument, but rather choked, and enfeebled for any useful and practical purpose. What, in short, is wanted, and what is really attainable, though little has been done for it as yet, is to train the memory upon a plan, according to its laws, to subject it to an art, which, according to old definitions that cannot easily be bettered, means, on the one hand, an intellectual habit capable of producing certain results, on the other a system of connected precepts the observance of which will insure their results. Books without end have been written, with the titles of "*Art of Memory*." We must say even the best are somewhat disappointing; however, many hints may be gathered from them, and possibly mankind may yet make discoveries in this field, analogous to those which have worked such revolutions in the world of matter, so far as it is subject to their control. We propose, in the present article, to select some of the most interesting particulars connected with the earlier history of the art of mnemonics, and also to consider the views of one of its most recent and successful expositors, conveyed in the second of the little works we mention under the title.

An art of mnemonics, or method of assisting the natural memory, may be regarded as containing two divisions, viz., rules for training and developing the faculty, independently of special appliances, and secondly, means for enabling it to perform what, unassisted, it could not do. The former may be compared to hygienic and gymnastic exercises, to the art of the trainer, which brings the muscles to the height of their natural powers, the other to mechanical instruments, like the lever and screw, which render those powers capable of performances quite beyond them, if left to themselves. Such means undoubtedly exist for the memory, as for other faculties, and, judging by results that have often been exhibited to the world, as effective in their way as the various mathematical means are for aiding the powers of calculation.

Both these departments of the mnemonical art are of ancient date. The former must always have practically existed, wherever the idea of education operated; the antiquity of the latter in the western world is shown by the fact that its earliest invention is wrapped in fable. The story of the incident which gave Simonides the first hint of it, is told by every writer upon the subject, but by none with such consummate elegance as by Cicero. We will not resist the temptation of repeating it, conveying, as it does, a beautiful

religious lesson, though struck in a Pagan mould. The poet had been engaged by a rich Thessalian lord, Scopas by name, to celebrate in song a pugilistic victory, but devoted a large part of his poem to a digression in praise of Castor and Pollux, the patron-gods, after all, of that kind of achievement. Scopas had the meanness to withhold half the promised reward, and told Simonides he might look for the other half to the gods to whom he had given so much of his panegyric. A grand banquet followed, in the course of which Simonides received a message that two young men had asked with great earnestness to see him, and were waiting at the door. He went out, but found no one. Scarcely, however, had he reached the door, when the roof of the banquet-chamber fell in, and crushed the impious lord, with all the assembled guests. So mangled were the corpses that they could not be identified for burial, until Simonides, by remembering where each guest had reclined, was able to name them. This suggested to him the value of *locality* in assisting the memory, and he is said to have founded on it the first artificial memory, based upon that principle. Simonides flourished about B.C. 525. His idea, once suggested, was never lost sight of, and probably entered more largely into Greek and Roman education than it does in ours. No treatise on memory (except the metaphysical one of Aristotle's) has been handed down to us from ancient times, yet the description given of the Simonidean mnemonics, if we may call them such, by Cicero and Quintilian, are perfectly intelligible, have provided at least the basis for almost all that has been done in that province since, and would enable any man of ingenuity to devise some valuable means for increasing the grasp and readiness of his recollection.

This method, so far, is founded entirely upon the sense of sight, as acting in the form of imagination, and aided by the three rules of selection, combination, and order. Let us suppose, for example, with Cicero or Quintilian, a large house, with which we happen to be familiar, divided into many apartments, and adorned with various striking objects. We ascend a stone staircase with gilded railings, and enter a long gallery. Facing us is a mirror, of sufficient height to reflect the whole figure. Near it stands the statue of a *Canephora* in black marble, supporting with both hands a fruit-basket on her head. Next is a table of malachite, on which rests the bronze model of a hand. Further on hangs, on the wall, a suit of chain armour, a Greek helmet on the ground at its foot. We pass a door, where a tiger's skin serves the purpose of a mat. Beyond it, is suspended a

Malay creese and a round shield, elaborately painted in bright colours. We have thus obtained a series of images:—1, Staircase. 2, Mirror. 3, Canephora. 4, Malachite table. 5, Bronze hand. 6, Chain-armour. 7, Greek helmet. 8, Tiger's skin. 9, Malay creese. 10, Round shield. These must be so thoroughly fixed in the imagination, that we can assign their numerical place in this list without the least hesitation; in which there will be no difficulty, because, it is assumed, we are making use of some mansion of which we know every corner. But there are some obvious tricks by which to assist the memory. For instance, the mirror, with its reflection, may well suggest the number two; the Canephora, holding with two hands the fruit-basket on her head, three; the bronze hand, five, &c. Supposing then we have occasion to commit to memory a string of names, or any matters in a regular series, for example, the chief points in a lecture, they must be associated with those respective symbols by some link, most usually a pun, the more absurd often the more efficacious in linking the thing to one's recollection; or by placing them in connexion or contrast upon the mind's eye, with these lively, vividly-coloured images, many of which would fall into easy combination with historical facts, or ideas of the intellect, when transformed from the mere reason to the imagination, and put, as it were, into the livery of the latter faculty. It is plain that by the study of these images, they may be rendered even a more effective instrument than at first sight appears. The staircase we began with, may be divided into so many landings, marked by orange-trees or by vases of flowers, and each will accommodate some deposit for the memory. Then the system may be developed by adding to it the imagery of the various rooms opening into the gallery and distinguished by their colours, use, or some very marked object they contain. Among the mnemonical writers of antiquity, Metrodorus, the nephew, and successor of Epicurus, adopted for his basis the signs of the zodiac, divided in 360 compartments, each of course combined with some symbol, according to the 360 degrees of the circle.

We will attempt a further illustration of the principles, and exemplify it as applied in practice. Suppose we assign to the numbers from 1 to 10, the following images:—1, a candle; 2, a pair of scales; 3, a tent; 4, a fort; 5, a hand; 6, a sword; 7, a serpent; 8, a cup; 9, a ship; 10, an egg. The student will have thoroughly and completely mastered these symbols so as to give them backwards and forwards and every way. He now wishes to remember the different points of Xerxes' march from Critalla to Sardis, as recorded in the

seventh book of Herodotus. The stages were the following :—

1. Critalla.
2. The River Halys.
3. Phrygia.
4. Celænæ (Rivers Mæander and Catarrhactus).
5. Anaua (salt lake).
6. Colossæ (river Lycus, *Wolf*).
7. Kydrara (boundary column of Cræsus).
8. Lydia.
9. Callatebus (manufactory of artificial honey).
10. Sardis.

On examining these names, we find that *Critalla* suggests the pun of *tallow*, which is associated with a candle. The River *Halys* may be forced under the second symbol by calling it, for the nonce [*Sc*]*halys*. Any trick or manipulation is admissible for the purpose of reminiscence, nor is it necessary even to make use of every symbol as it comes, if we find that we can conveniently recollect in some other way the object to be recalled. *Phrygia* comes third in the list. A tent is the third symbol, and the Greek scholar may picture to himself a heap of faggots (*phrygana*) near the tent, which will suggest the name *Phrygia*. *Celænæ* is fourth. To remember that name, observe that, in Greek, it signifies *dark* or *dusky*. In acquiring this string of names, let us represent the symbolic fort to our imagination as of a dark colour, grey with age. The student unacquainted with Greek, will have devised some other association; for instance, the Latin word *celare*, “to conceal,” readily combines with the notion of a fort, and is sufficiently near to the word *Celænæ*. As for the two rivers, they may easily be connected with the fort, without requiring any symbol, other than their own images, a *meandering* stream, and an impetuous one, with *cataracts*. *Anaua* comes fifth. A hand represents number five, and *manus* (whence *manœuvre*) is the Latin for a hand. We have only to prefix the letter *m* to *Anaua*, to obtain a sound close enough to *manus* to call up the name to the memory. We chose a sword for the sixth symbol, and *Colossæ* stands sixth. Well, we all know that S. Paul wrote an Epistle to the Colossians, and that the apostle is always represented with a sword, which is quite enough to fix *Colossæ* in its place. As *Lycus* signifies in the Greek the *Wolf* river, the image of a wolf may be associated with the symbol, on the same principle as before. It will be found that symbols are quite capable of having other symbols clustered upon them. The serpent

represented No. 7, and to remember *Kydrara* we may conceive a kid with a serpent folding its rings round it. Here indeed we might drop the seventh symbol, since a wolf which was last in our mind, is so readily associated with the idea of a kid. To remember *Lydia*, let the cup, which was the eighth symbol, be supposed to have a *lid*. *Callatebus* stands ninth, and there Herodotus tells us they manufactured artificial honey from tamarisk and wheat. A ship is the ninth symbol. Let us suppose the ship in the river, ready to convey the honey for exportation, and perhaps the pun of its *calling* at the town may suggest the name of *Call-at-ebus*. Finally, *Sardis*, in the tenth place, which was represented by an egg. An egg is intimately associated with breakfast, and is very often followed by *sardines*, and that cannot fail to suggest the name *Sardis*.

We will illustrate the last example by a remarkable passage in Aristotle's treatise, "*De Memoria et Reminiscentiâ*." The philosopher says :

It often happens that a man cannot call something to mind, but by searching he can, and succeeds in finding it. And this happens, if he moves many things, until he has elicited a movement which the object in question will follow. For to remember, is to have within one a motive faculty, such as to be capable of being moved by itself, and by the motion which it possesses. Wherefore people sometimes seem to call to mind by means of *places*. And the reason is, that one passes readily from one thing to another ; as for example, from milk to whiteness ; from whiteness to the air ; and from that to moisture, from which we remember autumn, if we desire to find that season.—"*De Mem. et Reminisc.*" c. ii.

Aristotle here evidently illustrates the principles of *topical* memory by giving a specimen of what Mr. Stokes would call a *chain* of associated ideas. The associations, however, will not, in this instance, be clear to the merely modern reader. Thus it may seem rather far-fetched to say that *whiteness* will suggest the idea of the *air*. To a Greek, however, this would be perfectly natural. The Greek mind was singularly deficient in distinct appreciation of colour, and this indefiniteness, which has been taken as an evidence of the fact that Homer was blind, in reality appears in the language generally, quite independently of his poems. The primary notion conveyed by the word *leucón*, or "white," to a Greek, was not whiteness as a colour, but simply *brightness*, and with this the transparent atmosphere of his climate was naturally in the closest association. Water, or moisture, would be suggested by air, as standing below it in the scale of elements, and finally would be in its turn linked to the idea of

autumn, the rainy season 'of Greece. It is not meant that we are likely to forget the idea of autumn, but to show, by the example of the succession of such ideas as might call up the idea of autumn in our minds,—milk—brightness—air—water—the rainy season,—how memory depends upon the connexion of ideas, and how it may be possible so to attach one thing to another in our minds that we can recall the one at will by thinking of the other.

It may here be remarked that different sets of symbols will be found to vary in their adaptability to different subjects. Thus, to remember Greek names, it might be well to have symbols based more or less upon Greek modes of thought. The same art would require a good deal of straining if applied to Hebrew names, and *vice versâ*. But there is hardly any limit to the creation of symbols in fields well marked and distinct from each other. Thus heraldry furnishes quite a world of imagery, which has been devised for the very purpose of vividly striking both the mind and eye. The botanical student, accustomed to floral forms, might similarly obtain from them endless mnemonic instruments. And poetry, where the imagination combines great vividness with great clearness (the latter a highly essential attribute for this purpose), would be found an equally valuable storehouse. Homer and Walter Scott both are instances in point. The description of the shield of Achilles, for example, is as it were made both to be easily remembered, and to be capable of immense variety of association.

In making use of systems of this kind in the instruction of the very young, it may be necessary for the instructor to bear in mind that the childish imagination is a singularly sensitive and delicate organ. Children often receive impressions even of terror from pictures that to a grown person seem merely grotesque or amusing; and again, associations of a painful or disgusting kind are easily formed, which it is next to impossible to shake off. Hence, much care should be used in the selection and combination of images. We notice a hint of this difficulty in Mr. Stokes' treatise (p. 108), where he mentions "the grave objection" of some who have "tried mnemonics," and cannot use it for sermons, because of the unsuitable associations they form; to meet which, he has devised "a mnemonical *Biblical Key*," which, he states, "at once removes the difficulty of which thousands, prior to its invention, complained."

So far, we have been considering that branch of artificial memory which consists in the application of visible, or rather visual symbols by the imagination. They furnish, perhaps,

the most efficient instrument which the mind possesses, at least, in the acquisition of some classes of subjects. This is recognized in the well-known lines of Horace :

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

But all the senses quicken the memory. The most superficial observer of his own mind must have had opportunities of noticing how, not merely the sight of some associated object, but a scent, or a sound, will bring back in an instant memories long since dormant. It may be

A tone of music, summer's eve, or spring,
A flower, the wind, the ocean which shall wound
Striking the electric chain with which we are darkly bound.
And how, or why, we know not.

The reduction of sound to an instrument of artificial memory is very recent in a particular application of it, which we shall consider later on (that of Dr. Grey), but in a more general procedure, even more ancient than that founded upon places and on the sight. In point of fact, verse was the earliest aid which the human mind made use of to register its ideas. Words are more easily remembered in the form of verse than of prose, because in verse the laws of association as regards sound are observed, and contrast, likeness, order, are all brought into play; not, indeed, originally for that purpose, because the object of poetry is to relieve the overburdened spirit or to give pleasure to the hearer; but if not for that *purpose*, certainly with that *result*. Ages before mnemonics was formed into an art, some of its most important rules were already observed, just as men reasoned before Aristotle made out the theory of the syllogism. Of this, traces may be observed even in Homer; for example, the careful *grouping* of the geographical facts in the catalogue of the ships, as has been well developed by Mr. Gladstone, and the recurrence of certain stock *formulae*, which would afford a momentary rest to the memory of the rhapsodist in reciting. It may well be supposed that when the committal to memory and recitation of such vast compositions as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* formed the entire business of a particular profession in society, the human mind would be sure to devise means for making the trade even easier than the metrical form of the compositions had already made it. With the increased use of writing, these arts might be so far expected to become less common, because it was no longer necessary to depend upon memory in order to amuse or

interest people. Thus would men become readers, as now, instead of listeners. Yet there were other reasons which would still operate the other way. Memory is especially valued in learned and antiquarian ages, such as came over Greece at the Alexandrine period, and characterized the forms which education took during the Roman period, particularly its later stages, and this is shown by the stories told of the extraordinary memory of such men as Hortensius and Seneca. Their system, however, as we have already observed, has not come down to us, though the principles have never been lost sight of, and in mediæval and modern times have been the germ of a profusion of arts of memory, summaries of a great number of which will be found in the curious volume, the name of which appears first in the heading of this article. One of the most elaborate is Dr. Wills' "*Mnemonica*," published in 1661. The author devises what he calls *Repositories* to help the memory. These are imaginary fabrics, resembling so many theatres, of which he gives a description and elevation, with dimensions. You are to conceive a stone building, 12 yards by 6, and 7 yards high, open in front, with a stage of smooth gray marble along its whole breadth, the walls wainscotted with cypress, the stage equally divided by a groove, and a column reaching to the roof, each repository to be distinguished by the colour of its column,—gold, silver, black, blue, red, &c., &c., and filled with ideas, that is, with visible representations of things, formed by a strong effort of the imagination; some in movement, others at rest, some giving sound, others silent, some fragrant, others noisome. Pictures, musical instruments, armour, written tablets, &c., may be supposed hanging to the walls; and every idea will have the colour, in some way or other, of its repository. Thus, if a black bull is placed in the first repository, let him have gilded horns, if in the fifth, a garland of red flowers. Then, whatever is to be remembered must be invested in the imagination with colour and form, and placed in one of the repositories. If an historical event admits of being represented to the mind's eye in not too large a group, it may be conceived as actually going on in the room; if more complicated, as in a picture upon the wall.

So far, the author merely gives the imagination its natural offices in the study of history, with the addition of order, method, and localization. There is no doubt the imagination is often allowed to be almost dormant when people imagine themselves studying history. Page after page is read, and the mind receives words only, without making the slightest

endeavours to realize the same. To remember sentences they will sometimes have to be translated into images, and a visible form and embodiment given to that which is in its own nature immaterial.

Another mnemonical treatise, of about the same epoch (1651), is that of Henry Herdson. He also has repositories,—tables of gold, jet, alabaster, &c., and on the tables, symbols for the various numbers, elected for some supposed resemblance to the form of the numeral or other visible association. Thus, he gives a tobacco-pipe for 6, a carpenter's square for 7, a pair of spectacles for 8, an orange for 0, &c.; and similarly for the letters of the alphabet, he suggests that a pair of compasses may represent A, a bow and arrow, B, a horn, C, &c. On the latter symbolism he gives the hint that a mnemonical *shorthand* may be formed, the ideas of the letters being suggested to the fancy, as the alphabet to the bodily eye, with colours to represent the words. In this way, he says, "the eye of a nimble fancy will read anything by ideas thus figured, as readily as if it were written in a book, and will retain what is there written." This kind of shorthand appears to be one of the *recondita* of the art, and Mr. Stokes also holds out a similar possibility.

Judging, however, from the various arts of memory as communicated to the public, we must confess it seems as if they did not afford any royal road to the acquisition of continuous passages in the exact order in which they follow each other, including particles. They are triumphs as regards detached words, however difficult in themselves, and as regards anything capable of numerical representation, but seem to break down when we come to committing prose compositions to memory. This difficulty is as old as Quintilian, who remarked :

This mode [local memory] will be of much less efficacy for learning by heart the parts that constitute a continuous speech ; for thoughts have no their peculiar images like things, the image in their case being a mere fiction of the imagination ; though, indeed, the place will suggest to us either a fictitious or a real image ; but how will the connexion of the words of a speech be retained in mind by the aid of art or method ? I do not dwell on the circumstance that some things cannot be signified by any images, as, for instance, conjunctions.—"Education of an Orator," Bohn's transl., Bk. II. ch. ii. 24.

Still even here, local memory may furnish, as it were, stepping-stones to get from one point to another, and natural memory must be depended on for the rest, aided, as it may be,

to a surprising extent, by pre-conceived and well-devised rules.

Dr. Watts ("Improvement of the Mind," Part I. ch. xvii.) mentions a rather curious mnemonical instrument, which consisted in first of all acquiring, with perfect accuracy, the first hundred lines of the "*Æneid*," so as to remember not only the order and number of the verses, but of the words in each verse; and then remembering any out of 200 or 300 names, by means of some real or fantastic connexion between some word in a verse, and some letter, syllable, property, or accident of the name or thing to be remembered. The idea seems perfectly possible, though not perhaps the best basis that could be thought of.

Instruments, such as we have described, were used in the first quarter of the present century, by Gregor von Feinaigle, who made a reputation as a mnemonical teacher of great celebrity throughout Europe. It would be tedious to analyze his system, when the reader must already clearly see the principle upon which these arts generally are constructed, and in which little room seems left for change, except in rearrangement and simplification. Each century produces some wonder in the mnemonical world, whether by means of an art which can be taught (as Schenkel in the 16th century), or by some occult faculty which the possessor himself cannot explain (like Jedediah Buxton, for arithmetical calculation, in the 18th). One new and most useful accession to the art was devised in 1730, by Dr. Richard Grey. It consisted, as is well known, in representing figures by letters, the cardinal numbers being marked by vowels and diphthongs, interchanged with consonants assigned on very simple and natural associations. By this means, it is easy to tag on to names that we desire to remember, syllables representing dates, or any other facts of arithmetical form. The inventor adopted the hexameter verse as a depository for the collected words and symbols; and many a student has to thank this idea for enabling him to recollect, with little difficulty in the acquisition, and practical certainty in the possession, long series of dates and facts which, without it, would have been almost unmanageable. Let us quote, by way of example, for the benefit of those who may not be acquainted with this simple and ingenious contrivance, the two lines by which Grey fixes, (1) the first six General Councils; (2) the names of the Popes under whom they were held (which we have always thought, for a Protestant chronologist in England a century and a half ago, showed a good deal of sense); (3) the names of the corresponding emperors; (4) the names of the heretics who

were censured in those councils; (5) their dates. The lines are:—

Nic-Syl-Cón-Ari-tél, Co-Da-Thé-Ma-teib, Eph-Ce-The-Nés-fib.
Chál-Le-Mar-Eú-Di-olá, Co-Vi-Júst-O-lut, C-Ág-Co-Po-Món-séts.

Which, being interpreted, yield the following:—

Councils.	Popes.	Emperors.	Heretics.	Dates.
Nicaea	Sylvester	Constantine	Arius	325
Constantinople	Damasus	Theodosius	Macedonius	381
Ephesus	Celestine	Theodosius (J.)	Nestorius	431
Chalcedon	Leo	Marcian	Eutyches and Dioscorus	451
Constantinople	Vigilius	Justinian	Origenists	553
Constantinople	Agatho	Constantine Pogonatus	Montanus	680

The reader, to whom the subject is new, will assuredly object, that it would be as easy, and easier, to master this table, than the memorial lines. This objection, however, is simply founded on ignorance. We grant that perhaps it might be as easy as far as regards this particular table, and the effort necessary, not to learn the memorial lines, but to master the relations of the letters and the numbers in the system. But then the latter, once acquired, will enable the student to remember *any* set of dates or other figures to which he may choose to apply them, and far faster, and more surely, than he could without this assistance. Again, the system is totally useless, unless it is learned so perfectly that the student has no hesitation or uncertainty whatever in applying it. The letters must convey their impression to the mind as instantaneously as the memorial symbols would, and this once effected, it will probably be allowed by everybody, that the syllable *tel* is easier remembered, when hitched in a tolerably smooth hexameter, than the number 325. The reason probably is, that in attempting to remember a number, in the first place the sound is confused in memory, with the almost identical sounds of an infinite number of other numerical combinations; and the same thing applies also to the form of the memorial symbols, if we endeavour to help ourselves by recalling them. Whereas the syllable *tel* is much less likely to be confused by other cognate sounds, and stands more isolated and *come-at-able* in the memory. Grey's system was further developed by a schoolmaster of the name of Solomon

Lowe, who applied it to weights, coins, measures, &c., in an industrious and useful manner, but whose work long since needed to be re-constructed.

The principle we have just explained will be practically familiar to most students of theology, in which we often find a section summarized by a memorial line, a practice handed down from the scholastic ages, as every student of *Barbara, Celarent*, or "*Quæ, Ca., vel Hyp.,*" &c., well knows.

In the present day, one of the most successful teachers of the mnemonical art is Mr. William Stokes, who has published several works on the subject, the title of one of which is given at the head of the present article. In considering his system we are met with the difficulty that it is essentially an oral one, and consequently not to be judged of, only by the books in which hints, avowedly incomplete, are given of its construction, more especially as, much like Schenkel before him, he secures a property in the system he has invented, by a promise given by pupils not to teach it without his sanction, and in conjunction with him. No doubt an inventor has a perfect right to do this, as an author to secure his copyright, or patentees in general the discoveries or methods they find out. But, in that case, criticism is in a great measure deprived of its materials, or, which is the same thing, has to judge without having the whole case before it. We are thus too much thrown upon results, which certainly may be established by competent testimony, but as to the production of which, and the effect of using the given instruments upon the mind, and upon other faculties, one would desiderate more evidence. Let us, however, before entering further on the subject, say that Mr. Stokes has the support of many excellent witnesses to the value of his system. We cannot but speak with respect of what has given satisfaction to judges like Sir Stafford Northcote, Professor Rawlinson, and the late Professor Donkin. The present writer has not, indeed, had the means of personal observation, but the expression used to him by a witness on whom he could rely, as to the performances of some of Mr. Stokes' pupils, was, "that it seemed to him as if they could do anything." This does not indeed, in our view, settle the question as to the propriety of giving this art the prominence in education which Mr. Stokes very naturally claims for it, but it is quite enough to constitute it at least a very valuable *adminiculum*. Of this, however, more at length further on.

Every treatise on the art of memory—we hastily said *the* art, but it is unnecessary to correct the expression, because, strictly, there can no more be *several* arts of memory than

several arts of logic—ought to comprise two parts, rules to aid and develop the natural memory, and rules for supplying an artificial memory. But, in point of fact, the two are one, because all memory is in reality natural. It is not by any other memory than that which God gave us that we remember any of the instruments suggested by the various mnemonical writers, though they may aid that memory very much, just as spectacles aid the sight but give no new visual senses. Even the microscope only strengthens the sight. Mr. Stokes has not the art of writing a compact, systematic treatise. His book, though short, is wordy, and he indulges far too much in the advertisement style; still, he gives several sound and practical hints on both heads. It would, of course, be unfair to make up a list of them, or even to quote any considerable number, out of a book which the reader can purchase for a shilling. What we shall notice are merely those which are required for the purpose of criticism, so far as that is possible.

A very simple rule is given by Mr. Stokes as the foundation of the system:—“*Observe, reflect, link thought with thought, and then think of the impressions.*” A superficial student may be apt to think he has gained little by having a rule like this imparted as a discovery. But its utility can only be found out by putting it in practice. Till that is done, the words really convey little meaning, any more than the maxims of worldly wisdom, which are the result of the large experience of a man of fifty, can do, if stated to a mere youth who has not yet been able to test them by experience. The essence of the rule is the connexion of ideas. Isolated facts must always be hard to remember, except by purely technical means, but facts increase in their adaptability to memory in proportion to their combination. The ordinary summaries of history are far less easily remembered than Herodotus or Froissart, where the imagination is supplied with an abundance of vivid pictures in close relation, or even than Thucydides, where the reason is supplied with long trains of events related to each other as cause and effect.

Mr. Stokes reckons four kinds of memory, *lingual, aural, visual, and reflective*. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say there are two,—memory of sensation, and memory of reflection, the former subdivided according to whatever arrangement is adopted of the senses. He assigns as the most frequent cause of forgetfulness, the *not picturing, imperfectly picturing, or incorrectly picturing*. His system, therefore, mainly follows the principles of Feinaigle and the ancient mnemonical authorities in providing a number of symbols with which the objects we wish to commit to memory may be

linked. The letters of the alphabet are ingeniously assisted with pictorial emblems, the names of which are allied in sound with those of the letters. Thus, an *eagle* stands for E, an *elephant* for L, a *yew-tree* for U, &c., and some form, not easily forgotten, is excogitated to make the letter, thus fixed in the mind, suggest what has been attached to it. Similarly, the numerals are furnished each with a symbol,—a bird stands for 2, having two wings, a quadruped for 4, a bridge with nine lamps for 9, &c., &c., and by means of such symbols in combination, the multiplication table for example, is committed to memory by children with ease and certainty. Great use is also made of *aural* memory by means of rhymes, and of abbreviated articulation, which aids the *lingual* memory, and is largely used in the old treatise of Lowe's already referred to. There is, indeed, little in the system, so far as it is described to the uninitiated, that can be said to be new. For instance, the idea of localizing geographical facts in an outline of the human face and head, coincides with a hint in Grataroli's *Castel of Memorie* (translated by William Fulwood, 1573)—“Also he commaunded that many thinges should bee written by the mynde or wit in the face of him that speaketh, in the heares, in the forehead, in the eyes, and so to descend downewarde to the feete.” The list of symbols for numerals and letters of course easily admitted of variety in their choice and arrangement. But it must always be fully borne in mind that in this, as in any other art, of which the general principles have once been suggested, the real originality or genius of the teacher is shown in his method of imparting it, which cannot be conveyed in a mere treatise.

It is useful in many departments of life to reflect not merely on the means of success, but on the cause of failure; and then to consider not only how we may remember, but why we forget. Among the causes of this latter, Mr. Stokes enumerates external impressions and internal emotions; *an unconscious or indulged liking for reverie* (p. 106–108). There is no doubt that all the passions, if indulged, greatly weaken the memory. One reason probably is, that there is only a given amount of energy which each mind is capable of devoting to an intellectual object. If this has already been expended on trifles, or worse than trifles, so much less remains for a contrary purpose. Moreover, this applies especially to the memory, because the memory depends so much on the imagination, and, on the supposition, the imagination has already spent and exhausted itself over indulgence. The same cause weakens the will to a surprising degree, and with it the power of giving sustained attention to a subject, which is one of the first conditions for

remembering it. Against distraction, Mr. Stokes tells us "to establish a mnemonical *counter-attraction*, knowing that we shall for a certainty be assailed, let us be prepared to meet their attacks,—fortify our mind with our attention-taking, thought-recurring *basis of association*, after which we can with ease arrange, deposit, and fix, and instantly lay hold of our ideas." The various ideas he throws out of chains, threads, shelves, pegs, frames, &c., to assist the mind in fixing and storing up its acquisitions and getting at them when stored, are all more or less suggestive, but can hardly be discussed out of connexion with what we may call the oral tradition of which they are a part. They are all different forms of representing to the mind's eye the value of order and mnemonical arrangement in the functions of memory and reminiscence. We may remark, however, that there is one important advantage attending the art of local memory, and it is that of being able to contemplate an assemblage of ideas in the memory as *wholes*, the parts of which are in mutual relation, so that, whilst attending to one, the others are, as it were, within sight and within call. An undisciplined memory may possibly have a variety of ideas in stock, but it can only examine them one by one, and has no assured confidence that the others are there and forthcoming when they are wanted. Such a memory is deficient in totality, which has been justly called the "crown and perfection of all the faculties." The objection very certainly occurs, that the mind must be distracted by thinking of many things at the same time; but that applies only to a mind that attempts to think of many things individually at the same time. The power we are attempting to describe is like that of the general who has in his mind a chart of the order of battle, where no part is isolated, and no part really forgotten, even when it does not happen to be under special attention at the moment.

All the foregoing observations will certainly show that we are not disposed to undervalue the faculty of memory. Rather, with Æschylus, we are ready to call it "the very mother of the muses and the universal instrument." This, however, is not making it supreme, or elevating it into the final from the organic rank. It is the tendency of all specialists to refer everything to their own art. Aristoxenus argued that the soul was a harmony; Quintilian maintained that a real orator must necessarily be a good man; Lavater saw physiognomy even in a cornfield; and Mr. Stokes contends that "the genius of Milton consisted in a vivid remembrance of a record in the Bible, a ready remembrance of expressive words, and a constant remembrance of a certain

metre" (p. 7). "Had he forgotten *either* (he goes on to say with more justice) "the genius of Milton would have then been marred." A long induction follows, in which similarly almost all the operations and even affections of the mind are referred to memory. "Creative wit is the remembrance of incongruities." "Arithmetical calculation is the remembrance of certain numerical facts, rules, and results." "Taste is the remembrance of harmonious combinations." "Love is constant, appreciative, pleasurable remembrance." "Hope is the desire of the fulfilment of a *remembered* imagination." "Prayer is the expressed remembrance of facts, wants, and wishes." "Even conscience is but memory." He had begun by stating the thesis that "the mind is *almost all* memory," which idea he rather softens at the end into the statement that "much of what we call Mind is Memory." The inference drawn from the whole is, "memory is the faculty upon which the other operations of the mind wholly rest," and that its "development, culture, and preservation are matters not of *secondary*, but of *primary* importance."

There must always be a liability in the human mind to give an exaggerated importance to things admitted to be indispensable, and to forget their relative dispositions in the consideration of their absolute necessity. Without food and clothing, what would become of health, life and all the energies of man, individual and collective? Yet, "the life is more than the meat, and the body than the raiment." Many a political economist forgets the latter supreme truth, in his vivid perception of the indispensability of the former. "When the memory goes, all goes," as we have heard an aged man mournfully soliloquize on the decay of once remarkable mental faculties. But, that does not give memory a right to take precedence of the reason, or justify its elevation into an end, from being a simple instrument in education. We may over-cultivate the memory, as we may over-cultivate the imagination, or even the logical faculty in certain of its operations—for example, that which deals with necessary truth, which has often been so unduly stimulated, as to weaken the power of perceiving inferences in the department of probable truth. And there have been ages in which the human mind has been effectually stunted by such a preference. Such an age was that of the Roman empire at the time of such writers as Pliny and Seneca, deepening into the decrepitude of the Byzantine period, when literature and science were reduced to little more than the preservation and incessant review of the creations or discoveries of the original minds of a healthier epoch. Such a one-sided culture tended to deepen its ill effects by

the vanity it was sure to engender. Just as many a youth deceives himself into the notion he is a poet, because his mind is stocked with the imagery of real poets, so a peculiar conceit of intellect arises from the mere perception and possession of the reasonings excogitated by others—a fault generally found in the half-educated or self-educated. These are facts not to be lost sight of by those who have to train the youthful mind, and whose business it is to give its due development to every faculty, the power of drawing just and practical inferences from whatever meets them being one of the most essential. A continual battle has to be kept up, as well with the pupil's laziness as the teacher's own; and there is no question as we remarked at the outset, but that *mere* memory has often been the refuge to which both have resorted, to save themselves what the human mind above all dislikes,—the trouble of thinking.

We are anxious, however, not to be misunderstood. There is a sense in which it is perfectly true to say, that memory is the most important faculty in education. The fact that memory is the faculty most prominent in youthful intellect, and of no lasting bloom, points to its great importance, and if a youth were sent into the world with his reasoning faculty alone cultivated, he would have a very deficient supply. To what object has such a mass of intellectual capital been accumulated in the course of centuries, if it is not to be acquired in some sufficient measure? And, even if reason were all in all, the reasoner would be labouring at the task of the Danaides, if he forgot his conclusions as soon as they were obtained. Train, therefore, the memory by all means, but do not fatten it like the poor geese which furnish us with the *paté de foie gras*. Let your scholar have the full benefit of "a good sprag memory," as Sir Hugh Evans would say, but do not make him learn "Télémaque" by heart from one end to another,* as we read has actually been done in some French college. Subject to this caution, let the memory have all the help we can give it, to make it vigorous, efficient, prompt, and justly confident of itself. In order to such a result, Mr. Stoke's method will afford, with all its exaggerations, some very valuable suggestions, as much for improvement of the natural memory as in supplying a very powerful artificial instrument. There is much truth in the contrast as drawn between *repetition* (the only art of memory, if we may call it so, known to many teachers little qualified for their office), and the more

* "L'un d'entr' eux avait récité avec intelligence et sans une seule faute le 'Télémaque' tout entier." (*De l'Education*, par Mgr. Dupanloup, liv. iii. ch. ii.)

rapid means of *association*. Here again, beware of half-truths. Repetition is one of the deepest principles of the organization of the human mind, intellectual as well as moral; and in the form of habituation is the very foundation of all ethical training. Still, that is no more a reason for refusing to make use of an instrument that may to a considerable extent dispense with repetition, than it would be to decline to avail ourselves of algebra, because arithmetic, while giving more trouble, and, therefore, needing patience, might deal with many problems, though by no means with all, which the former system can solve with the greatest facility.

As memory depends chiefly on association, and, as different minds are attracted in life to different sorts of association, as of likeness, of connexion of time and place, of cause and effect, &c., acts of memory may be imagined as turning upon one or other of them, and, accordingly as suited in different degrees to different orders of mind. To a certain extent, therefore, each man might construct an art of memory for himself, and a thoughtful person, attentive to the operations of his own mind, and observant of the effects resulting from obvious principles, repeated indeed by rote, but seldom really grasped and studied, would probably be surprised at the results which he would obtain in a short time. In general, however, it must not be expected that those discoveries will be hit upon by the learner himself at an age when they are most wanted; and now that the world is flooded with books professing to teach all subjects in a more efficient method than was known to the preceding generations, it would be well if educators would consider how far the general instruments of all learning can be rendered more efficacious, and thus effect that saving of time, which is more and more necessary in proportion to the vast accumulation of human knowledge which threatens to overwhelm us.

ART. VIII.—MODERN IDEALS AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Areopagitica, a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing. By JOHN MILTON (1644). London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying. By JEREMY TAYLOR. London: 1647.

On Liberty. By JOHN STUART MILL. London: 1859.

The History of Rationalism in Europe. By W. E. LECKY. London: 1865.

Recueil des Allocutions, &c., de Pie IX. Paris: 1865.

THE *Areopagitica* is one of Milton's finest efforts in persuasive eloquence; but it is something more. It is the commencement of that unwearied, ever-growing advocacy of what is called freedom of the press, freedom of thought and discussion, which at our day has gained the sympathies of a large audience both in Europe and America. Two hundred and forty years ago Milton addressed his prophecy to the Long Parliament; and now a host of contemporary lights take pleasure in showing us how the prophecy has come to be a fact. Comparing the outlines which were then drawn with the substance and reality of the present prevailing freedom, we are at no loss to see that Liberals of all ages have worshipped the same divinity; nor will much difference be detected between the arguments and principles of the *Areopagitica* and those which Mr. Lecky, in his calmly judicial review of the past, has thought well to advance. And although there is something attractive in watching how from slight and small beginnings a whole order of things has grown out; how from an almost imperceptible deflection of the line there is flowing on and on a curve, as it may seem, into boundless space, with no hope of its return to the starting-point; and how that mere nothing has taken a portentous magnitude and fills the horizon wherever we gaze; still the philosophic mind would have expected such effects to ensue whenever the principle could obtain free space for its development: and the simple truth or falsehood, the right or the wrong of the principle itself, cannot, thereby, in so much as one iota, be affected. What will confute Milton or Taylor will suggest an answer to Lecky. And our answer to

these will explain the "storm of opprobrium" which followed Mr. Tyndall's efforts at Belfast to publicly call in question the fundamental truths of religion still held, on both sides of the Irish Channel, as the acknowledged social creed. The opprobrium was deserved, and the incident has given us a motive for writing the present article. For the spirits of men communicate across the centuries, and questions of principle are beyond the reach of time. If such questions admit of a resolution at all, it can only be by appealing to that in our nature which is neither of the seventeenth nor of the nineteenth century, to the axioms of everlasting justice and the truths of an essential unchanging world to come.

But to the average Briton, who requires examples and instances, the unphilosophic, who will assent to nothing abstract, and keeps clear of generalities, it must appear that Liberty of the Press has established itself on the basis of solid fact, and, far from being a rhetorical description of possibilities, is among the sacred institutions which he feels bound to venerate. For Liberty of the Press is a shibboleth of the present century. As many as can pronounce it without stammering are friends of culture, enlightened, aiming at perfection. But all to whom it is a difficult foreign word must be clericals, children of darkness, Philistines, and, in moments of social danger, "suspect." To hesitate over it is weakness, to reprobate it is treason. Those who further it are Liberals; those who denounce it are Ultramontanes: and as the first title is given to the good, the ἀπίστοι, so the second is a badge of infamy or ridicule worn by an inferior class. Liberty of the Press is one of those inestimable blessings of "modern civilisation" which the Pope has condemned; and in doing so, if we may put faith in the "Daily Telegraph," he has excommunicated himself. He is an enemy to the free press: but does not the free press rule in London and New York, nay, and in Rome under the new king? What should we think of a cardinal introducing a censorship of books into the modern state? Would he not seem a creature of an extinct epoch, glacial or other? The "Daily Telegraph" would probably say, as does Mr. Mill, that the time is long gone by since it was necessary to defend such freedom against a corrupt or tyrannical government. The civilized world acknowledges a common Magna Charta, and one of its chief enactments is that every one shall enjoy his natural liberty of thinking what he likes and saying what he thinks. There were laws of the Medes and Persians which could not be altered, and moderns, too, have made laws which they hold to be sacred and inviolable. They are, and

they shall be, so long as this age of railways and telegraphs shall endure, whilst the merchant is permitted to gamble on 'Change, and a money crisis at Vienna can make itself felt as far as Canton on the one side and San Francisco on the other.

This is what Englishmen say when they hear that Gregory XVI. has reprobated the unrestrained freedom of printing, and that Pius IX. has confirmed his judgment. They say at once, "How can you get rid of the facts? Do you look to have the miracle of Joshua over again, or even more than that, to turn back the sun upon his pathway?" This, too, is the remonstrance of our seers or sophists, who dream nightly what they are to give forth as a true Gospel in the morning. Facts have always been stubborn things, and in the modern creed they become sacred; whatever is, is right. For our part, we cannot acquiesce in the doctrine of accomplished facts; it has undesirable affinities with the most insidious of errors, with Pantheism, and we see no principle that will justify it. But on this point we do not care to insist. For, strictly speaking, Liberty of the Press is not entirely an accomplished fact, nor does it promise ever to be such. There is liberty enough and to spare, we know it only too well, and Milton has proved himself a soothsayer in his generation; but, in spite even of the newspapers, we will maintain that the Liberal principle has not yet acquired whatever note of inviolability may attach to recognized and universal facts. It is an ideal, a more or less abstract notion, and how difficult has it not been found to make a home for the ideal amongst men! By-and-by we shall be happy to discuss the theory of unlimited license, but first, a word or two concerning the facts, for these have struck an almost panic-terror into many who are no friends to the new civilization.

Certainly, freedom of the press is a Liberal war-cry here and abroad. Its reality is always assumed in our leading articles. But we, who have tried to resist even those gifted dreamers who write them, we have studied the telegraphic despatches for ourselves, and whenever also it happened that a traveller came in our way and we felt he could be trusted a little, we have examined him as to the state of things on the Continent and in different parts of the British empire. And now we are quite sure that there is no proper liberty of the press at St. Petersburg, nor at Berlin, nor at Rome, nor even so near as at Paris. In all these capitals, rumour says, there is a flourishing censorship, and the editors whom they honour as "responsible" are used to spending much of their time in prison.

Names are, perhaps, superfluous, but we feel bound to mention, *honoris causâ*, the brave and noble gentlemen who have carried on the "*Unità Cattolica*," the "*Voce della Verità*," the "*Univers*," and the "*Germania*" for some years past. *They* could witness that they have known the benefit of liberty chiefly by its absence, and yet they have all been living under the good Liberal governments. It may be objected that Catholics have no right to complain, they suffer no worse than, if power were given them, they would be ready to inflict. We reply, sans phrase, that this is not true, and that if it were, the undiluted truth, it would be nothing to the purpose. Liberals have to stand or fall by their own maxims, not by ours, and the utmost they can charge upon Catholicity is that it contains no particle of doctrine which is not false. And if so, what then? Does not liberty of the press mean tolerating *every* opinion? But in those foreign capitals the censorship presses upon all who dissent from the authorities. How many sequestrations, *id est* confiscations, of ultra Liberal newspapers have there not been in Rome since 1870? Catholics and Republicans, Neri and Rossi, have felt the lash pretty equally, and did the pillory still exist, might have stood in it side by side, these for going beyond the creed of the Parliamentary majority, and those because they fell short of it. Of course, the misdemeanour alleged is not termed an exercise of free discussion; it has some equivocal name of its own; for by the letter of the law, any one may print what he pleases in the way of opinion. That is the case in Germany too; but if a Socialist or a Catholic would like to edit his own paper, he must make sure that he is fairly rich and has a robust constitution. And in France, were not people everywhere looking on at the tragi-comedy acting a short time ago at Paris, with no less a personage than M. Jules Simon, the Prime Minister, for its leading character? Once a free-thinker and champion of the liberty of the press, always, like Mamiani and Bonghi on the other side of the Alps, an intolerable pedant, he had fallen into a piteous embarrassment, divided between his old opinions and his new duties. It is said of Sir Launcelot, "*his honour rooted in dishonour stood*"; and the words apply with perfect accuracy to M. Simon and to Liberal ministers generally. Only by a subtle evasion could he pretend to shut the mouths of those who advocate in print the Empire or the Commune; but he knew that license and authority are things incompatible, and accordingly he suppressed M. de Cassagnac and M. Louis Blanc. Whether, again, the code of orthodox Russia contains such a rubric as Liberty of the Press we hardly know; but all the world knows that the journals of St. Petersburg,

Moscow, and Warsaw are about as free as the "Moniteur" was under Napoleon I. Indeed, there is a small despotic Russia wheresoever Russians congregate, and the Russian newspapers of Western Europe are "tuned" according to the imperial good pleasure.

What foreigners do, however, seldom carries conviction to a British breast. Are there any examples against liberty at home? Well, there are some. Take the comparatively recent fact of "The Irish People," which was published in Dublin between 1866 and 1868, or thereabouts, and was put down, without much ceremony, when it began to preach Fenianism too impetuously. It disappeared amidst the dead silence of Liberals in England. And we wonder how long a really influential journal, say in London, could advocate Fenianism day after day without incurring an action before the proper tribunal and being mulcted in heavy damages. As for the law of England on the subject of the press, it is, says Mr. Mill, as "servile" to this day as it was in the time of the Tudors, and is, therefore, in strong contrast with the laws of Italy and France. So that, taking things as they stand at present, and, so far as we can, avoiding exaggeration, we are not aware of any universal freedom in the expression of thought, not even amongst Englishmen; and assuredly, we do not see that which, in his essay on Liberty, Mr. Mill drew out as the normal condition of the press in a civilized and constitutional country. As we said, it is a Liberal ideal. And such, we foretell, it will always be. Even though all European governments should turn thoroughly to atheism and indifferentism—nay, for that very reason—universal freedom of thought will remain a myth; for in the moment when atheism has triumphed, Catholic liberty will have breathed its last, slain by Diocletian or stifled by Julian the Apostate. And if, as we hope, some governments preserve their reason, and a portion, however small, of their Conservative traditions, they will not grant more than a certain degree of license to the writers up of the Revolution.

No Catholic will imagine that, in depicting the strange fortunes of intellectual freedom at this moment, we have felt much sympathy with the German or Russian Chancellors, or even with M. Jules Simon. We do not know how to admire men who disregard principle, and have no better reason than a "raison d'Etat" to offer in explanation of their conduct. And we must lament the liberty of perdition which they so readily permit whenever their own short-sighted interests are not counter to it. They interfere to keep the State from receiving hurt, but whoever wishes to malign and ridicule the funda-

mental truths of morality and religion may do what he pleases and welcome. Their government is the rule of a police, and the civilisation they protect is "modern." But, as it seems to us that religious and moral truths have the strongest claims on our homage, and, beyond all contradiction, must and ought to be protected by the supreme authority in the State, it is simply good logic and our duty to reprobate the ideal liberty of the press which Liberals would fain see realized, and to hold in detestation all those acts which complete freedom in this department would alone deprive of their guilt. Here we come upon the question of principle, and here we may begin our vindication of the Catholic doctrine.

In diplomacy, we believe, it is a common thing to hold discussions, or conferences, in what we may describe as *attitudes*, these corresponding to the real weight which the several powers would have were they ranged in war. There is a prestige which belongs to the lately victorious, to those who can reckon upon strong alliances, to those who keep "material guarantees" in their hands. And no doubt as much depends on the attitude as on the argument; now and then even more. The like happens in scientific disputes; arguments avail or not, very often according to their setting. Particularly so in the sciences of ethics and politics, where that undefinable quality termed prudence plays so important a part. Now, we would assert an advantage of this kind when defending Catholic truth against Liberal sophistry almost everywhere, but certainly we would in the present question. Facts near at hand may be very impressive; three or four thousand London and provincial newspapers, the daily, and we had all but said the hourly press, the ubiquitous reviews, and the unceasing stream of romance; we cannot overcome an instinctive feeling of awe when we think upon all these. And we confess, too, that immoral and anti-religious literature is growing thick and rank on every side, and shows no sign of decay. But we do not mean to let this partial view of the present shut out the past which we know, and the future which must be something unlike the nineteenth century. When Mr. Mill speaks, he throws the burden of proof upon his Catholic adversary, and taking a lofty stand, poses before the world as nature's philosopher and gentleman; he airs his eloquence like one who feels sure that the common sense of mankind is with him, that he has already given abundant demonstration, and needs only to perorate in a manner worthy of his cause. But a Catholic will, perhaps, refuse to apologize for the Church and the Roman Pontiffs. He does not intend to give up half the battle without striking a blow. He bears in mind, and

will try to impress on his Liberal, that the Church does no more than formulate and sanction the broad rules of human government which every age has spontaneously adopted; that there is a tradition of centuries upon centuries in their favour; that the history of the great civilizations, Roman, Greek, and Mediæval (yes, and Modern, too, in its better sense), affords clear and unanimous testimony of how lawgivers have concurred in the principles of the much-decried Catholic discipline regarding the publication of thought. And should the modern man of science dare to reproach him with his loyalty to tradition, he need only, as a charm, pronounce the consecrated word "Evolution." Our old faith is as good as Mr. Spencer's new philosophy. It is not "stupid" conservatism which we hold up to admiration, but we say that society cannot begin a fresh order of things every day. For what does order mean except persistent endurance on a plan, and how can civilisation be perpetuated or unfolded "from its prepotent elements in the past" where traditional wisdom is not heeded? Must we really, at this hour of human progress, and with our wealth of stored-up facts, abandon prestige and prescription, close our eyes to the admissions of even Liberal statesmen when in power, and meekly excuse ourselves for holding that which all the famous legislators have decreed and acted upon? We had thought that the science of politics reposes on the foundation of history and experience, but where does history show us a completely unfettered press? Let us argue, then, like those who have studied facts, not like the Aristophanic Socrates walking on clouds and gazing at the sun.

The truth of these reflections must force itself upon all who read history with due attention, and with some regard for that practical wisdom which the world recognizes in Burke, and De Maistre, and Haller, and which is familiar to Catholic jurists in S. Thomas and Suarez. Unlimited license of publishing, as this phrase is commonly interpreted, was never a fact of history, and cannot be found in the shape of an ethical thesis save in the works of a small and politically inexperienced minority. It is either a false or a paradoxical theory, and if it must be defended it will require an apology as well, like any other eccentric doctrine in so practical a science as politics: The ordinary Catholic has a right to bar discussion by an appeal to prescription: what has happened, he may ask, which brings with it the necessity of revising our whole manner of life and our habit of thought? Is there a new world nowadays?

The Liberal answers, Yes, there is a new world, and some-

thing *has* happened which obliges us to build up the whole fabric of society, the universal order, *de novo*. We cannot stop to demand his reasons for thinking so, nor will we contest them. Great changes have taken place, and are working on towards their completion; we all agree; but the really pertinent question is about the nature of those changes. The eighteenth century brought on the Revolution; the nineteenth is carrying the same into every corner of social and even of private life; and besides, there have been physical and scientific discoveries which make us very different men to look at from what we may reasonably presume our ancestors to have been. Nevertheless, what serious man, unless he is for an instant under the fascination of Macaulay, the prophet of an industrial millennium, or of Victor Hugo, the sweet singer of regenerated humanity, can bring himself to believe that there has taken place what the philosophers call an *essential* change in the world? A very great one, one that deserves and requires the closest study of it, one that will surely entail new legislation of many sorts, this certainly; but not one that alters man into something else, that makes him a god or an angel, or an irrational brute. We have neither gone back to the Paradise of Adam nor onward to the Vision of the Saints; we are in the same grade of the intellectual hierarchy, still a little lower than the angels (and perhaps our morning journals do not even tend to lift us higher): we are still creatures of flesh and blood, nor have the sadly stubborn, ever perplexing facts of pain, temptation, and sin been abolished out of this trying world. Though innocent of any desire to sport with Mephistopheles, we may perhaps quote his authority to such Liberals as have made a study of his character for their own imitation. They will remember where he says:

Der kleine Gott der Welt bleibt stets vom gleichem Schlag
Und ist so wunderbar, als wie am ersten Tag.*

It is true, in spite of enlightenment, progress, advance, and all the other encouraging delusions which make the glory of our time. In the presence of his own conscience, or when some catastrophe is near at hand, when he is hopelessly sick and his face is turned towards the grave, when the unseen universe, as by the fluttering of lightly-shaken wings, is already sending whispers to him and warnings of its inevitable reality, what is there that the enthusiast for the nineteenth century has, either for hope or fear, what is there round about him or within him, which men have not had

* The petty god of the world is ever cast in the same mould, and shows as wonderfully now as when he was created.

since the coming of Christ from heaven? The heart is rent as we look on and see this mortal man believing in the poor shadowy goods of his material civilization, and all the while moving swiftly on to the precipice or the river where he must surely disappear. Has not the greater "god of this world" blinded him? It is very possible to talk Liberalism and light, with grace of language, and a sufficiently piquant irony, in the salons of Berlin or Paris. That is not the place where men are suffered to die; they die in solitude, and all their life long they pass through the solitude of their own thoughts, where no man else can see. And if the truth is anywhere, it is there. The really human, the potentially divine in man, is his soul and reason, with all the goods which belong to these. Has he at all changed in soul and spirit and reason, or in the relation he bears to the essential facts of past history, because he can now travel round the world in half a year? And if every one could read and write, that is, could shorten the means of gaining and using experience and knowledge, does it follow that the danger of knowing certain things is diminished, or the helps against that danger increased? We must take for granted, since we are speaking of the fundamental laws of human society, that man has an immortal soul, that he was made for a future unending life of beatitude, that he bears in his nature the marks of some mysterious degradation by which he has become very weak in his warfare with moral evil, and through which he seems to be fascinated by the mere presentation of unlawful objects and ideas. Elementary truths these to the Catholic. They are, indeed; but speculative Liberalism denies that they have any likeness to the truth, and practical Liberalism, in the press and the school-boards, thinks they may safely be left out of view. It is from these elementary truths that we deduce the Catholic discipline regarding the press; and by the denial, explicit or tacit, which they suffer at the hands of Liberal statesmen and publicists, may be explained the widespread opinion that no one can be legitimately hindered from printing what shall seem good to him, concerning the principles of religion and morality.

Too metaphysical an examination of the whole question would be out of place here, because we should be taken off to very distant principles and should stay long before getting back again to the political conclusion. But without some reference to principles, discussion is interminable and unintelligible. We will therefore mention where the divergence seems to lie between Catholics and Liberals first of all, and

how it bears finally on the doctrine which we must hold or reject in the matter before the reader.

Progress implies perfectibility; thus we begin; and it is one of the chief articles of the modern faith that man, the human race, is perfectible by his own nature. So far as words go, Catholics likewise declare that man is perfectible; and S. Thomas indicates what is the root of this, in a number of significant passages on the essential characteristics of our reason. But whereas Liberals speak of the race, and systematically disregard the individual,—Catholics deal with the individual first, and the race afterwards, and only by consequence. Why is there this difference? We must remember that the *personal* immortality of man is a Catholic dogma; to deny or doubt it is to give up the Creed and to leave the Church. Every man is, by the necessity of his nature, immortal,—he himself, and not another; still less, a mere historical continuation of him described as humanity. This is the belief which determines what we are to say about perfectibility. No one is so absurd as to maintain that each individual works out and realizes the perfection due to him in the present life. Either he does not do so at all, or the race does it and not he, or he in his own essence, nature, and person, in a life beyond the grave. Of course, allowing this third supposition, the temporal life of man will have to be interpreted and estimated according to the eternal, as the sort of education for a boy depends on what he is meant to be when he is grown up.

The life to come is the perfection of this life: but merely temporal society will not pass into the City of God. What, then, is the precise value of civilisation, meaning by the word that social culture of material resources and mental endowments, and the combination of both, which puts the individual into an "environment" of helps and assistances? What again is the degree of perfection which it is capable of obtaining? To the former question we say that no civilisation is worth preserving which does not conduce to man's eternal beatitude in that other world, which is constantly taking the place of this, and as it were, enlarging the skirts of its light. To the latter we say that Providence never intended man to be perfect *here*, nor to change this world from being the stadium viæ, a mere place of pilgrimage, to the state of rest and finality which must succeed it. Earth will remain earth, and heaven will not be transferred out of its own sphere: man in stadio viæ can never possibly be perfected; so long as he is on his trial, evidently he is not enjoying his reward. He must pass from the womb to

the grave, he must suffer temptation from many kinds of enemies, his love of the truth, of purity, of humility, his readiness to hope in God amidst discouragement and darkness, must all be put to the proof. And therefore it is idle to suppose he can rest secure in this world, any more than he can prevent himself from going round with the earth through its orbit. The individual is on his march, and the race too : and what we say is, that the final perfection is not to be expected here ; that there are conditions of man's life which do not alter ; that of these far the most important are spiritual and moral, such as that man is weak in the presence of evil, that he cannot but feel the pressure of temptation, that he is bound to arrive at perfection by the use of self-denial, humble fear, mistrust of himself, submission to God ; and that for a creature like him, the calm assurance of the Epicurean gods is ridiculously and even portentously unbecoming.

And as the unimaginable glory of heaven cannot be revealed to us or in us during this life of trial, so there is a limit to the comparative beatitude which earth affords when its resources and enjoyments are used however wisely. There is a limit even to the true and high civilisation ; much more so to that phantom which modern Europe has thought it worth while to honour, and the Holy See has laid under a ban — the civilisation of material riches and sensible pleasures. We discover in all things, however promising they may seem, a check, a foil, a certain fatality of exhaustion, and nature permits us to work only *by the difference* ; a principle well known to mathematicians and mechanicians. No one has ever set up the perpetual motion : provision is made in the ordinary course and development of each power for its gradual extinction. And this is true of matter universally. It is true also of mind and will, in so far as they depend, remotely and indirectly, on the concurrence of matter in their operations. Thus we often see, that as knowledge increases, weakness increases along side of it, and the result of knowledge is, in many even gifted natures, a hesitancy, an uncertain and wavering action, which either leads to their ruin or prevents them from accomplishing anything great. As the limitation is in the very nature of man, placed in this stadium and meant finally for another, we may be sure that society itself cannot escape the same law : perpetual motion in society is not possible either, unless there exist a supernatural and infinitely perfect motor.* Why do we imagine so vain a thing

* It is scientifically demonstrable that the forces of matter are tending towards an equilibrium in which they would be simply quiescent : hence any human society which requires their action as a *sine quâ non* must be limited

as that the ages now beginning with us—if they are not rather ending—must witness that triumph over the laws of our being which has never yet happened? The limitations of matter and mind in this life are constant quantities, or they vary constantly and within sufficiently narrow periods. Nothing but childish and irrational hope can blind us to the fact, that material civilisation carries the seed of its decline and death within itself. We have here no abiding city. That is the doctrine of science and of faith.

But the present age has cherished in its bosom a belief, passionate and extravagant, that man is here and now entering on the day of his perfection; the golden gates are opening, and all the misery of past centuries is soon to be forgotten. This is the creed of Positivist fanatics, and of the writers in our journals, and of all who love to dwell on the innocent Arcadian world of Rousseau. The good time is coming for our race. Well, let it be so: but may we not ask with some curiosity whether it has already come? Swedenborg, we think, held that the last judgment took place somewhere about A.D. 1757, and that therefore the end of the world is long since past. Experience does not favour his view, but we can easily understand that those who are perfect have entered into the fulness of liberty: they can sin no more, temptation is over, they may rejoice and do what they will: because they are perfect. But our Liberals only expect a better age; they know the world too well to say we have arrived at the millennium. We are perfecting, not perfected; our season is spring rather than autumn. Then, say we, how are those laws relaxed which govern the time of education and evolution? The sovereignty is promised; nothing could delight us more; but we are not yet "crowned and mitred" as Dante would express it. And still, not a review can we glance at, or an article of the paper, or a romance, or a political pamphlet, coming from the Liberal side, but we find it ever taken for granted that men are perfect, and have put off their liability to sin. All are clean, within and without; their illumination of mind and their probity might be a theme for angels. If any need to be watched and corrected, they are antediluvians, clericals, mere remnants of the dark ages of mankind. The Liberals seem to think themselves not only elect, but confirmed in grace and impeccable, the very mirror of purity, truth, and goodness. We need only remark that the laws of one condition of life are not those of another, and the real question is

in duration. But the Church might endure for ever on this earth if God so willed, not by the order of nature, but by a supernatural restoration of the inequality of forces.

not about the privileges of perfect and impeccable men, but about the necessary duties and safeguards of those whose nature it is to be weak.

Self-reliance is the motto of a Liberal ; self-distrust is that of a Catholic ; nay, we will make bold enough to say, of any intelligent creature. When the nineteenth century comes to be judged, not by some future historian, but by the All-Seeing, will it be able to utter some defence of its pride ? Man is so great, and strong, and independent, in his own eyes. Once, it used to be proclaimed, "Who is like God ?" Now, from all the winds of heaven and from the sea there is a great voice going up, "Who is like man ?" We take leave to think this a brief but fatal intoxication, a piece of madness and mockery, which the first sight of another world will dispel. Some, indeed, are beginning to tremble even now. They cannot help feeling the pitiable infirmities of their own nature, and the changeableness of their will : when they write from the inner knowledge which has been granted them, their pages are wet with tears. There is many such a moving admission in the books of George Eliot, of Friedrich Strauss, of Heinrich Heine. But the most flippant and the mercenary have not stopped to consider what must soon befall them ; they live out their day according to the sect of Epicurus, and die in a sort of stupefaction. And so they increase in the spirit of self-reliance ; they must be like the very gods, careless and free. In the old Latins we sometimes come upon a description of the Bacchic riot which assaulted the Supreme Authority—for example, under Catiline ; and it is said that they "mixed all things together, sacred and profane." They could not distinguish ; and they would not restrain their hands from grasping, or their eyes from looking. They were devoured by pride and curiosity. Just such is the pattern Liberal. He knows nothing of intellectual shame, he must thrust himself in everywhere ; whether it be the sanctuary or the shambles, he is determined to see what is going on. Are not the things there ? Then why is he not to view them ? Danger ! Speak of that to children and ignorant women ; *he* can take care of himself ; and besides, if the things are dangerous, why are they within reach ? Thus the whole universe is to lie open in the sun ; nothing is to be veiled, nothing hidden.

Some point of view there must be from which this otherwise patently absurd doctrine can be made to look plausible. What is it ? We think there are two such points, but one of them we will pass over, because without a long meditation upon it we should fail to make our meaning clear. The other is this : As Liberals say that man is perfectible, and act as though he

were already perfect, so they more than insinuate that his perfection is merely and absolutely intellectual; and they incline very much to sum up and exhaust the intellect in what scholastic philosophers would term the habit and the act of science. The perfect man, they consider, is the scientific man who possesses, in actu, all sciences. Intellect, science, and perfection are one, and he who has this one quality or good has all that is needed to make him the beau-ideal of humanity. The Liberal fixes his contemplative gaze on the mind, and is so taken with its beauty, that he can conceive no higher excellence. He ranges through the world of present and past experience; and though artists, and poets, and saints, come within the circle of his knowledge, he visits them all with scorn, and chooses the scientific man as the being in whom all human perfectibility culminates: or, at any rate, when he is obliged to perceive some flaw in that ideal, he will turn to the intellectual genius, who, besides having science, is an artist in some plastic medium of expression. One ideal he never will bow to:—he can neither understand nor endure saintliness. Moral perfection, in his view, carries with it of necessity some imperfection,—too narrow an aim, too timid a character, or if not that, still some undefinably oppressive cruelty of design which pleases him not at all. He cannot bear the notion of judgment and justice; he thinks there is an unnatural distinction imposed on one who may not follow the bent of his own desires. If he is hard pressed, he will rave against “asceticism.” He is ever quoting the greatness of knowledge; he worships it: for his god is intellectual perfection, and his sacraments of the old and the new law are all comprised in self-culture. The man he delights to honour is a Humboldt, or a Goethe. When he cannot despise so gentle and winning a servant of God as the Umbrian S. Francis, he will begin to pity him. We are sure that thoughtful persons have not failed to mark how great an influence this principle, more or less faintly suggested, has had on the many who desire to read and to know everything, and seem never to dread contamination.

Men are athirst for knowledge; they must learn what is at the North Pole, what in the centre of Africa, what in the depths of the Pacific. They watch the sky and the clouds from one year’s end to the other. The astronomer who identifies a planet, the analyst who detects in the dross of his crucible the flakes of a new metal, have earned a place in the calendar of scientific saints. When a good man dies, the angels throng round his soul; when the professor of science dies, there is a great lamentation first, and then he is eternized in

all the laboratories and academies of Europe, he becomes a mythic personage, and lesser beings swear by his name. Do we hold this to be wrong? Well, if the reader will not at once misinterpret us, we do not refuse to say yes. You see, most accomplished Liberal, we believe there is a higher and better ideal than the perfect form of science. And if you would ever examine, were it only with the blunt instruments of your earthly knowledge, that manifestation which we call sanctity, you would at least begin to comprehend that the excellent beauty of holiness overcomes and for ever dims the lights, however numerous, of science and pure intellect. The fruit of noble curiosity is noble; "*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*": but the fruit of nobler doing is still nobler, is, indeed, nobler beyond all comparison. To love righteousness, and, in all humility, to achieve it in one's own soul, is best of all; this is to leave the world better than we found it. But your knowledge without holiness is hardly more than a kind of black magic; it serves to bring you and the Prince of Darkness into the same category. What is yet more wonderful, such knowledge turns out to be a failure; it is vanity here and disappointment hereafter. An evil will reacts on the mind, and little by little draws its knowledge down to sensible things,—to phenomena, empirical laws, superficially observed and misunderstood facts. Holiness is the source of the highest light; and that is why, whenever it fails, men choose, out of weariness and wantonness, to study "the elements of this world." They neglect the soul and its Maker. To speak technically, even in science they lose ethics, and the better part of anthropology; by-and-by, they give up ontology as a dream. Thus are they left with such lesser kinds of knowledge as logic, physics, and mathematics,—and still they have the front to call this perfection,—when their intellect has been so clouded over that the language of the finest and most subtle of all psychological experience or of the highest objective creed seems to them at best "an inarticulate music"; and well if they do not call it empty nonsense or imposture. They vaunt more than ever that knowledge is full and overflowing, though the clearest, brightest, hopefulest aspects of the universe are hidden from them. Where is the last interpretation of Nature and man to be sought, if not in an Infinite God, distinct from the creation? Yet when morality is denied the supremacy, it must needs be that God is dethroned. And so we get the paradoxical conclusion, which when properly thought out is no paradox at all, that those who make intellectual knowledge their god, defeat the very end they had in view, distort and

almost destroy the knowledge they have, and so degrade it that, whereas in a saint it might well excite our admiration, in them it deserves only pity or contempt. Narrowness, instead of being the accompaniment of moral worth and habitual restraint, is the penalty affixed to liberty of thought.

It is said that sensual indulgence turns the human nature to stone; intellectual luxury turns it either into an empty formula, a dead and idle criticism, or into the slave of mechanical routine. The true freedom of man is lost in either case; he treads the mill-round of modern civilisation till the ennui becomes insupportable, or he retires into solitude an unhappy being, gifted with knowledge of which the one frightful result is a despairing cynicism. Where examples abound, it can scarcely be required to single out names.

The student in ethics is constantly meeting phenomena which impress upon him the good of order. He shapes his theory, according to S. Thomas, by the doctrine of the Final Cause, and the ideas of harmony, subordination, regularity, and government are to him indispensable. He sees it to be only natural that any end, pursued out of its proper line and without regard to the aptitudes and mutual bearings of all the faculties, should bring to pass not the perfection but the destruction of the unreasonable man who pursues it. He is ever talking of relative good and absolute good. In an intelligent being, he conceives that the absolute good is holiness, which, when looked at as the right relation of man to God, is called religion, when looked at as the right relation of man to creatures, is called morality. Not that these two can be separated, but we may find it necessary to view them separately, and so, imperfectly. The moralist knows that intellectual perfection is a good, but not that it is the first and best of goods. He declares, on the contrary, that, possessed or desired exclusively, it must be a very great evil, and that here, if ever, the proverb holds "*corruptio optimi pessima*." And carrying out his investigations he is enabled to deduce from well-founded premisses this most cheering conclusion, that in the perfect and divine life which is to succeed this, holiness will, as it were, expand into the fitting knowledge which the rational soul was meant to possess; and the creature which on earth loved God in all things, after death will see all things in God. Or, putting this vital truth in other words,—to love the divine law here, is already to act as though we knew all things in the right order of their essence and of their procession from God; and in the end this will work out in us a true knowledge of them as they are, so that we may apportion to each and all the admiration and love which they claim from

us. This is some, though only a small part, of the morality or ethics of knowledge: but in which of our modern books has it been written? Jeremy Taylor knew the doctrine, because he was accustomed to read the Fathers and some of the schoolmen; but it is long since their day, and the reading of that kind which he went through has disqualified him somewhat for the place of an "enlightened" author. Milton was a "proud rebel" against God and man, full of his own excellence, and obstinate in the assertion of his power to conquer evil howsoever it might threaten and tempt him. As for Mill and Lecky, they perhaps never deemed it worth their while to argue out what the theory of government would require or justify on the supposition of the soul's immortality.

There never were so many, if we may yield credence to their own testimony, in love with truth and devoted to its service, as there are at present in this fortunate Europe. The love of truth is an excuse for everything that is said, and for a great deal that is done. But our argument a little while ago went to prove, that only those who are trying to live up to the standard of holiness can really and consistently love the truth everywhere and always. Others will find that their affection ceases when the truth promises to be of an unwelcome sort. This much is certain, whatever be the explanation of it, that our age of truth is also an age of great and growing indifference to religious and moral knowledge. "It does not matter what a man holds about religion." So say the newspapers, almost without exception, and young men and women are learning this disastrous creed from their middle-aged elders. In the Board Schools the children will learn it too. Let any one try to reconcile this with the alleged eagerness to possess all truth. Either it means that no religious and moral knowledge can be obtained with certitude—and this is sceptical; or it means that such knowledge is not worth having—and this is blasphemous. But a sincere lover of knowledge would never say that it does not matter what a man holds on the most momentous of all subjects. Contrast with the calmness here displayed the absorbing interest taken in physical science, and reach forward in imagination to the scene which would ensue were some bold Ultramontane to say flatly, "It does not matter what a man holds about science." Yet, allow Rabelais the "*grand peut-être*," and there is no reason for gaining correct science which may not be retorted and enforced ten thousand-fold in matters of religion. The plain fact is that the Liberals do not care for all truth; but for the secular, and the physical, and such-like, to the utter disregard meanwhile of the only truth which has an absolute or permanent value.

Man is made in the image of God, which, however, he may deface or corrupt; and human society is made in the image of man, and bears the stamp of his energizing thought, be it base or noble. Efforts are now frequent on the part of Liberals to get it acknowledged that society is something quite unique, that, in fact, it is the infinite and self-existing. They seek to affirm this, because it furnishes an escape from the Catholic argument that, if the individual is bound to search after the truth until he finds it, to preserve it when found, and to avoid temptations against it, society has the same or even a stronger obligation, and cannot lawfully permit such writings as would constitute a social danger of losing the truth once acquired. But we shall take for granted that civilization and society are anthropomorphic: and, consequently, that their highest good cannot be abstract scientific truth, nor wealth, nor pleasure; but is moral good, viz. holiness and spiritual truth, or, as the moderns call it, Dogmatic Religion. We repeat it, lest any one should mistake our meaning, that, taking civilization to be a perfect state of society—so far as that can be, ere the end has come—it exists by and in the stable possession of the highest truths of life and their practical realization, and these are dogma and holiness. When the informing and regulative principle of the social order is spiritual, we have Christian civilisation; when it begins to be material, we lapse, as now, into paganism. And as the harmony of individual life demands that all our faculties should act in obedience to the righteous freewill, so the harmony of social life demands that the exercise of all pursuits, intellectual, artistic, useful, and as many as there are, should receive its measure from the rule of the religious and moral creed. Is this Puritanism? Far from it; this is the doctrine which built up mediæval Europe. It does not hinder, it *regulates* and stimulates the growth of human perfection.

Every believer in God will allow that the State, whilst superintending the material interests of society, should have regard to religion, both positively and negatively. But it is a result of the Protestant deification of intellect, that many persons are chary of laying down the same law as to the expression and publication of thought. They have difficulties regarding the competency of the State in theory, and regarding its ability in practice; and, then, they feel anything but assured that the cure would not be worse than the disease. From what has been said, we think it must be clear enough that the *supreme authorities*, Church and State together, are competent to interfere, even in so delicate a thing as the course of thought. And this we conceive to be the main part of the

dispute. But some light may be thrown on the other difficulties by the considerations upon which we are about to enter.

Has it ever occurred to the reader to search out the philosophical distinction between Whig and Tory, or, in more precise language, between Liberal and Conservative? Perhaps not. But if he were to do so, he would be brought across the words analysis and synthesis, which are their logical equivalents. The Liberal—we mean of course the English Liberal—is a man of analysis; his Tory friend and opponent is a man of synthesis. The latter respects and defends those true doctrines which have become part and parcel of the social system; the former seeks to realize other doctrines, no less true and beneficial, in the same living organism. Both represent necessary factors, or what they used, in the German philosophy, to call moments, of one advancing civilization. (In parenthesis, we do not say the *parties* are absolutely required, though the moments are, but we have no time to dwell on this subject.) There is a phase of acquisition, and a phase of retention in the social movement; and, as we might expect, they are not governed by the same laws, nor can the practical politics of one be those of the other. Moreover, it is evident that a correct synthesis of religious belief, whether gained by the unaided reason, or bestowed through the mercy of God in Revelation, is the chief good of civilized life. On the other hand, analysis cannot but have for its object to discover a synthesis in which it may finally repose.

Now we are of opinion that unlimited freedom of thought and discussion could lawfully exist, only in a social system where the synthetic element was entirely wanting; that is to say, where the laws, if any, were not an expression of moral conviction, but of purely unmoral expediency. But this, the admirers of Mr. Bentham must pardon our saying it, would be an aggregation of *brutes*, not of men; it would not be society at all. For human society rests on a moral basis, on the rational acknowledgment that there are eternal laws of right and wrong, and that man is the glorious subject of them. These are the “*ἀγραπτα κάσφαλῇ θεῶν νόμιμα*,”* of which the heathen poet sings:

Ὀὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθεις, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε
Ζῇ ταῦτα, κοῦδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου 'φάνη.†

Could they cease to rule over the minds of men generally, the

* “Unwritten and steadfast ordinances of the gods.”

† “For not merely to-day and yesterday do these live: they live for ever, and no one knoweth whence they have appeared.”

social order would have sunk into chaos, for with reason all the other goods of life must vanish. But so clearly do they shine, so majestic and awe-compelling are their lineaments, that only a daring and impious few have refused them homage. They are not the creation of man, but the manifestation of divine holiness above and around the moral universe which He sustains and governs. They are laws "that in the highest empyrean had their birth, of which Heaven is the father alone, neither did the race of mortal men beget them, nor shall oblivion ever put them to sleep. The power of God is mighty in them and groweth not old." This is the vision of light in which society must always live; the synthesis of religious and ethical truths for which Providence has cared so that they can never fail. And, howbeit the vision suffers eclipse or obscuration, yet this will be partial only, not entire. So that society at large makes unswerving confession of the primary truths; while he who writes to weaken their authority is a traitor before God and an enemy to men. But he who declares that, *by virtue* of the eternal morality, any one and every one possesses a natural right of calling all morality in question and persuading his fellow-citizens to the same, is guilty of a treason which cannot be surpassed in iniquity, and of a folly which has no equal. The state of sole and complete analysis would be anarchy.

Always, then, the supreme authorities may forbid and punish the writings of those who strive to assail some belief in Natural Religion and Morals, so far, at least, as the first and fundamental principles, and, much more, the simple idea of these are concerned. Any book which undertakes to prove that religion is vain altogether, or is antiquated, or again that right and wrong are figments of priestcraft, any such book when published is a proof that its writer has committed a heinous offence against the social order, and against its Maker; he is, therefore, a criminal in the eyes of rightfully constituted law.* But not only so. By a mysterious ordinance, it is the obligation of society to foster, to strengthen, and practically to render effective, the connatural belief of its citizens in religion and morality. Whilst the great truths are written, by the finger of God Himself, on the tablets of the heart, they still require the action of social influences

* It must be observed that we speak here of the absolute right which authority may claim in this matter. Whether laws should be stringently and at all times enforced, whether it may not be prudent to disregard certain instances of their violation, whether, again, such and such acts are equivalent to publishing a doctrine, we do not discuss. And from the tenor of our remarks, it is evident that we have in view mainly popular teaching, and not philosophical disputation.

to suggest them urgently and to vivify them. Man left in solitude might trace their faint outlines by his own power; but society burns them into him, as it were, in encaustic. This is the use and the necessity of tradition, not an absolute but a relative and practical necessity. It is amongst the first duties of a ruler to guard against the breaking up of that true and life-giving tradition by which the bulk of mankind, the unintellectual, the weak, the vicious, the indolent, the poor have arrived at a knowledge of such doctrines as are the illumination of their path (even when they show themselves not obedient), and secure the means of remedying that in them which is faulty or pernicious. God has ordained that their knowledge shall become effective by means of an encompassing tradition, such as we recognize under the names of law, government, and civilisation, and chiefly in the Church. He has set up amongst the nations. As scientific men now speak, there is need of an environment, an atmosphere, which may supply the normal faculty of reason with proper objects for its exercise and a continued sustenance. But civilisation and government are carried on by a living creed; not by mere scattered axioms, nor by abstract declarations, but by the truth expressed, symbolized, and enforced in countless ways, and as much unconsciously as consciously. And thus men are born into society; it is their great inheritance. Hence there may be cited two reasons for proscribing books and other written documents which exhibit licentiousness of thought: the first, that their publication is a crime in itself; the second, that the remaining citizens claim to be protected against temptation, and to exercise their liberty in peace. Of course, repressive legislation cannot be enacted without taking many circumstances into account. This is ever the condition of a just and prudent law. But we do not profess to solve cases in detail; our task has been confined to enunciating the general principles involved. Nevertheless, we have no sort of confidence that the laissez-faire policy of modern States is not preparing for them a catastrophe which they little expect; and we do not see how they have been justified in allowing the present deplorable license to have so much of its way. They are under a delusion if they suppose that good fortune will always attend them. The mills of God grind slowly, but do they not grind into powder? We shall see.

The general conclusion from what we now know of the first or essential synthesis will be a principle to guide our judgment in all the other suppositions. In so far as there is a true synthesis prevailing and recognized in society, individuals will not have the liberty of writing against it. This is the measure

of lawful and desirable intolerance. We are familiar enough with instances of the like in our English politics. A Liberal may bring forward as many proposals as seem good to him, except such as trench upon what we (however mistily and without the power of describing them in words) consider to be fundamental principles of the constitution. A Liberal must not be a Republican or a Communist; he may reform the State, but not commit treason. Now if we suppose that there is a body of infallible truth, religious and moral, committed to the guardianship of society, that, of course, cannot stand in need of reform, and liberty of opinion will begin only where the ascertained truth comes to an end. Analysis follows upon synthesis, and labours to make it wider; it is the going on to perfection, not the going back to scepticism. To suffer greater freedom than this; for example, to introduce liberty of religious discussion where it has not existed already, and where the people have been educated in the Theistic, the Christian, or the Catholic synthesis—we divide thus, for convenience' sake what is naturally united—to grant so spacious a freedom as this is to begin the demolition of the entire social edifice. Whilst, then, we say with S. Augustine, "in dubiis libertas," we insist on the other clause of his proposition, too, we assert energetically "in necessariis unitas."

Hence in the same society there may be liberty of the press, in the modern sense, upon some questions and not upon others; nor is it possible to say, universally, where the line must be drawn. The great distinction, as every one knows, is between Catholic and non-Catholic societies. If one thing more than another strikes the eye of those not in the Church, it is the clear, definite, and practical nature of the Catholic creed. The Church always knows what is, and what is not, of obligation; she knows her relation to heretics and schismatics; and from all who wish to belong to her she asks submission, not simply to a "spirit of the age" but to a faith which is living with the intensest life, and yet is capable of being represented in symbols, but these the most affecting and sublime which human lips have ever recited. When the Catholic creed has taken possession of society, it is easy to discern what may be tolerated, and what must be proscribed; to determine the amount of restraint (if that is to be called restraint which a Catholic writer esteems the greatest help and safeguard he can have) to determine how much of this restraint cannot but be imposed and at what point it should cease. But to non-Catholic society a public infallible authority is wanting. There exists no doubt (as we have already said) in every human society a divine tradition, which we cannot too

highly prize, nor too frequently confess. But in a non-Catholic society this tradition is more like a disembodied spirit, than a monarch surrounded with the visible pomp of lictors and fasces; nor is it so clearly held in detail as the social order amongst men demands. The individual reason, we have said, is infallible when it pronounces certain axioms and definitions respecting conduct; and within these limits the State may act. But where are the limits to be placed? This we have no means of finding out; or, at best, only the cumbrous and rather difficult method of viewing the social status in its length and breadth, and from that judging the measure of ethical knowledge attained by the whole society. However, when a population has been Catholic and has abandoned the faith, some portion of the truth is generally left in the form of a creed, and it will often be the duty of even heretical rulers to preserve that from further diminution. Protestants who enforce a law of this kind do, indeed, contradict their own principle of private judgment; they have to fall back on the Catholic notions of a Church, and of divinely-appointed guides to the truth. Whence, unless something draws them nearer to that from which they have revolted, in course of time they cease to prohibit the expression of dissent and become indifferent. It is impossible for them to remain stationary. By its nature, false opinion is in a perpetual flux; the opposite elements contend for mastery, and sooner or later one drives out the other.

Here we may halt for a moment, the better to emphasize this notable fact. We learn, and learn easily, what should be the laws of Catholic society on liberty of the press and toleration. But in dealing with any other community, we are at a loss, or must confine ourselves to some few general rules, and those vague ones. What can be the reason of this? We think no satisfactory reason has ever been suggested, except that the Church is the Providence of human society. We mean, it is the special instrument designed by Almighty God to give both a determined form and a decisive, practical weight to the laws and ordinances of the highest civilisation. It is that continually-flowing, and if we may so express ourselves, that *actual* grace which provides for our living wants and necessities. The full life and the perfect development can exist nowhere outside the Church of Christ; they are made the possession of a multitude, only so far as the infallible authority is recognized by all other authorities, and, in return, gives them a sacred character. Where the Church is not, unexpected and incomprehensible difficulties arise, even in the social order, and from them there is no release till Christianity appears. We may

say that, in permitting so much uncertainty and distress, the Divine Ruler has intended to humble a nation, that hereafter it may willingly be converted; and history, both the very ancient, and the modern, affords some countenance to our thought. The Christian deliverance is then most welcome, when society looks in vain for an escape to any other religion and philosophy.

Once more, then, let us briefly enunciate the rule of toleration, how far liberty of publishing opinion is compatible with the social interests. We say, synthesis comes first, and next analysis, and the one limits the other. Upon whatsoever articles of belief there is a true synthesis prevailing in society, on those points liberty is not allowable; on the contrary, it is an evil and a snare. But when there is no true synthesis, or when it has been broken into and partially dissolved, liberty of investigation, of disagreeing with other individuals, and of expressing our disagreement in the most persuasive manner we can, may reasonably, and, indeed, ought to be conceded. This will not degenerate into license: because the law has always a right to interfere for the sake of protecting the received synthesis (known to be true), and there never can be a society in which no synthesis obtains.

Stuart Mill is prepared to grant that upon the mental well-being of mankind all their other well-being depends, and thus, like many Liberals, would seem to be no materialist. However, even so, he is not in the right, for mental and moral well-being are not identical, and we say that the first, the most necessary, and the indispensable good of individuals and society, is moral well-being, holiness, and justice. But he argues for the liberty of expressing opinion, even when it is erroneous opinion, and even when the true doctrine is established and received, on the ground that, unless the whole truth "is suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds. And not only this, but the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled, and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct: the dogma becoming a mere formal profession, inefficacious for good, but cumbering the ground, and preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction, from reason or personal experience." We have forestalled most other objections in the preceding pages: this one deserves, perhaps, a moment's notice. Hardly more than that, however; nor should we be willing to spend time over it, had not the answer seemed worth recording. Mill not being a Chris-

tian, and never having heard the name, it may be, of Catholic meditation, did not recognize that moral and religious truth recommends itself in more ways than one to the human intellect.

But, indeed, we should write a volume were we intending to show the flaws and faults in this objection, and to trace it home to its proper owners, Hegel and Luther. This latter part of the answer we must, for brevity's sake, omit. But, first, we say, there is no ground in fact for the alleged necessity of an intellectual opposition; and secondly, there is none in theory. We grant very cheerfully that erroneous opinions have historically had a large influence on the full development of the truth, but that is not the point. The point (we beg our readers' attention here) is whether history shows the necessity of such a combat, and we answer confidently in the negative. Have the primary truths of religious morality been held by mankind in general after the manner of a prejudice, that is, without any solid grounds known to the poor and uneducated who make up the bulk of the human race? Take, for instance, the truths concerning marriage, the education of children, the sinfulness of lying and cheating, of murder, and such-like; or again, the truths (for men have always termed them truths) about men's moral perceptions, an avenging deity, the punishment of the proud and the oppressor; have not these been held prudently and wisely, even though we permit it to be said that the unphilosophical cannot analyze the reasoning, or separate intuition from conclusion when they are asked for an account of the process gone through in each case? And certainly it has not required the learned eccentricity, the folly purchased at a great price, of sceptical philosophers, to prevent these truths from losing their hold upon the practical intellect of the thousands who never have opened a book. Then as to truths so exalted as those of the Christian Revelation—let them be taken as truths, for the experiment—we have all the centuries of Christendom to show that the faith has been clearest and steadiest where there was no opposition to it, no heresy, no schism. One should have imagined that what is known of the Middle Ages, and what we may see for ourselves in the Tyrol, in almost all Italy, in certain parts of France and Germany, might have served to enlighten people as to the futility of this necessary connection between the strength of error and the strength of truth. And to make our part of the induction more complete, where has the Catholic truth grown dim and obscure in the heart as well as in the life of a community so terribly as in countries like England, and in the cities of the United States, and in those

regions of Germany where mixed marriages and common churches have been frequent? This is what the facts have to tell us. And a study of Catholic Theology would confirm that testimony: for the dogmatic truths which have been defined,—e. g. Our Blessed Lord's divinity, and the doctrine of the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and the prerogatives of S. Peter,—were living in the hearts and minds of the faithful, before any heretic had raised his voice to deny them.

But, as regards the theoretical need of opposition from error for the vital influence of truth, we say there is none such, whether the rules of logic be considered or the nature of truth itself. There are two methods of verifying an hypothesis—for the question touches this. One way is by the displacement and falsification of all other hypotheses, each being taken and applied severally; and this is very often indeed the method of scientific discovery in physics. But there is another method equally perfect and much more expeditious, and in the supposition now allowed us by Mr. Mill, it is undeniably feasible. The supposition is that we have the true hypothesis, the one which actually and alone explains, justifies, and fits into all the facts of the case. Then it will be possible to know that the facts are unique, and generally (without going into details) that this is the unique hypothesis which corresponds with them. It is a verification which may be resolved into a process of intuitions; and Mr. Mill never recognized it, because he had rejected the whole theory of intuition. However, we may dismiss the philosophy of the matter with these observations, that truth has many positive characters, is something real and independent, and makes itself known to mind and heart as unmistakably as music discovers itself to the ear. Scientific comparison and research may be wanted until we have seen the form of truth, but not afterwards. From that moment we live in the truth, we experience the effects of it; and that our analysis of the process happens to be imperfect is a grievance only to the logician or the philosopher, not to the wise and practical man. But, as for not gaining a deep and heartfelt conviction of the truth, why should we not, when the truth is present to convince us? And are people convinced of the truth generally when their head is full of objections against it, even though they know what answer must be given? But something further is in point. This difficulty supposes that scientific truth is the only truth; that no other exists, or is worth anything. And the meaning of scientific truth is this; that it comes in the form of a logical conclusion, gained by a consciously known series of steps, every one of which may be recorded in language and on paper;

and that a certain amount of reflex comparison with proposed alternatives has been gone through. We can but say that, if this is the path to all knowledge, not one in a thousand of the human race has ever known, or is ever likely to know, anything in the wide world. The way to fix in our hearts what is really the truth—we mean, of course, religious truth—is to live by it; as S. Paul says, "*Veritatem facientes in caritate.*" We have had occasion to insist upon this before, that a man who is in earnest and obeys his conscience will find out by a not too long experience, but without arguing, what is the truth of the system he has inherited from his fathers. The guiding light is not argument, but conscience; not logical dissection, but acting up to that which we already know; not presumptuous reliance on our unaided strength, but prayer and submission of ourselves to God; not isolation from our fellow-men, but a due regard to the tradition of those who have gone before us. And in one word, the living truth of which there is here question is the object, not of a merely scientific faculty, but of that whereby we gain something higher, not science, but wisdom.

Mr. Mill's argument allows then of a decisive retort. Agreeing with us that society has duties towards the truth, he concludes there must be liberty of discussion in all things, because only by this expedient can the truth be shown in its clearness and with fruitful consequences. We answer that, since it is desirable to promote the steadfast holding and thorough apprehension of the truth, *therefore* liberty of the press cannot be permitted. The reason he brings forward is that the one way of knowing religious and moral truth is by collating the hypotheses of science: we ask whether mankind has ever set about doing this, or is capable of doing it? But it is all mankind, not the students of science, who have to gain a perfect life hereafter by religious truth and love. And we say the medium of their knowledge is authority, tradition, the social creed; the medium, not the faculty, for it is not we who deny individual reason and the innate godlike power implanted in every human soul. But because men had gone astray, and the natural synthesis had in many parts been enfeebled or broken, it pleased God to confide all religious truth to His infallible Church, perfecting in her the method which He had taken with man himself, and raising up natural society into a supernatural and everlasting creation of His love. And whoever will receive the teaching of the Church, and meditate upon it, and live up to it, he does not need that heretics or unbelievers should awaken him to the greatness of the gift bestowed. And for the love of the truth which he knows, he will hate the

error, and keep it far from him and from those who are his care. If others assail the truth, such a man, being a ruler, will count them to be enemies of society : if they do it out of malice, he will judge them worthy of punishment ; but if because of their ignorance, he will strive to persuade them by gentle means ; should that fail, he will still protect society. For, though he would not violently enforce upon citizens a creed which they refuse, because they are not convinced in their own minds, this cannot absolve him from the duty of preserving the social tradition which others, the majority, hold, and which is now imperilled. He will, therefore, take such measures as may seem necessary, both to protect society, and to respect, where he can lawfully do so, the consciences of the misguided. But it is hard to see how any condition of social degeneration will make it right for him to grant an unlimited freedom of discussion and publication (not simply within the walls of a school, a more or less private association, but) so that anywhere and everywhere religion and morality may be called into question, denied, and argued against. This is how we would state our position, and we think it is capable of a strong defence.

No recapitulation, we dare venture to hope, will exhibit a more forcible summary of our arguments and principles, than the words of Gregory XVI. in his famous condemnation of De Lamennais, the "*Mirari vos.*" The passages we are going to quote may excite a feeling of surprise in those who do not happen to have read them previously. When society believes only in not believing, and many, if they have a pursuit at all, are cultivating impartial irony and the "*esprit moqueur*" of M. de Voltaire, it is unusual to hear so emphatic and unequivocal a denunciation of those things which the world takes to be a matter of course. But Gregory XVI. speaks with authority, and as one who, having the office of a prophet, is bound to deliver the message which his Master has entrusted to him. Moreover, he had spread out before him the seductive and licentious literatures of France and Germany, which no English father of a family would at that time have admitted into his household, and which are likely to bring eternal shame upon the ages which have given them birth. That the guardian of Christian truth and Christian holiness should have proscribed them with Apostolic energy and from the bottom of his heart, is a thing not to be wondered at. The same posterity which will judge the nineteenth century and its ungodly literature will confess that Gregory XVI. was, in his day, a faithful steward of God's

house and a beacon of light to European civilization. In 1832 then he pronounced *ex cathedrâ* as follows :—

From this poisoned source, the so-called “indifferentism,” is derived the absurdly erroneous maxim, the piece of madness rather, which says that every man may assume and assert for himself his “liberty of conscience.” What has paved the way to that destructive error has been the unrestrained liberty of opinion, free and full, which is now spreading to the injury both of Church and State, although some have the shamelessness to declare that religion gains a certain advantage in consequence of it. But, “Can there be any worse death of the soul,” says S. Augustine, “than permission to go wrong?” As a matter of fact, now that every fence has been taken away by which men are kept in the paths of truth, their own nature, because of its evil inclinations, is hurrying them headlong, and we may truly say that the bottomless pit is open from which S. John beheld a smoke rise up which darkened the sun, and a cloud of locusts going forth to lay the earth waste. For thence have ensued the deterioration of men’s dispositions, the corruption of youth, the popular contempt for holy things, and for the most inviolable laws; thence, in one word, has arisen the worst of all plagues; for experience, since the very first ages of society, bears witness that States which were flourishing in riches, fame, and dominion, by this one evil alone, have fallen,—the evil, namely, of unmeasured liberty of thought, license of speech, and desire of revolution.

To this must be referred that terrible, that detestable liberty of the press (which we can never enough abominate), by which every sort of writing is allowed to be made public, and which some have the boldness to demand and vigorously promote. Horror seizes us when we behold by what amazing doctrines, or rather what miracles of error, we are overwhelmed; and these are sown broadcast everywhere by an immense number of books, by pamphlets, and by writings small in compass but great in malignity; from all of which we lament with tears that a curse has gone out over the face of the earth. Yet there are, alas! some whose impudence so carries them away that they obstinately assert all this deluge of evils may be compensated for, if, in the midst of the raging impiety, some occasional book be put forth in defence of religion and truth. But assuredly it is a crime forbidden by all laws to perpetrate with intention a certain and greater evil because we hope that some good may result from it. Will any man in his senses say that we may liberally scatter poisonous drugs about, sell them publicly, and carry them hither and thither, nay, actually take them, because, forsooth, there is an antidote which we can use afterwards, and by which, some, it may be, have chanced to escape death?

Far different has been the Church’s discipline in dealing with this pestilence of bad books, and this from the time of the Apostles, of whom we read that they publicly delivered to the flames a multitude of such. Let it suffice to glance at the laws enacted, concerning this matter, by the Fifth Council of the Lateran, and at the Constitution which was afterwards published by our predecessor, Leo X. Therefore, from the constant anxiety, in all ages, with which this Holy See has striven to condemn suspected and

dangerous books, and to snatch them out of the hands of men, it is perfectly clear how false, rash, and unjust towards the same Apostolic See, how fruitful in immense evils to the Christian people, is the teaching of those who do not simply reject the censorship of books as far too heavy to be borne, but are come to that degree of wickedness that they say it is even abhorrent to the principles of law and justice, and deny that the Church has any right to establish or put it in practice.

Our present article, we have said, was occasioned by Mr. Tyndall's efforts to defend in public and to spread abroad his atheistical tenets. But, lately, there has occurred what the "Times," in a sense which we do not altogether admit, has called "an instructive coincidence": one which, certainly, illustrates British morality, and British prejudice too, regarding the liberty of the press. Two books have given rise to much discussion: one composed by an Anglican clergyman, and entitled "The Priest in Absolution," not, however, intended for the public eye; the other, very decidedly misnamed "The Fruits of Philosophy," and put forth in advocacy of some most shocking practices which Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant (the persons indicted for the publication) think desirable to see introduced into family life. An English jury has found that the sale of such a work as "The Fruits of Philosophy" is criminal, and the Chief Justice has passed a severe sentence upon the culprits.* People, generally, have agreed with the verdict, but there is some disagreement as to the principles which justify it. On the other hand, though the Ritualistic book has not been brought into court, vehement reprobation of it, as immoral, is in all the newspapers; and the House of Lords, and the Convocation itself have joined in expressing disapproval. The "Times" puts it in the same catalogue with Mr. Bradlaugh's book; adding that Ritualism, if it means habitual confession to a priest, is nothing less than a conspiracy against public morals. Well, we suppose there is a morality of *truth* as much as there is of *purity*; and if so, we can hardly forbear asking whether the daily publication of the "Times," which affirms and denies everything by turns, is not also the result of a conspiracy

* It should be explained, however, that the *severity* of the sentence was grounded by the Judges exclusively on the fact, that the defendants avowed their intention of disobeying the law in the event of the case being ultimately decided against them. To our great regret, the Chief Justice announced that he should have otherwise contented himself with passing a very light sentence.

against morality. But in fact the two books stand on widely different, or rather sharply contrasted, ground.

"*The Fruits of Philosophy*" is a detestable performance, and to publish it is criminal. Why? Not because it contains certain physiological details; that part of the prosecution must have broken down completely, under the weight of so many medical treatises, which to the student and the practitioner are indispensable. The offence alleged and proved was that the whole book, with or without details, was calculated to deprave the morals of those who should read it, by persuading them to practices which an upright conscience forbids and even abominates. The question was, not whether the printing of such and such details is against the law, but whether the intent and purpose of the book was to propose a theory, which "debases and degrades the morals of those who practise it." Natural and Revealed Religion tell us that the theory *has* this effect; and Mr. Bradlaugh was accordingly, we rejoice to say, condemned to fine and imprisonment.

But "*The Priest in Absolution*" recommends habitual confession to a priest of all grievous sins, and, therefore, of certain sins which neither can nor ought to be mentioned in public. It recommends also, we suppose—for we know the book only by general description—that persons in doubt as to the morality of certain acts should consult a spiritual guide to obtain light and safety; and in order that the priest may be qualified for his delicate and painful office, it does what, in the case of medicine, is done by the medical treatise, it goes into a certain amount of detail. Now we cannot judge whether this task has been executed well or ill: we have received but a poor opinion of Anglican prudence and tact in the Confessional, from those who have gone through the ordeal. We have heard that such confessions, instead of consoling, are matters of the utmost dread and difficulty: it can hardly be otherwise, indeed. Then, again, the danger of printing a manual, even a sound manual, of moral theology in the vernacular is apparent, and does not say much for the good sense of those who printed it. But, allowing all this, we think that some part of the public has shown itself ignorant of the true issue; whilst the "*Times*," which knows better than the public, has said what is absurd in logic, and, in history, entirely false. As in Mr. Bradlaugh's case, so in this, the painful anatomy, mental or physical, decides very little. The decisive question has to do with the theory advocated. Of course, it would be a serious breach of morality to put forth as public reading what ought to be strictly private and scientific; and this offence, likewise, Mr. Bradlaugh has committed, while the Anglican writer intended

not to commit it. But what makes the difference between the Ritualistic book and Mr. Bradlaugh's essential is, that one advocates an immoral theory, whereas the other is intended as a help towards preventing immorality or healing it. In the "Fruits of Philosophy" we may find a sufficient answer to such as object against "The Priest in Absolution." Not, once more, that we wish to defend the *execution* of the latter book, about which we know nothing whatever; but we say that its idea is justified by the progress of unmentionable crimes in modern society.

ART. IX.—MARSHAL MACMAHON'S APPEAL TO FRANCE.

Guide des Electeurs. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1876.

SINCE the outcry against Papal aggression in the year 1851, we can remember no occasion connected with Foreign affairs upon which the English Press has been so unanimous as it has been in condemning Marshal MacMahon's determination to dismiss M. Jules Simon's Ministry and dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that whenever the English Press is unanimous in regard to any capital question of Foreign politics, it is tolerably sure to be struggling in the hot fit of some gross delusion. The cold fit comes, and it must be said of it, in common justice, that no Press in the world has ever been more ready to recognize the logic of accomplished facts. The delusion in this case springs, as it seems to us, from the fundamentally false conception that Marshal MacMahon is acting as the Regent or Lieutenant of a sort of inchoate limited Monarchy, instead of being, as he undoubtedly is, the absolute and unqualified President of what after all is for the time being, and until 1880 will in all human probability continue to be (we take his word for it) an actual and legitimate Republic. It is said that the Marshal has violated all the most venerable traditions of Parliamentary Government; that he has meddled with the delicate and susceptible sanctities of Ministerial Responsibility; that he has descended from the supreme and serene position in which the law placed him, in order to direct a *coup d'état* in the interest of a particular party; and that, in a word, his conduct has been quite unconstitutional.

Now the word unconstitutional is a word that begs the question, and a very considerable question. Of what constitution are we thinking? In the constitution of a limited monarchy like England, or Belgium, or Italy, the sovereign is supposed to dissolve the Lower Chamber when his ministers so advise, and he is held to be entitled to refuse a dissolution if he does not agree with his ministers and wishes simply to get rid of them. The latter power has not been very recently exercised in England; but it is an intensely living principle of the British Constitution, and has been repeatedly exercised of late in the executive government of our constitutional colonies without serious complaint. But in France the power of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies is vested, by the 5th section of the first chapter of the Constitution of the Republic, in the President "*sur l'avis conforme du Sénat*"—not on the advice of his ministers, as it might be expressed in the case of the exercise of the prerogative of dissolution in a limited monarchy. In truth, in a limited monarchy there are amenities and easements to political life, which the briefer duration, stricter letter, and harsher character of Republican rule cannot possibly afford. The President of a republic is not a placid prince, sure of life-long, if limited, power, the very name and form of whose authority is itself the bulwark and sanction of a host of venerable and sacred institutions (such as are the subject of daily impudent unscrupulous attack in France), and who may hope to carry in time such public objects as he particularly cares for by influence and patience. The President of a republic, on the contrary, is a distinguished and pronounced partisan, elected for a limited period, chosen by a majority for the time being, who place him in power especially because of the strength of his political convictions and the energy of his personal character, and because of their consequent conviction of the unswerving firmness of his conduct in the critical moments which more and more tend to recur in those societies which have been formed upon, or have descended to, a democratic basis. He is the Chief of the State in a sense in which no limited monarch, and hardly any absolute monarch, can be. He not merely rules, but governs, and he, not ministers nor deputies, will be held responsible, if the country is not well governed during the four or the seven years through which he may hold his great charge. He uses his power to the utmost, therefore, without any regard for traditions or precedents connected with anterior or exotic systems of government, but according to the strict letter of the law under which the executive power is confided to him for the period of his Presidential term. If he finds that he cannot conduct his Govern-

ment through one or more of his ministers, according to his views of what government ought to be, he simply dismisses the mistaken minister or ministers, without taking the pleasure of Parliament. If he finds that he has got (as to its majority) an obstructive or unruly Chamber of Deputies to deal with, and sees good reason to expect that the country will elect a more useful and serviceable one, then he is acting according to his obvious constitutional right, and also according to every obligation of public honour and duty, in inviting the Senate's concurrence in the always interesting, but in these days by no means frequently enough repeated, act of Parliamentary Dissolution.

Can it be maintained for a moment that Marshal MacMahon had not at least as good a right to dissolve the late Chamber of Deputies as Mr. Gladstone had to dissolve the House of Commons which sustained him for years of a triumphant policy from 1868 to 1874? The very journalists who applauded Mr. Gladstone most loudly then, for what they declared for a day or two to be the crowning master-stroke of his political genius, and the certain sanction of a new long lease of supreme power to him and his party, have no words hard enough, hot enough, nay, even nasty enough, nowadays, for the Marshal's comparatively simple, straightforward, and strictly constitutional act. After all, what had that unfortunate Parliament done to Mr. Gladstone, to deserve that it should be turned out in the cold, on a winter's morning, without an hour's previous notice, without being summoned together to hear its fate, without even the holding of a Cabinet to consider the sudden scattering of so many loyal supporters to the four winds of heaven, through such a most unusual exercise of prerogative, prompted in a moment of, alas! petulant and miscalculating impatience? Consider, on the other hand, the grave deliberate dignity of the Marshal's proceeding. He had tried to govern with the concurrence of that, as to its majority, wretched Chamber of Deputies for upwards of a year. He had endeavoured to accommodate his authority to it in every possible legitimate way. He had taken a Dufaure Ministry, a Simon Ministry. He had gone a vast deal farther than any American President has ever dreamed of going with the expectation of conciliating Congress. Throughout the proceedings of the Chamber during its two sessions, there was but one policy apparent in the proceedings of its majority,—to thwart the executive, to cripple the Ministry for the time being, to render the supreme authority of the Republic powerless, and indeed ridiculous; to arrogate to itself functions not contemplated as appertaining to it,

under the Constitution. The Marshal having at last almost tasked by his tolerance the patience of the great party, which placed him in power—a party which may be roughly described as that of the Frenchmen who wish to keep their houses over their heads, and their heads on their shoulders—did what every American citizen at least will understand. He dismissed those of his ministers in whom he could not feel confidence, and replaced them by ministers of his own party whom he could thoroughly trust; and, the Senate approving, he sent the Chamber of Deputies to the country.

The Marshal's conduct in these circumstances is, we repeat, not to be judged by the rules that apply to the conduct of the sovereign of a limited Monarchy, or by the habits that belong to what is called Parliamentary Government. A true Republic is not a form of Parliamentary Government; it is a form of Government where Parliament debates and legislates, but does not govern. The President of a Republic is not a limited monarch. He combines all the powers which a Prime Minister enjoys under the British Constitution, with a sovereign authority that in some respects is the most absolute on the earth. Take, for example, the decree of President Lincoln, by which, on the ground of military advantage and by virtue of his power as Commander-in-Chief of the United States, he declared the whole negro population of the Southern States emancipated. Such a power transcends the Czar's. It is to the precedents and practice of the one really stable Republic that now exists, and to the doctrines of its great statesmen and jurists, that we must appeal when we attempt to form a judgment on the acts and the proper policy of the French Government at present. There was no danger which the founders of the American Constitution more dreaded, none against which they more anxiously provided, than the encroachment of the legislative on the executive power. We may on this topic cite an authority whom every Republican statesman must regard with profound respect, a great and venerable name, who had a considerable part in framing and revising the American Constitution, and whose writings certainly contain its most lucid and authentic exposition. We refer, of course, to Mr. Alexander Hamilton. It is evident, from Mr. Hamilton's writings, that the great dread which occupied the minds of the illustrious founders of the American Republic was not that the President should have an authority of regal character, nor that the Senate should develop into an aristocratic corporation, but that the House of Representatives should attempt to assume the same absorbing influence in the American Constitution, as the House of

Commons had even then already done in the English. He says :—

If a British House of Commons, from the most feeble beginnings, from the mere power of assenting or disagreeing to the imposition of a new tax, have, by rapid strides, reduced the prerogatives of the Crown, and the privileges of the nobility, within the limits they conceived to be compatible with the principles of a free government, while they raised themselves to the rank and consequence of a co-equal branch of the legislature ; if they have been able, in one instance, to abolish both the royalty and the aristocracy, and to overturn all the ancient establishments, as well in the church as state ; if they have been able, on a recent occasion, to make the monarch tremble at the prospect of an innovation * attempted by them, what would be to be feared from an elective magistrate of four years' duration, with the confined authorities of a President of the United States ? What but that he might be unequal to the task which the Constitution assigns to him ? †

This danger, considerable even under the English oligarchical constitution, with its long-settled balance and interlacing estates, was, Mr. Hamilton considered—and here Washington, and Madison, and Jay certainly agreed with him—sure to prove fatal to the experiment of a Republican Government founded on the broad level of a democratic society. He shuddered at the delusion, which has now become accepted as almost a commonplace, that all power is lodged in the Third Estate, or, as we should now say, in the Third and Fourth. He dreaded, as the most probable cause of dry-rot in the American constitution, the possibility of the President allowing himself to swerve from what he should believe to be the path of duty, through a timid respect for the collective wisdom of the Commons. He says in a passage, marked by the incisive force and large and manly wisdom of his mind :—

It is one thing to be subordinate to the laws, another to be dependent on the legislative body. The first comports with, the last violates, the fundamental principles of good government ; and whatever may be the forms of the Constitution, unites all power in the same hands. * * * The representatives of the people, in a popular assembly, seem sometimes to fancy that they are the people themselves, and betray strong symptoms of impatience and disgust at the least sign of opposition from any other quarter ; as if the exercise of its rights, by either the executive or judiciary, were a breach of their privilege, and an outrage to their dignity. They often appear disposed to exert an imperious control over the other departments ;

* This was the case with respect to Mr. Fox's India Bill, which was carried in the House of Commons, and rejected in the House of Lords, to the entire satisfaction, as it is said, of the people.

† "The Federalist," No. 71.

and, as they commonly have the people on their side, they always act with such momentum, as to make it very difficult for the other members of the government to maintain the balance of the Constitution.*

But not merely did he regard it as necessary that the executive should keep the legislative power in its proper place, Mr. Hamilton lays down very distinct doctrine as to the attitude of the administration in regard to those occasional impulsive movements of popular sentiment and opinion, which, in modern days, have been designated by the curiously-inappropriate substantive, "agitation." There is no passage in Mr. Hamilton's writings more charged with his calm foreseeing judgment, and his terse precision, than the following sentences:—

There are some who would be inclined to regard the servile pliancy of the executive to a prevailing current, either in the community, or in the legislature, as its best recommendation. But such men entertain very crude notions, as well of the purposes for which government was instituted, as of the true means by which the public happiness may be promoted. The republican principle demands that the deliberate sense of the community should govern the conduct of those to whom they intrust the management of their affairs; but it does not require an unqualified complaisance to every sudden breeze of passion, or to every transient impulse which the people may receive from the arts of men, who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests. * * * When occasions present themselves in which the interests of the people are at variance with their inclinations, it is the duty of the persons whom they have appointed, to be the guardians of those interests; to withstand the temporary delusion, in order to give them time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection. Instances might be cited, in which a conduct of this kind has saved the people from very fatal consequences of their own mistakes, and has procured lasting monuments of their gratitude to the men who had courage and magnanimity enough to serve them at the peril of their displeasure.

But however inclined we might be to insist upon an unbounded complaisance in the executive to the inclinations of the people, we can, with no propriety, contend for a like complaisance to the humours of the legislature. The latter may sometimes stand in opposition to the former; and at other times the people may be entirely neutral. In either supposition, it is certainly desirable that the executive should be in a situation to dare to act his own opinion with vigour and decision.†

No one who has fairly studied the proceedings of the late French Chamber of Deputies can, we think, deny that the majority of it, under the direct impulse of M. Gambetta, constantly endeavoured to obstruct the working of the Constitution by encroaching on the province of the Executive in the very way which Mr. Hamilton denounces as wholly inconsistent

* "The Federalist," No. 71.

† Ibid.

with the theory of Republican Government. Would General Washington, or General Jackson, or General Grant, have tolerated the virtual absorption of all the powers of the State by an accidental majority of the House of Representatives in such a fashion? The history of the United States contains not a few lessons to the contrary. To suppose that Marshal MacMahon should submit to have a ministry of M. Gambetta's construction imposed upon him by the majority of the Chamber of Deputies is a political absurdity. Can any one conceive that President Lincoln would have consented to carry on the government of the United States, even to avert secession, with such a ministry as should manage to make itself acceptable to Mr. Jefferson Davis, or even to Mr. Douglas? Such a transaction would have inevitably ended in the demoralization and disruption of the American Republic. The one substitute in a Republic for the grace and virtue of loyalty is the confidence of the people that the great officer who impersonates their sovereignty has at least the courage of his convictions. He is not placed at the head of a great nation to govern it according to the ideas of those whom he in his conscience regards as its worst enemies.

It was quite clear indeed, from the moment of its election, that the late Chamber of Deputies could only be the subject of a more or less prolonged and patient experiment on the part of the President. We do not now desire to dwell upon the grievous and all but fatal error of the Legitimist Party upon that occasion, when, coalescing with the Radicals, they, first in the nominations to the Senate, and afterwards in the Departmental Elections, destroyed the old majority of the National Assembly, and made M. Gambetta for the time master of the situation. Such an unnatural coalition could not of course endure long; and the factitious majority then established has since been resolved into other combinations in the Senate, as was proved by the majority of 20 by which the Duc de Broglie carried the resolution concurring in the dissolution. We have a very strong conviction, not formed without due inquiry, that the balance of political force has turned throughout the country even more decisively in the same direction, and that the majority for the Government at the coming general election will not fall below 50, and may, if all the sections of the Right co-operate with the harmony and energy that they owe to their country, exceed 80.

It has been objected by his very fastidious English critics, that Marshal MacMahon acts in an unconstitutional manner by uttering party manifestoes, and that his Government have displaced a considerable proportion of the civil administration of the country in order to have perfectly trustworthy agents in

the Prefectures and sub-Prefectures at the moment of the general election. Why not? It is the true, traditional, constitutional Republican rule, method, and usage. In America things are carried rather farther than in France, where some respect still remains for the more settled order of civil administration which naturally attends the stable dignity of royal rule. But where the seat of sovereignty itself is, every four or every seven years, only the highest prize of a great party struggle, the political system cannot be satisfactorily carried on unless the whole service of the State, and every situation in it are likewise among the *spolia opima* of successful faction. If France should continue to be a Republic, she will inevitably more and more Americanize her institutions; and the changes made by every triumph of party will extend beyond the Prefecture to the Custom House, the tobacco shop, and the postmaster. In America it has been found impossible to maintain the necessary degree of continuous constitutional action from one Presidential term to another, without the large inducements which the prospect of a complete change in the entire staff of the administration offers to so many citizens of patriotic spirit and capacity in the arts of caucus and of stump. But the complaint that M. de Fourtou has displaced twenty, or forty, or sixty prefects, is a complaint that can only be made out of blind prejudice or inexcusable ignorance. The prefects of France are as much a part of the actual administration of the country as are the small host of under-secretaries, and chamberlains, and law officers, who always go in and out of office with an English Ministry. How did M. Gambetta deal with the prefects and sub-prefects who had been appointed under the Empire? How many changes did M. Thiers find it necessary to make in the prefects of M. Gambetta's predilection? We do not condemn their conduct; and we cordially defend that of the Duc de Broglie. It is absolutely necessary, it is perfectly right and proper, that in a country like France, in a Republican country, those officers who represent throughout its territory the spirit of the Government for the time being, should represent it precisely through the keen sense of sympathy and of interest. In a country where democratic equality prevails, where the influence of the aristocratic and the capitalist classes is rejected as the most pernicious of all political elements, a bureaucracy inspired by the Government of the day necessarily becomes the great bond of civil society, the great medium through which the ideas and influence of the Party in power are naturally transmitted. In England, the phrase "Party in power" means merely the Ministry of the day. But in a Republic, a real Republic, the United States or Mexico for

example, it means everything that we include under the titles, Queen, Lords, and Commons, Judges, Lieutenants of counties, Customs and Inland Revenue, Corporations, and the preservation of the Peace. The French people may be wrong in submitting to such a system; but while they have it, let them at all events have it in its integrity. To conduct a democratic system of Government according to the traditions and scruples of a monarchical state of society is the most insidious and unscrupulous way of prejudicing and doing detriment to the Republic.

We do most sincerely hope that the Parties whose combination supports the French Government, and who, we are convinced, represent more than two-thirds of the people of France, will go to the country now with a united front and with only one programme, loyally to maintain the Septennate of Marshal MacMahon to the end of its constitutional term, and zealously to support meantime the Ministry of the Duc de Broglie. In the course of three years much may happen; and at the end of it there will, in all probability, be a prolongation of the present Constitution. Strong as the Imperialist Party undoubtedly is, we have very little apprehension that 1880 will witness a Napoleonic restoration. For that achievement something more than an eager, disciplined, and devoted Party is necessary. In 1848, there were some twenty Bonaparte Princes in the world, several of them clever and accomplished men. If Louis Napoleon had not been in his way a man of as vast and daring an ambition, of as curious a genius, and as remarkable a capacity for affairs as his uncle, the Crown that fell at Waterloo would never again have reappeared at the Tuileries. Whether the amiable and popular Prince now spending his studious exile among us has the same capacity as his father and grand-uncle displayed for conducting a system of Personal Government—and the Napoleonic Empire is that or nothing—may be doubted, without any disrespect to his winning character and approved abilities. The history of the world has not hitherto chronicled three men of such governing genius in three generations of the same family. But whatever the future may bring, sufficient for the day be the evil thereof, sufficient the way made manifest by the good providence of God for withstanding and overcoming the same; and, it is our very humble but most earnest and profound conviction that the course of right and of duty in France, at this great crisis is to support Marshal MacMahon in his appeal to the country, and that he who does otherwise is, to quote M. de Montalembert's words on another not less serious and memorable occasion, "a bad Catholic and a worse Frenchman."

Notices of Books.

Miscellanies. By HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.
London: Burns & Oates, 1877.

THESE two volumes contain a collection of Cardinal Manning's minor writings. Here are a number of essays and articles, contributed to this *Review* and to the *Contemporary*; addresses and papers read at the Academia; lectures delivered to public bodies; and letters to prominent men on the subjects of the day. With most of these papers our readers are doubtless already acquainted, but every one will be glad to possess them in their collected form. Their author's name alone is a sufficient guarantee that they are thoughtful studies of subjects of serious and living interest. There is no need of any detailed criticism of them. We need only suggest by their titles the nature of the essays, indicating certain points which strike us as we turn over the pages.

The "*Miscellanies*" are arranged in chronological order; and as the first, the discourse on *Roma Actua* was delivered in Rome itself in April, 1863, they range over a period of fourteen years, a time of stirring events many of which are reflected in these pages. In our brief summary we shall follow the order of subjects rather than the order of time. First, let us call attention to three consecutive essays in the second volume, entitled "*Cæsarism and Ultramontanism*," "*Ultramontanism and Christianity*," and "*Christianity and Anti-Christianism*." Taken together, these three essays form a clear summary of Catholic principles, on matters which are being continually made the subject of controversy and discussion both in England and abroad. Of much the same character are the various inaugural addresses delivered at the opening of the sessions of the Academia. "*The end of the Academia*," he says in one of these discourses, "is the maintenance and defence of the Catholic religion, both positively in itself and in its relation to all other truths; and polemically as against all forms of erroneous doctrines, principles, and thoughts. It is within its scope, therefore, to keep a note of the state of public opinion, and of the contemporaneous intellectual movements both within and without the Church." These words, addressed to the Academia in 1866, are really the key-note of these two volumes. No one has shown better than Cardinal Manning, how the programme he then laid down can best be carried into effect. As essays on subjects which are too often spoken about by men who have no very clear ideas on them, we may notice the lecture

"Progress," delivered before the Young Men's Catholic Association]; the lecture on the "Dignity and Rights of Labour," addressed to the members of the Leeds Mechanic Institution; and the paper on "French Infidelity," read before the Academia. Speaking of England in connection with this last subject, and with special reference to the dangers for her arising from the tone of French literary thought, he remarks,—“We are perhaps, practically, the most material of nations, and the influence of the supernatural over the society of England is becoming feebler year by year. The only safety for our country is in those old words, which may be a little heavy, perhaps, but living and powerful—God, the soul, and immortality. These are the salt of the earth. Whosoever shall reinvigorate and extend their influence over the minds and wills of our people, will do the highest work of a Christian and of a citizen, and promote not only the stability of our social order, but the eternal welfare of mankind.”

These are two purely philosophical essays: one a study of psychology, entitled "The Daemon of Socrates"; the other a review of Mr. Kirkman's "Philosophy without Assumptions." The article on the *Pope and Magna Charta* is an important contribution to the history of one of the great turning-points in our development as a nation. It fully disposes of the oft-repeated fiction, that the Pope directly opposed the liberties won by Langton and the Barons at Runnymede. A curious episode of our own day, "Garibaldi's visit to England," is the subject of the letter which stands as the fifth article in the first volume.

The essays originally contributed to our own pages are the articles on Ozanam; two graceful tributes to Wiseman and Faber, written just after their deaths; and the important essay on the "Work and Wants of the Catholic Church in England," which was the principal feature in the first number of our new series. To many these articles will have a new interest, now that their anonymity is gone, and their author has republished them with his name. It is very interesting to compare the article on the position of the Church in England, written in 1863, with another article on the same subject, written by the Cardinal for the "Daily Telegraph," just ten years after. Two letters, one addressed to Earl Grey, and the other to the Archbishop of Armagh, deal with Irish affairs and the position of the Church in Ireland. In these we find ample evidence of the Cardinal Archbishop's affection for Catholic Ireland. We should like to select some characteristic extracts from them; we must, however, be content with a single quotation. It contains a lesson of great practical importance:—

"There is, however, one preliminary step to the pacification of Ireland—so easy in itself that we shall be gravely responsible if we do not at once take it—namely, that we, in England, should govern ourselves when we speak of Ireland, as we should expect Irishmen to govern themselves when they speak of us. Nay, I will further say that the memory of the last three hundred years ought to make us all the more watchful, as those three centuries of suffering have made them all the more sensitive. I do not think Englishmen are enough aware of the harm some among us do by a contemptuous, satirical, disrespectful, defiant language, in speaking of Ireland and the Irish people. A manly, generous, respectful tone would

soon dispose many wounds to heal which are now kept open and fester rankly."

Our readers will see that Cardinal Manning's collected Miscellanies are of great value and present interest, and deal with a singularly wide range of subjects.

Disputationes Theologicae de Justitia et Jure ad normam juris municipalis Britannici et Hibernici conformatae. Volumen tertium, complectens universam materiam de juris alieni violatione, et de restitutione in genere et in specie. Auctore GEORGIO CROLLY, in Collegio S. Patricii apud Maynooth in Hibernia Sacrae Theologiae Dogmaticae et Moralis Professore. Dublinii : Gill et filius, 1877.

DR. CROLLY has here presented us with a very large work indeed ; for his volume is a volume of 1,000 pages, closely printed. The matter of it might easily have been brought out in two goodly and thick volumes, without subjecting the author to the charge of book-making. Perhaps on the whole we regret that he has not brought out the work in two volumes. But setting that aside, we have no other fault, if that be a fault, to find ; convinced that no one will read the book without conceiving a profound respect for the author, who, in writing his book, has not been indulgent to himself. It would have been very easy for him to make up a respectable and useful volume, by means of slightly disguised extracts from theologians who have gone before him. This, however, is that which Dr. Crollly has not done. The book before us is Dr. Crollly's book, thought out and elaborated in his own mind, and this is a great gain to every one who reads it ; for even on those points where he thoroughly agrees with others already known to the reader, it is a singular help to the clear ascertaining of a doctrine to find it in the words of a writer like Dr. Crollly, which carry about, with them the unmistakable signs of being distinctly his own.

There is another quality deserving of all praise—the book is singularly useful in these times and countries ; for Dr. Crollly has not shrunk from discussing many questions which a timid prudence might have passed by. On this point we would call the reader's special attention to the questions raised and discussed about taxes, rates, collectors of taxes and their obligations. In all this the learned professor treads with singular firmness and clearness.

Equally clear is his discussion of a matter which physicians treat too lightly,—the life of the mother in child-birth. Then we have a discussion on the "right of rebellion," which Liberals and Whigs will not read ; nor has he passed over the modern doctrine of "nationalities" as if he were afraid of shadows.

The decision of the court held in Geneva, on the Alabama case, is also mentioned, and Dr. Crollly seems to adopt it as just.

De la Souveraine et Infaillible Autorité du Pape dans l'Eglise, et dans les rapports avec l'Etat. Par R. P. PAUL BOTTALLA, S.J., Professeur de Théologie et d'Histoire. Ouvrage dédié à Sa Grandeur Mgr. Pie, Evêque de Poitiers, traduit en partie de l'Anglais par l'Abbé LOUIS-MARIE DUBOIS, Licencié à la faculté de Théologie de Poitiers. Oudin Frères, Poitiers et Paris. 1877.

IT is a pleasure to meet F. Bottalla again, though in another language, on the subject which he has so consistently and learnedly illustrated. The two volumes before us sum up that which he has written while resident in England, and also furnish a further and more perfect execution of his plan. He now traces the history of the doctrine which His Holiness defined on the 18th day of June, 1870, from the very foundation of the Church down to the day on which the Sovereign Pontiff placed it beyond the disputations of men.

There can be no doubt that, now the definition has been made, early records furnish proofs which might have easily escaped observation before, or, if observed, might have seemed less conclusive than they really are. The light of faith has shone into the dark places of history, and enables men like F. Bottalla to see new things among the old, and to bring forth out of their treasures that which they only guessed to be there.

Some have occasionally objected to the doctrine of the sovereign authority of the Holy See, that great personages and even saints resisted it, and insisted on their own opinion against the express will of the Pope. The end and aim of that objection is this: it furnishes, so it is said, a clear proof that the doctrine was not known when such resistance was made; it being, so it is said, impossible to suppose that learned doctors and saintly bishops could deny that authority either in writing or in act. The Oriental Churches would not have insisted on keeping the feast of Easter on a day forbidden them by the Pope, if they had ever heard of the Pope's sovereign authority, nor would S. Cyprian have rebaptized converts from heresy if he had heard or believed that the Pope had power to make definitions which bishops must respect throughout the world.

We have on more than one former occasion replied to this objection. Here we will but cite F. Bottalla's language on the particular case of S. Cyprian:—

Certainly, says F. Bottalla (vol. i. p. 166), though we readily admit with S. Augustine that the motives of the Bishop of Carthage were pure, yet we cannot excuse him, or his brother prelates, for their resistance was illegal. We assert without fear that their obstinate opposition to the orders of the Pope might have been justly visited by ecclesiastical censures. The Pope, it is true, treated them with great forbearance, but if he had excommunicated them, no one would have had any right to blame him: yea, even in the eyes of Gallicans the Holy Pontiff would have been justified.* S. Cyprian and all the members of his party were undoubtedly

* Delahaye says distinctly that if S. Cyprian and the other bishops had been excommunicated by Pope Stephen, that sentence would have been most just, and was well deserved.—Note by the author.

guilty, if not of heresy, at the very least of disobedience to a formal mandate of the Holy See: a mandate in accordance with the Apostolic tradition, and sustained by usage in every Church.

In addition to the careful analysis which F. Bottalla has made of the ancient and mediæval history of the Church, tracing everywhere the doctrine of Papal inerrancy, the learned father has given us in the second volume the most accurate and perfect summary of the modern opposition to the doctrine; the intrigues of governments, the tyranny and the chicanery employed to make men deaf to the voice of the Sovereign Pastor, but attentive to the voice of the hirelings, and subservient to those who would lead the sheep away from the living waters into the unwholesome pastures of heresy in deserts where no water is.

The reader will be interested, and even instructed in the accounts which our author has given us of the rise and progress of Gallicanism; its two-fold aspect, or perhaps the two parties with different aims who reared the fabrics which sheltered so much evil to France and other lands. The Gallican bishops sought their own liberty against the Pope, under the protection of the King; not unwilling to obey the Pope nevertheless, for most of these bishops were Gallicans, only *speculative*; but the lawyers, on whom the bishops were often forced to lean, had quite other views. They had little respect for the Pope and none for the bishops; but they were Gallicans, and defended the Church; that is, they defended and abetted every rebel priest, every discontented layman who quarrelled with the curé; they upheld the rights of the bishops against the Pope in order to enslave the bishops; the rights of the King over the bishops to bring about a quarrel with the Holy See; and their own rights over every one else, King, Bishop, and Pope. The Gallicanism of the French bishops, bad as it was, was almost innocent in comparison with that Gallicanism of the lawyers and the ministers of state, but which the bishops unhappily promoted, not always discerning the mischief they were doing to the souls of men.

Father Bottalla has also given us a most admirable and clear account of the summoning of the Vatican Council, of the difficulties made by the enemies of the Holy See, and of the intrigues of worldly-minded ecclesiastics, more zealous for their own fame, literary renown, and intellectual crotchets than for the truth and the honour of holy Church. This has been well and clearly told by F. Bottalla, who probably has not told us all that he knows, or all that he might easily learn.

Then again after the Council had been prorogued by the Pope, evil counsels prevailed in so many places, and much mischief was done at once. F. Bottalla has traced the progress of the evil, and told us how and why it was done. Catholic sovereigns were not better than heretics in their dealings with the Holy See; yea, rather worse, for they professed to be dutiful sons of Holy Church in the very act of rebellion. As after the Council of Trent secular governments placed themselves in the rank of fautors of heresy, and showed greater enmity to the Holy See than they had done—at least openly—before the Council; so again in our day after the departure of the fathers from Rome, and the closing of the

Council for a time, the governments of Europe showed more clearly than before the evil spirit that moved them. They did deeds that they had hitherto shrunk from doing, and revealed with greater distinctness their resolution to oppress and finally to stamp out the faith; for nothing less can be the objective meaning of their acts. Until that day the Austrian emperor had demeaned himself with strict observance of respect towards the Holy See, though he had committed his honour and his strength into the hands of men outside the Church—men, indeed, who had never been consciously within her—under whose disastrous management of a ruined empire his Apostolic Majesty took upon himself to set aside the Concordat without the consent of the Pope. Other nations have done this; but by the Emperor of Austria it was a deed that ought not to have been done.

Austria, says F. Bottalla, began the attack; and the first wrong done to the Sovereign Pontiff was the setting aside the Concordat by M. de Beust, a professed enemy of the Church and of the Pope. In August, 1870, M. de Beust announced in the official journal that "on account of the definition of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope the Government was resolved to pay no further heed to the Concordat." The Concordat, then, was no longer a valid instrument. The Chancellor of the empire, added the official journal, has taken steps to give notice to the court of Rome that the Concordat is formally suppressed. The emperor, in a letter written with his own hand, directed the minister of public worship to take the measures necessary for the total suppression of the Concordat (vol. ii. pp. 321, 322).

It would be difficult to find a more humiliating and shameful deed than this in the life of Francis Joseph: himself a Catholic, believing the doctrine to be true which he accepts as a pretext for setting aside the Concordat, which has all the characteristics, and more even than the characteristics, of a binding treaty, to which the public faith is committed, and the non-observance of which is a deep dishonour.

This part of F. Bottalla's book is singularly interesting; it furnishes the history of the last few years, and is, therefore, a most useful part of his work, for nothing is so easily forgotten as contemporary history.

Princes are now, says F. Bottalla, afraid without reason of the common father of the faithful, and exult because their crowns are no longer under the light yoke of the Pope. Ah! they do not see that, instead of the peaceful and fatherly authority of the Roman Pontiff, another power has come in, which thrives and prospers in opposition to theirs: a power rarely defeated, the power of numbers. It is the universal democracy. This brutal and irresistible force has already, in less than half a century, dethroned more kings, broken more sceptres, and overthrown more thrones, than all the Popes together throughout the whole of the Middle Ages (vol. ii. p. 298).

Princes learn nothing; for their ministers have less interest than they in the good government of the world, and are sometimes deficient even in the common honesty of our race. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that ministers of state rarely do a grievous wrong to the Church without the counsel and sanction of some ecclesiastic, on whose learning, or assumed learning, they pretend to rely. It always has been so.

Henry II. trusted to the Bishop of London; Henry VIII. to Cardinal Wolsey and to Gardiner. We need not speak of the ecclesiastics who gave favourable opinions to Cavour and the men who have brought the Holy See to its present straits; but we need not pass over in silence that which F. Bottalla and others have said, that the new schism and new heresy which have grown up since the Council of the Vatican are the work of Dr. Döllinger, of Munich, who also seems to have been the first to oppose the Council and to excite the suspicions of the civil powers, with a view to hinder its indiction.

We cannot recommend this work of F. Bottalla too much: it contains a perfect history of the doctrine of the infallible authority of the Holy See, and a clear refutation of the weightiest objections made against it. Though it is written in French, and has all the characteristics of that pellucid tongue, yet we could wish, for the sake of all, that its learned author may be persuaded at no distant day to give it to us anew in the more certain and more pellucid language of the Church, the Latin tongue; for by so doing he will give his work a permanent and abiding place, as it deserves to have, among the works of the great writers of the Society to which he belongs.

A History of the Councils of the Church, from the Original Documents. By the Right Rev. CHARLES JOSEPH HEFELE, D.D., Bishop of Rottenburg, formerly Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Vol. II., A.D. 326 to A.D. 429. Translated from the German with the Author's approbation, and edited by HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876.

WE received with much pleasure the second instalment of Bishop Hefele's great work in the English translation. Five years had elapsed from the appearance of the first volume, and we had reluctantly concluded that the publishers had abandoned the idea of going on with the work. We estimate too highly the good results to be expected from the translation not to have regarded such an abandonment as a real misfortune; and the appearance of the second volume may also be taken as a gratifying evidence that the work has been well received by English readers, of course, for the most part, non-Catholics. Mgr. Hefele has secured a settled reputation amongst us for fairness and impartiality as an historian, as well as for learning and acuteness as a critic. An intelligent and widening interest in the study of Church history has been aroused in this country, and Mgr. Hefele's work seems likely to take a position in this sphere, similar to that which Lingard has long held in the national history, as an authority to which Catholics can appeal, and to which non-Catholics will defer with respect.

We were glad also to see that the present volume appeared under the responsibility, as editor, of so competent a scholar as Mr. Oxenham. The

Messrs. Clark could hardly have made a choice which promised a better guarantee against such blemishes as to some extent disfigured its predecessor. Nevertheless, we are bound to say that the imperfections we have noticed in the new volume are neither few nor slight, and that the editorial work appears to us to have been far too perfunctory.

We propose to justify this opinion by giving a few instances of the defects we have noticed, hoping that our remarks may help to secure greater care in the completion of a work to which we attach much importance.

In many passages a more English turn of a sentence might have been gained without the least sacrifice of fidelity. Thus, at p. 30, "a right judgment concerning Marcellus of Ancyra is *so* difficult *on this account*, *because* his own treatise against Asterius has been lost," &c. At p. 22 we read, "all the synods, both for and against Athanasius, . . . do not make the slightest mention of this story." Mr. Oxenham himself would surely have written either "all the Synods . . . are silent about this story," or "none of the Synods . . . make the slightest mention," &c. A note at p. 239 characterizes some document as an "old ancient forgery." Similar instances are thickly scattered over the book.

Many passages occur where an imperfect mastery of the German has led to a mistaken or confused rendering. Thus, at p. 49, Mgr. Hefele is made to say, "We have related the events in somewhat different chronological order from former writers, *as it has been assumed* from the statements of St. Athanasius," &c. The author's words are not meant to give the reason for the new chronology, as the English implies, but to state the precise point in which he differs from former writers, and the sentence should run, "We have related the events in somewhat different chronological order from former writers, who have assumed from the statements of S. Athanasius," &c. (in dem man . . . von der Voraussetzung ausging, &c.). Here is another instance:—"If Socrates *were* right, the new formula *would not have* proceeded from the Antiochian (Antiochene?) Synod itself, but *would rather have been* composed by the bishops before mentioned, and *sent* to the Emperor instead of the Antiochian formula, which they concealed on their persons" (p. 80). The sentence which in its present form wrongly conveys that the author is arguing against the accuracy of Socrates, ought to be translated thus:—"If Socrates is right, this new formula did not proceed from the Antiochian Synod itself, but was composed by the bishops before mentioned, and handed to the Emperor," &c.*

In a note to p. 62 we are told "that which is *cited* by Rémi Ceillier, in order to show . . . is altogether untenable." The words, "*was Rémi Ceil-*

*The original is:—"Hätte Socrates recht, so würde diese neue Formel nicht von der Antiochenischen Synode herrühren, wäre vielmehr von den genannten Bischöfen verfasst und statt der Antiochenischen (der zweiten oder dritten) die sie in ihren Kleidern verbargen, dem Kaiser überreicht worden." Compare the French construction:—"Socrate aurait-il raison, cette nouvelle formule ne serait point l'œuvre du concile d'Antioche lui-même," &c.

lier anführt," should obviously have been rendered, "the grounds brought forward by Rémi Ceillier to show . . . are altogether untenable."

At p. 88, when discussing the date of the Council of Sardica, Mgr. Hefele is made to say:—"If the preface (to the 'Festal Letters' of S. Athanasius) were as ancient and as *powerfully convincing* as the 'Festal Letters' themselves, then the question concerning the date of the Council of Sardica would be most accurately decided." The author is here not referring to the arguments or other contents of the documents, as the words "powerfully convincing" imply; and the German *beweiskräftig* should be rendered by "authoritative."

An amusing instance occurs at p. 344, where, from inattention to the cases of a pronoun and an article, the translator is betrayed into speaking of a certain "Ascholi^{us}, Bishop of Thessalonica, whom the Emperor Theodosius had shortly before baptized when he was ill." It is needless to say that the worst excesses of Byzantine Cæsarism never went so far as the baptism of a bishop by an emperor!

One of the faults we pointed out in the first volume was the frequent confusion of languages in the names of authors and books, apparently from want of acquaintance with their nationality. This fault has not been altogether avoided in the present volume. Mr. Oxenham ought not to have allowed "*Franz Anton Zaccaria*" (p. 232) to escape correction; nor, again, "Natalis Alexander's *Kirchengeschichte*, of the 4th century" (p. 107, n. 4). While speaking of references to other authors, we may also point out that it is a mistake, frequently repeated in this translation, to give the title of a book referred to in the oblique case in which it may occur in the German, as, e. g., "In the Tübingen Theologischen Quartalschrift" (p. 3, n. 3); "reprinted in Spittler's *Sämmtlichen Werken*" (p. 108); "*Fortgesetzten Sammlung*, &c." (p. 402, n. 6). What would Mr. Oxenham think of a reference to a line as occurring "in Horace's *Arte Poetica*"?

Among minor blemishes we may notice a too literal translation at p. 91. It is stated in a note that Sophia, the present Turkish town, on the site of the ancient Sardica, is fifty-nine miles west of Constantinople. It was hardly too much to expect of either translator or editor that he should know that *mile* in English has a very different meaning from *mile* in German, and it needs only a glance at a map to see that the distance is considerably over 200 miles. We may also point out that it is a grotesque anachronism to speak of "General Hermogenes" (p. 83), and "General Vetr^{an}ion" (p. 192), in the fourth century.

It is a more serious matter when an error occurs in the translation of strictly dogmatic terms. Thus we read (p. 222), "Eunomius made a distinction in the simplicity of God, distinguishing the will from the substance; a *difference* in the conception of God fully justified by our Church doctrine, but certainly not by the purely abstract Eunomian idea of God."

The typographical errors are numerous, and not seldom such as seriously to affect the sense of the author. At p. 261, a mistake of "an *iota*" presents the historical student with the bewildering statement of "the strict

homoiusians" at the synod of Seleucia, "being all Egyptians and friends of Athanasius," and at p. 219 the name of Exucontians, sometimes given to the Anomœans from their doctrine of the creation of the Word *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, becomes *Exountions*!

The instances we have given, which might be indefinitely multiplied, are enough to show that the editor's supervision of the work has not been sufficiently careful. We are sorry to have to add that Mr. Oxenham has made up for this remissness by a most uncalled-for zeal in trying to neutralize the weight of his author's arguments in defence of the calumniated S. Liberius. We have no idea of entering at present into the labyrinths of this controversy. But we cannot help comparing with Mr. Oxenham's conduct that of the professedly Protestant editor of the first volume. The latter had at first intended to add notes from writers "who regard the subject from a different point of view," but found his author "so fair in his statement of facts" that he gave up the idea, being satisfied "that every reader may very easily draw his conclusions for himself" (Preface to first volume). Mr. Oxenham, on the contrary, is too much alarmed lest Mgr. Hefele's able but most impartial arguments, historical and critical, should clear away in the reader's judgment the heaviest of the charges brought against a Pope and a saint, to be satisfied with the same course. So, not content with an antagonistic note, he recurs to the unusual expedient of tacking on to the volume, by way of corrective, an extract from a controversial pamphlet written by M. Renouf on the other side.

After all, however, the shortcomings we have felt it right to point out, whilst they disfigure the book, will not seriously interfere with its value. The second volume brings down the history from the time of the Council of Nicæa to that immediately preceding the Council of Ephesus. This period of about a century, almost entirely filled with the struggle of Arianism, through its manifold phases of force and intrigue, to keep its hold on the Church, is one of singularly dramatic interest and unity, and this volume could almost afford to stand alone in its own completeness. We earnestly hope, however, that the translation, with somewhat more care on the part of the editor, may go on without interruption to the end.

The Patriarch Nikon and the Tzar. Vols. IV., V., VI. By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

MR. PALMER seems now to have nearly completed his laborious work, and we offer him our congratulations thereupon. He has read and recorded a great lesson, but it is a lesson that nobody will learn. It is the story of the unending fight between the Church and the world; though it be in this special form only so *per accidens*; for Nikon was not in the Church. The man was a heretic and a schismatic, but he held some principles of the faith he did not know, and so far as he defended them against the civil power so far he obtains our sympathy.

Nicon calls himself the patriarch of Moscow, but there is not, and there never was, a patriarch of Moscow ; Nicon therefore in claiming that title claimed something that did not exist, and if in the character of patriarch he exercised jurisdiction over other bishops, he was the unjust usurper of other men's rights, supposing that there were bishops then in Russia who had any rights to be usurped.

Nicon is stained with another sin ; he was guilty of grave sacrilege, for he allowed himself to be twice consecrated a bishop. He was a bishop, consecrated, when he was appointed by the Tzar to the see of Moscow, called then the patriarchal see, and he was, notwithstanding his previous consecration, consecrated a second time. He was thus a pretended patriarch, deep in the sin of sacrilege, though ignorant of his own deplorable state.

The patriarchate of Moscow is the creation of the civil power, and is entitled to as much respect as is the bishopric of Calcutta or Manchester, or any other bishopric which has not been created by the only one man who has authority to found a see.

This patriarchate was first given to Job, bishop of Moscow ; and this Job had been twice consecrated a bishop, for he had been brought from the place where he received his first consecration to Moscow, and consecrated anew ; then when it pleased the Tzar to make Moscow a patriarchate, the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremius by name, came to Moscow and consecrated Job, already consecrated twice. Other patriarchs were dealt with in the same way, and Nicon in this did but follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, who were bishops before their promotion to this patriarchate of the Tzar.

But though Nicon was thus deeply sunk in the mire of heresy, and without any authority whatever, for he was no more patriarch than bishop, and he was not a bishop with any jurisdiction, being as he was outside the fold ; yet, nevertheless, the echo of true doctrines had somehow reached his ears, and he, so far as he could gather the meaning of the sound, laboured to do justice and to keep the law. He had a zeal, though in ignorance, and he had a sense of higher things, but he knew not how to reach them, nor what they were, and he missed them.

The Tzar in the Russian schism possesses and gives all the authority which the bishops under him possess and use. Nicon, misunderstanding his position, and thinking himself to be something that he was not, and could not be where he was, found fault with the proceedings of his master. He forgot that the servant is not above his lord, and quoted canons to the Tzar who had placed himself above all canons, and made for himself all the canons he deemed necessary. Nicon had no friends to protect him, and the bishops of Russia were too much afraid of the emperor to open their mouths on his behalf. Finding himself powerless to check the iniquity triumphant around him, the unhappy Nicon conceived the design of frightening the Tzar by an act that was construed against him, and made to be an act of resignation of the patriarchate. The Tzar was not frightened, and Nicon went away dressed like a monk, without the outward show of the patriarchate. He was left to himself ; the bishops and

the nobles being glad that they were so easily relieved of the presence of a man who was certainly, whatever he may have been, very far from being like them. On his withdrawal from Moscow the patriarchate was assumed by the emperor, who appointed a compliant bishop to administer it for the time, and however disagreeable the act may have been to Nikon, the emperor had as good a right to dispose of the patriarchate of Moscow as he had to dispose of any other office in the state; for that patriarchate was no patriarchate.

Nikon's own account of his departure from Moscow is not easy to understand. He may have intended to resign the patriarchate, and afterwards repented; certain it is, however, that he took every advantage of the informality of the act, and claimed to be patriarch. But then it is also possible that his claiming the title of patriarch in his willing exile was nothing else but a formula which he thought he might lawfully use, to show that he once was patriarch of Moscow.

After some time spent in exile, in one of his own monasteries, Nikon, hearing nothing from the emperor, conceived the notion that the emperor would be delighted to see him again in the patriarchal chair. The man, not wise, went by night to Moscow, and by giving a false name at the gates of the city, entered the church during the singing of the office, and thereby filled the clergy devoted to the emperor with consternation at the daring deed. The emperor was not glad to see him; the courtiers perhaps were not sorry, for they saw that their hour was come, and that they might now work their will on the "humble Nikon," who with his eyes open had walked into the snare, and was too weak to break it.

When the unhappy Nikon had fallen under the displeasure of the emperor "there was no single bishop," says (Mr. Palmer iv. 324), "who simply and frankly stood by the patriarch. But of such united support as the bishops and clergy ought all to have given their primate, if only out of respect to their oaths, and to the interest of their own order, even if they had ever so much disliked his person, there was from the first no chance whatever."

The bishops certainly never ventured to defend their patriarch; on the contrary, they ranged themselves—people will say they were bound to do so—on the side of the emperor, and did all that was in their power to do for the furtherance of the emperor's ends. They could do nothing else; the chief men of their heresy, those whom they call the oriental patriarchs, took the side of the emperor, and two persons, so calling themselves, came to Moscow, on the invitation of the Tzar, and deposed Nikon formally from his pretended patriarchate. Those oriental patriarchs were themselves schismatics without any authority whatsoever, and their deposition of Nikon was as valid as Nikon's right to the patriarchate. Mr. Palmer has a great respect evidently for Nikon, something in his expressions as if he even loved him. So far as Nikon withstood evil and battled for justice, so far Nikon deserves the honour which Mr. Palmer so willingly rendered to him. But even Mr. Palmer cannot but confess that after all Nikon was a sham, and that he was fighting in the air: *ubi nulla est substantia*.

Nevertheless Mr. Palmer, and he has all our goodwill for it, has a prin-

ciple himself which he is illustrating, and the labour he has undergone is simply appalling, for the three volumes before us are very bulky volumes. His principle is the right of the Church to her freedom. He does not mean that the Russian Church has any rights, for she can have none, being in schism; but he takes her history to show how the State enervates and then enslaves, and the lesson he reads is meant for politicians, but above all for those ecclesiastics, if any such there be among Catholics, who see no danger in the demands of the secular government, and who side with politicians against the Pope. If it should be objected to him that his history is of facts outside the Church, he will answer that the emperor would have dealt with Nikon in the same way, even if Nikon had been a Catholic bishop. In the fight between the priest and the king the priest was powerless, for he had given up the only principle on which he could maintain his ground—the rock on which the Church stands—he was educated in schism, and could not therefore contend with the rising waters. When Henry VIII. had persuaded the bishops to deny the supremacy of the Pope, he had no further trouble with them; they were like Samson, after Delila had cut off his hair, and he did with them whatever he pleased; any doctrine he disliked they abandoned, and any opinion he wished to maintain they maintained—docile children of the State to the ruin of unnumbered souls.

The fifth of these volumes contains a very minute and strangely interesting account of the utter degradation of the royal family of Russia: its want of principle, its immorality, its low and debasing tastes, and the necessary fruits of these, its hardheartedness and singular cruelty. Like rulers like people, corruption spreads through the whole body politic, and honesty becomes a phenomenon rare and unexpected. The men who are in holy orders are no better than laymen, for they are said to be shamelessly given to simony and strong drinks, and those laymen who administer affairs of state given to lying.

In the sixth volume we have also the story of the Tzar Peter's eldest son, Alexis, brought up in drunkenness, and offending his father by his dislike of military service; his miserable weakness and cowardice, and his devotions in the midst of unrepented sins. It is a most melancholy and humiliating tale, which Mr. Palmer has most picturesquely set before us, together with the keen unrelenting cruel malice of the father, who stooped to every petty meanness, and to deliberate lying to get his son into his power after his flight, that he might do him to death. He succeeded in entrapping the weak and degraded creature, tortured him, perhaps with his own hands, and finally crushed the life out of him that he might leave the throne of Russia to the woman Elizabeth, whom he called his wife, and crowned empress during the lifetime of his true and lawful wife Eudocia, whom he shut up in a nunnery and disavowed, without even the courtesy of a pretended divorce. The Emperor of Russia is not only above the law of his own states, but considers himself the source of all law human and divine, and in Russia there is no jurisdiction tolerated that does not flow from the Tzar. Peter the Great, great undoubtedly in his sins and his cruelties, did, however, but follow in the ways of his fore-

fathers, and in subjecting the clergy to his oppressive rule he cannot be said to have gone further than his father, but he was immeasurably more savage and more cruel.

In taking our leave for the present of Mr. Palmer, it is but common justice to say that he has done a great service; for though we may not agree with him in his estimate of Nikon, we most thoroughly agree with him in his indignant hatred of the principle on which the governments of Russia deal with the doctrines of the gospel. And the principle is not confined to Russia; it underlies the policy of nearly every government in Europe, and probably is only more openly avowed in Russia than it is in any other country.

The Sincere Christian instructed in the Faith of Christ from the Written Word. By the Right Rev. Dr. GEORGE HAY. New and carefully revised edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1877.

THE writings of Bishop Hay are so well known, that the republication of one or all of his works requires little more than mention of the fact. The copy of "The Sincere Christian," published by Gill & Son, of Dublin, is a volume of convenient size, moderate in price, and—as far as we can judge from a random perusal of many pages—"carefully" edited. If,—as we suspect, from the fact that three publishers at least have the work on sale,—this edition is not a mere venture, but is intended to meet the ordinary demand, it is a good sign. A few years ago the writings of the venerable Bishop were much esteemed, and used in many parts of the three kingdoms, and usually formed part of the limited library taken by priests who went on the foreign mission; but we had an impression that they were being forgotten. We are pleased at any indication that it is not so; for, confining our attention to the volume before us, we believe that "The Sincere Christian" still stands alone as a *full* course of Catholic theology in our own language. The only book that can be fairly put in comparison with it, is Challoner's "Catholic Christian instructed"; but, without wishing to praise one at the expense of the other, or to imply the least depreciation of Bishop Challoner's excellent manual of instruction, the comparison shows the comprehensive character and logical sequence of "The Sincere Christian." As the full title of the book implies, the Holy Scriptures are the source of its teaching; many a page being an array of quotations; and there is an abundance of happy illustrations throughout. We mistrust our own judgment on the wisdom of leaving the questions and answers on the Pope's Infallibility as they were originally written, that is, as if the truth were not yet defined (chapter xii., qq. 24—31). An editor, we can easily imagine, does not like to raise an outcry, however unreasonable it may be, that he has been tampering with the text: yet there is strong and defensible reason for making a necessary alteration in a work of a catechetical kind, especially if the alteration be in accord with the convictions of the author. A foot-note might easily be added, calling atten-

tion to a change made in the text ; or, if the text be sacred in the editor's eyes, to the inadequate statement of the doctrine as it is now held by Catholics. As a point of some interest, we may call attention to the learned author's own strong convictions in favour of the Supreme Pontiff's Infallibility. He does not admit that there is a shadow of argument against the truth, and—perhaps the only instance in the work where he brings forward the argument from Tradition—gives authorities from Origen to S. Augustine in favour of it.

Essays and Reviews. By the Right Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. New York : Catholic Publication Society. 1877.

MOST of the papers in this volume appeared first in the "Catholic World." They deal with questions of great interest for our times, such as the Progress of the Church in the United States ; the Church in the German Empire ; Prussia and the Church ; German Journalism ; three papers on the Comparative Influence of Catholicism and Protestantism on National Prosperity, dividing the subject into three parts,—wealth, education, morality ; and lastly, an essay on Religion and Art. The vigour of the author's style, his faculty of presenting his subject in broad, bold outlines, his thorough knowledge and thoughtful treatment of all upon which he writes, render the essays deserving of high praise as a literary work. But their value lies beyond this, and is much greater. For instance, in the first we have an account of the early planting, struggles, growth, and triumph of the faith upon American soil. We say triumph, because Catholicity is not only spreading rapidly in the United States, but the rate of its extension is yearly increasing ; so that, though it would be the greatest rashness to predict that the States will become Catholic, since the majority of the people regard religion as a secondary detail of life, it is not rash but reasonable to expect that, in a few years, the Church will be a great power in America ; and amongst those who think of religion at all, or better still, who prize it more than material prosperity, the truth will have conquered to itself so many, that the numbers of rival sects and creeds will be left in insignificance. To show the grounds of this most consoling belief we have but to note the statistics given in this first essay. A hundred years ago, at the close of the war, "there were in the whole country not more than forty thousand Catholics and twenty-five priests." There was not a religious community, a Catholic school, or a bishop in the land ; and not only was the Church without a single acre, except some that had escaped confiscation in Maryland, but, "surrounded by a bigoted Protestant population, ignorant of all the Catholic glories of the past, it was also without honour." But, after a few years, Father Carroll, an Irishman, as his name indicates, at the petition of the priests of the United States, was elected their first bishop, taking Baltimore for his see ; and from that time the tide turned. The history of the next few years contains the record of the founding of a

seminary, colleges, and several houses of religious orders. In 1800 the number of priests had increased from twenty-five to forty. The increase of their number from that time, indicating, of course, the increase of strength of the Catholic body, was nothing less than marvellous. After thirty years there were two hundred and thirty-two, and in eighteen years more, in 1848, eight hundred and ninety. "In ten years, from 1862 to 1872, the number of priests was more than doubled, having grown from two thousand three hundred and seventeen to four thousand eight hundred and nine." Dr. Spalding here remarks that the lack of vocations to the priesthood among native Americans has now disappeared, so that it is no longer, as formerly, a subject of discussion and anxiety. Contrast with the state of the Church in America in 1776 the following official statistics of 1875. In that year, counting up the rich harvest of one century of labour and struggle, there were 5,074 priests, 1,273 ecclesiastical students, 6,528 churches and chapels, in the United States. There were 33 theological seminaries, 63 colleges, 557 academies and higher schools, 1,645 parochial schools. There are no complete statistics to number the present Catholic population, but Father Carroll, a little more than ninety years ago, reckoned it at twenty-five thousand; and our author, who knows his country and his people well, takes Protestant well-known authorities, and bases upon them his opinion that, given the population in 1848 was a little over a million, to-day it is no less than seven millions, a most remarkable and splendid increase when we remember that it took place in something less than the last thirty years. To what cause can we ascribe the spread and triumph of the Church in the United States, her extraordinary energy, her wide conquest of souls, the mere naming of which in numbers strikes us with astonishment? Doubtless many causes went together to produce a result so magnificent in the present, so full of rich promise for the future; but no one can deny that foremost among those causes, is Ireland's faith, propagated by her sons wherever they tread the earth, and, some thirty years ago, just before the prolific years, sent out as a priceless gift with her famine-driven children to the land that received them.

"No other people," says Dr. Spalding, "could have done for the Catholic faith in the United States what the Irish people have done. Their unalterable attachment to their priests, their deep Catholic instincts, which no combination of circumstances has ever been able to bring into conflict with their love of country; the unworldly and spiritual temper of the national character; their indifference to ridicule and contempt; and their unfailing generosity—all fitted them for the work which was to be done here, and enabled them, in spite of the strong prejudices against their race which Americans had inherited from England, to accomplish what would not have been accomplished by Italian, French, or German Catholics."

He also ascribes success to the better organization of the dioceses and the schools, rejoices in the great number of converts, and sees a strong ground of hope for the future in the "intense and earnest religious spirit" of the Catholic body, their eagerness for instruction, and their readiness to make sacrifices in order to give their children a religious education.

The article on "The Persecution of the Church in the German Empire"

was written in 1875, since which time some changes have taken place, and the man of blood and iron, the idol of the hour, finds his hour almost past, and his iron rule too strong and unreasonable, even for his worshippers. Our author takes the materialism and scepticism of German literature and thought as the germ from which sprang the whole persecution, as the national mind was thereby disposed to regard religion as a myth, which has no rights, because it ought to have no existence, and to exalt the State, even to the power and place of God. The course of the persecution is traced, and light is thrown on the condition of imprisoned priests, showing that it was no nominal penalty, but actual hardship and suffering to be confined in a government prison. The first article on "Prussia and the Church" goes to demonstrate how hard it was for the faith to thrive on Prussian soil, how it was held back and baffled, even from the days when its earliest Apostles S. Adalbert and S. Bruno were put to death, one before the year 1000, the other a few years after.

The second article on the same subject takes up the thread of history from the year of revolutions, 1848, and with regard to Prince Bismarck's policy and the Vatican decrees quotes with great effect, from the work of a wise, and, at least on these points, a just-minded man, Herr von Kirchman, who is a national liberal, not a Catholic, a member of the German parliament and of the Prussian House of Deputies. This impartial writer points out the folly as well as the impracticable nature of the persecution, and declares that it was provoked not by any decrees from the Vatican, but by the desire to tolerate no longer the growth of the Church in Germany. "Prince Bismarck knew his men," Dr. Spalding goes on to say. The men that obeyed his beck and believed his lightest word were the Prussian pantheists and culturists. He did not fear to rule and set himself above them, for the learned self-complacent nation hid a craven-heart under its "mist, and froth, and sound." "Only men who believe in God and the soul are dangerous rebels. Why should he who has no faith make a martyr of himself? So long as Prince Bismarck had to deal with men who were nourished on 'philosophy's sweet milk,' and, who had worshipped at the altar of culture, who had science but not faith, opinions but not convictions, his policy of making Germany 'by blood and iron' was successful enough." But then he turned to bring under subjection the clericals and the citizens who did not accept "the new faith" that the State is the "present God." "Of the real nature and strength of the forces which would be marshalled in this great battle of souls the man of blood and iron could form no just estimate. The soul, firm in its faith, appealing from tyrant kings and states to God, is invincible. Lifting itself to the Infinite, it draws thence a divine power. Like liberty, it is brightest in dungeons, in fetters freest, and conquers with its martyrdom!" In the third essay is shown the position of the Church as the ally of the state, inspiring respect for authority and love of order, while at the same time the necessity of her freedom is urged, even in so far that the state like the individual must serve her. Finally, he concludes those three valuable papers on Prussia by demonstrating the failure of the persecution. There is a most excellent essay on German

journalism, and the three on the Church and national prosperity deal bravely and forcibly with a subject which no one need fear to face, since the victory, though to a casual glance against us, is in reality ours. The last essay, "Religion and Art," is to our mind more wordy, and hence weaker than the rest. Modern history, and the Church and the political world seem to be more the author's province, though we are far from saying that there is not true force and eloquence in "Religion and Art."

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte (a Text-book of Church History), von Dr. H. BRÜCK. Zweite Auflage. Mainz, 1877.

ONE of the professors at the seminary of Mayence here makes us a present for which we cannot be too thankful—the gift of a carefully-written, minute, accurate, and altogether Catholic text, for the use of students who attend lectures in Church History, and of such as have begun to investigate its sources for themselves. We could have desired that the book had been in two volumes rather than in one: its nine hundred pages look disheartening except to the men who have folios on their shelves; and they, we suppose, are getting fewer every day. But the pages are handsome and readable, and they abound in matter which cannot fail to interest. That we have read our author from title-page to index we will not say; from such a task the lax opinions (and the still laxer practice) of the modern critics may be held to dispense us: but we have gone through almost the whole, and feel a satisfaction in saying how excellent it is. More loyalty to the Church a man could not display: but that does not hinder Dr. Brück from searching after the historical truth, and recounting it without fear or favour. We are sure that even non-Catholics will admit his impartiality, though they may dispute the value of his conclusions. And he has taken care, for the most part, to give not merely what he thinks, but the grounds upon which he has formed his opinions. Those, therefore, who do not like the text will find, in the notes, a means of combating it or of convincing themselves.

Before going further it may be well to say what is the plan, or, to speak more ambitiously, the organism which Dr. Brück has unfolded. He reckons three epochs in Church History—the first covering six hundred years, about; the second, a thousand; and the third, these last three hundred. We may suggest the principles of the division more forcibly by remarking that it goes from the Apostles to S. Gregory the Great on the one hand, and to Mahomet on the other; again, from Gregory to the Council of Trent, and from Mahomet to Luther; finally, from the Council of Trent to that of the Vatican, and from Luther to the logical outcome of his doctrines, the French Revolution. The development and counter-development are so clearly indicated when we look into the facts of history, that they must be called objective and evident; but we are much deceived if they do not carry with them an argument, and a decisive argument too, (so far as the subject will allow of one), for the Church's mission from

God and her divine prerogatives. Again, in each epoch there are two periods : from the beginning to Constantine ; from Constantine to Gregory and his immediate successors ; from thence to the founder, as he deserves to be esteemed, of mediæval civilization, St. Gregory VII. ; from his date, the date also of the Crusades, to the Reformation ; then from that calamitous change to the still greater change in 1789 ; and so again to the present day.

In each of these subdivisions or periods it is Dr. Brück's method to treat the subjects according to the same order. He dwells in succession upon the preaching and spreading of Christianity ; then, upon the relations of the Church to the State ; after that, upon the growth and the variations of the Church's internal constitution—the growth of what was established by divine ordinance from the first, and the variations of what was left to be settled by ecclesiastical law—next, of the writers, the saints, doctors, and theologians, who defended or explained the Faith ; thence, by a natural transition, of the heresies and schisms which vexed the Church ; and, in the last place, of its internal life as shown in its worship and discipline. For a book of constant reference, such as this is intended to be, we cannot imagine a better system. It introduces perfect order, and detracts nothing from the liveliness of the narrative, which, throughout every section, may be so connected as to gain force and picturesqueness from its unity.

The work, moreover, has been constructed so as to show everywhere the foundations no less than the edifice which rests upon them. It is a modern practice, comparatively modern at all events, to throw what information we wish to convey, by means of our books, into the form of text and notes. Whether it is the perfect way to write history, we will not dispute ; since it has been established, a prudent man ought to think "twice and thrice" before departing from it. Our author has undertaken to make the notes as complete as possible, not treating them as a mere accessory, but as an integral part of the book. His reading is vast, if we are entitled to express a judgment on the point : it is likewise discriminating. He quotes the best authorities ; and when he has referred to others who are less to be depended on, he adds a warning. It pleases us, by the by, that he comments on the partiality which Ranke has displayed (we think) in all his writings ; and nowhere more than in that *History of the Popes*, which many Catholics have been led to speak well of. The notes and the authorities in Dr. Brück give him a claim to our sincere thanks ; for, whilst they do not plead for any cause, they clear away a thousand prejudices which men have had against the Church. We may especially instance the notes on the first two centuries in the mediæval period, and on the German Reformation. A slight defect is the scantiness of his references touching the changes in England since Henry VIII. Not that he omits to name a large number of books, but he has made fewer quotations than we like.

The text, though generally good, and in the first three hundred pages perhaps remarkably good, falls off somewhat towards the end. It is not difficult to account for the difference. Any one who has ever had to

lecture on Church History will probably have found, to his surprise, that the early periods, though so distant from us and so peculiar in their characteristics, are still the easiest to describe. The reason, of course, is, that those periods have been thoroughly worked into shape by the historians; and whilst we may choose our sides, we can scarcely meet any controversy or incident upon which the judgments possible are not already chronicled: whereas later periods remain as contemporary opinion left them, and we are even now learning slowly what views the facts will allow us to take. It must also be remembered, that the world of the first 600 years was narrow and small compared with the Europe, not of to-day only, but of three centuries ago. Hence it requires a genius, and nothing less, to open up, in a new sense, the early questions. F. Newman has done this for Arianism: his investigations into its origin (was it of Antioch or of Alexandria?) and into the position of the Semi-Arians (did they differ in meaning or only in phrase from the Church's doctrine?) have given us unexpected lights in a region where all seemed clear enough before. Dr. Brück cannot have heard of these speculations; or else he would not have referred us to Platinus and the Neo-Platonists as the sufficient causes of Arianism without observing that another view had been started.

To our minds, a Church History possesses great merit when it tells the truth, simply and severely, upon controverted and, what we may term, uncomfortable subjects. We have applied this test to the volume in hand with, we are most happy to say, almost unvarying success. The history of the tenth century in Italy, of the fourteenth and the fifteenth in many parts of Europe, of certain circumstances, some moral, some political, in the lives of, it may be, as many as ten Popes, are not a pleasant exercise for a man who loves and reveres the Church, but knows that her ministers have sometimes been unworthy and her sanctuaries defiled. He cannot help wishing vehemently that the facts he has before him were not true, and he may be tempted to soften the guilt of them more than history will allow. Our author has never done that wittingly: we doubt if he has done it at all. He speaks with a Christian liberty of such Pontiffs as Julius II. and Leo X.; against whom charges of common immorality break down, indeed, but who were politicians and literati rather than Vicars of the Incarnate Word. Especially do we admire his frankness in setting before us the pernicious causes of the Reformation: he will not have the ordinary Protestant fables (many of which Professor Jansseus has completely disproved in his recent work), but neither will he deny that portions of the Christian world had grown very corrupt when Luther and Calvin began. He does not hesitate to say that Alexander VI. was elected simoniacally; and he narrates, with keen sympathy, how Cardinal Cajetan exhorted the Fifth Lateran Council to reform the crying abuses of the time, and how the exhortation bore no fruit. He takes an unfavourable view of Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII. also; but extols the character of a Pope who has been very much blamed, John XXII. It is the same honourable desire to speak what he believes which makes him blame the harshness of Paul IV. and the nepotism of various pontiffs, early and late. On this particular subject, however, there is much to be said in

explanation of a course which the Popes were often unable to avoid ; and it might have conduced to a fair judgment, had our author consulted some papers which appeared in the "*Civilti Catholica*," we think, during the year 1872. But, of course, every one will not have formed the same notions of so many and such complicated histories ; the utmost we can ask is that the documents should be studied and such conclusions drawn from them as they seem to warrant. Dr. Brück has acted upon this rule invariably. We cannot but surmise that he would distinguish between the reverence due to living authorities, whatever may seem to be their shortcomings, and the severity of truthful judgment, without which history is a panegyric, an oratorical flight, and an empty invention. Sometimes an unjustifiable severity has been displayed towards great men ; but the proper answer to this is a demonstrated statement of the facts which writers have perverted, not a general exaggeration of the character or the times in question. Dr. Brück has not undertaken an apology of S. Gregory VII. or Boniface VIII. : he has been satisfied to compose an account of what they did and said, from sources which all may examine for themselves ; and the natural result is a telling vindication of those illustrious Pontiffs. In the same way, he defends mediæval Christianity by extracting a multitude of details from trustworthy chronicles, and these are such that we get an insight into the world as it was ; we may praise or condemn, but according to knowledge and with reasons at hand, not, as formerly, because we happen to have a prejudice.

There are some omissions which we cannot help regretting. Occasionally, from having to notice so many persons and circumstances, the author has fallen into a rather serious fault ; he has merely *alluded* to subjects, and not gathered up in the text what was referred to in the notes. Thus, it is mentioned that Galileo underwent condemnation in the reign of Paul V., and below we find names and books cited where we may learn what we should think of the condemnation. But nothing is *told* us. It would have conduced to the author's purpose more, and have improved his text, had he omitted various small details and bare allusions, and given us instead the motives fully exhibited for deciding such a matter as that of Galileo's trial. Recent events are treated, sometimes, with the like confusing brevity ; as, for instance, Catholic Emancipation. This is one of the gravest difficulties in constructing a text-book, and perhaps can be surmounted only by genius.

We strongly recommend all whose studies lie in history to make use of Dr. Brück's volume. It is better than the original Alzog, because it is so much more hearty and Catholic in tone. It is pleasant also to read, though we cannot entirely praise the style and choice of language. But for information, honesty, and fulness of reference we do not know any work which surpasses it.

Extracts from so compendious a book cannot be easily made ; but we choose the following on the Inquisition, as it is worth remembering :—

"The charges which have been brought against the sentences passed and the judicial process observed by the Inquisition are either unfounded or

much exaggerated. The course of trial at that tribunal was more lenient and restrained within bounds than in any other court. The prisons were not so bad as in countries where the Inquisition did not exist; the rack could be employed only once during a process, whilst in the ordinary courts its use might be repeated. The number of the condemned will suffer, on inspection, a notable diminution below what is alleged. The sanbenito (*saccus benedictus*) was the same kind of penitential garb which was customary in other places. Neither were the *autos da fé* the sickening spectacles of horror which we have been wont to imagine. They very often consisted in the dismissal of such as were innocent and the laying of penances upon those who had been guilty but showed signs of sorrow: there were more scenes of grace and pardon than of cruelty and dread" (p. 521, where the authorities are given).

Summa Summæ; Summæ Theologicæ Divi Thomæ Aquinatis analytico-synthetica Synopsis. Confecit T. J. O'MAHONY, in Sacra Theologia et Jure Canonico Doctor, &c. Dublinii: apud M. Gill et Filium. 1877.

THIS work is intended to be something in the nature of a key to S. Thomas. A well-known writer, the late Dean Milman, has remarked that the stupendous folios of the Middle Ages are like those Egyptian catacombs, which excite our admiration by the number and the intricacy of their chambers, in which, however, when we strive to penetrate into them, we find nothing but dust. Such a judgment, even in the mouth of a brilliant scholar, does not surprise us. Dean Milman had turned over the index, perhaps also a chance leaf here and there, of the folios which he depreciated. He had done nothing to get at the life which, once at any rate, was in them; and we will not say that the fault was entirely his. But a book of the sort which Dr. O'Mahony has produced takes away all excuse from those who henceforth misunderstand the purpose which the Scholastics had in view. The thought has occurred to him that it might be possible to show, not only the result which S. Thomas effected, but the way in which it was brought to pass,—not only the fruit, but how the fruit grew, even from the seed which was its beginning. As yet no more than a third of the work—indeed, not a third, if we go upon considerations of volume—has been laid before us. But this portion will bear careful and thorough scrutiny; and we are very glad to have it to say, that we have read the whole with delight and satisfaction.

The plan is suggested by S. Thomas himself. Students know that certain short paragraphs connect the Questions of the "Summa" from first to last, so that we may always gain in his pages the reasons of his passing from one part to another, and selecting the problems which he undertakes to resolve. But modern readers object to too much reflection; they seldom examine themselves as to the teaching or tendency of a book taken in the whole; they are deficient, Dr. O'Mahony says, in the powers of application and reconstruction or synthesis. As, unfortunately, those who read S. Thomas now must needs be modern, they cannot help

missing the point of his arguments; and they get comparatively small good from what they read, because they seem incapable of observing how all his syllogisms converge to a system, and how all his Questions are intended to exhibit one or other scientific idea. We mean by this latter expression what Dr. Whewell, we think, has called an Ideal of Induction, a universal truth displayed in its entirety and in the living relation of all its parts to one another. The "*Summa*," more perhaps than any book that has ever been written, unfolds itself as a living and organic system of truth. Nor is there to be acquired by reading it an advantage which can surpass this, that one gets to know how an idea is unity and totality, and that the world of thought has its grades and hierarchies no less than the material world, in which we cannot refuse to see species and genera building themselves up into necessary and beautiful order. As we watch the growth from lesser to larger perfection in matter and physical life, so S. Thomas will enable us to watch spiritual truths opening out little by little, disclosing their hidden life, and moving once more upwards to the divine truth out of which they came.

The Synopsis now published is in S. Thomas's own words, with just such slight additions as are needful to put them into perfectly definite shape. How this is done we learn from the Preface, which, if we may venture to say so, would be more effective were not the style somewhat unlike that of the Angelic whom it praises. But the conspectus or general view here given us of the first part of the "*Summa*" is wonderfully distinct, and though minute, does not fatigue in the least. We regret not having the space now (but we hope some other time to make up for it) to show how the mere evolution and orderly march of S. Thomas's argument clears away the chief difficulties which modern philosophers have raised against the true nature, attributes, and existence of God; against the possibility of creation; the immateriality and substantiality of the soul; the distinction between intellect and sense; and other Catholic doctrines akin to these. It is important for the student to know where he may find a precise answer to a precise question, and what the School would formulate as the correct philosophy of a given problem. This he may obtain in the present Synopsis.

As there are sure to be fresh editions required, we would call attention to the rather large number of misprints: they disfigure a handsome and very readable book; though we have not noticed any which involve false doctrine. The author has taken pains to make his work attractive, and it pleases us to see that the pains have been generally well bestowed. We have nothing but hearty congratulations for him on what he has done, and wishes that he may finish the remainder very speedily. It will help undoubtedly to make the age acquainted with S. Thomas; and that, as Dr. O'Mahony proves by quotation at the beginning, is a thing which the Holy Father ardently desires.

Maxims and Sayings of the Rev. F. W. Faber, D.D., Priest of the London Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Arranged for every day in the year by a Religious of the Adorers of the Most Precious Blood. Williams & Rutland. 1877.

IT has often been observed that if any average reader would set down every day some passage that has struck him in his reading, the year's note-book would generally be both valuable and interesting; for most of the books that are now hurriedly run through, put aside, and forgotten, contain some things worth bearing in mind. The very multiplication of F. Faber's writings especially, and the exuberant fertility and richness of his active mind, make it often difficult to retain and fix the points of his teaching; and it was a good inspiration which suggested to the compiler of this little volume to gather together a few maxims from the voluminous mass. Its arrangement is, of course, purely gratuitous, as few of the extracts are more (or less) suitable for one month of the year than another; but it serves to divide the choice of sentences, and thus perhaps to fix them more definitely for practical use in the mind. In turning over even a volume of this size, it is astonishing how many "good things"—if the secular expression may be used—F. Faber has scattered through his writings; and their peculiar aptitude, point, or beauty often fails to strike in the whole work from their redundant profusion. They can be picked up at random:—

"The ill-doing of a good thing is a very great evil."

"Perfection may be defined as consisting simply of docility to (the Holy Ghost's) inspirations."

"It is often because He so loves prayer that God delays to answer it."

"There is no search after God in scruples. Self is their centre, and they revolve round it with odious accuracy and fidelity."

"The only important thing in good works is the amount of love which we put into them."

And again, this word of deeply-significant and even awful truth, considering the ease and carelessness with which not only intimacies, but friendships, are made and cast aside:—

"No one comes near us, or across us, but it is through an intention of God that we may help, soothe, or cheer him."

The judicious nun to whom we owe this pretty little book might have added considerably to it without in the least lessening its attraction.

The Seven Words spoken by Christ on the Cross. By Cardinal BELLARMINE. Translated from the Latin. Reprinted from the "Messenger of the Sacred Heart." London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

FEW sentences of Holy Scripture can be taken more fittingly from their context, and be made more fruitfully the subject of an exclusive commentary, than "The Seven Words spoken by Christ on the

Cross." They are—writes the saintly theologian, than whom a worthier interpreter could not easily be found—"the last sermon which the Redeemer of the world preached from the cross, as from an elevated pulpit, to the human race." We have a predilection for the spiritual writers who were also masters of theology; for we are sure that the truest asceticism springs from the deepest knowledge of dogma, as congruously as hope or charity from faith. Bellarmine, with Lessius, S. Bonaventure, and S. Thomas, would be our witnesses, if we had to prove the thesis. The structure of the work before us suggests the theologian, as much as the loving and devout thought displayed in it reveals the saint. One chapter gives a literal explanation of each one of the "Seven Words"; and then a second, third, and, in some instances, even a fourth and fifth chapter, unfold the considerations suggested by it.

Our readers who have not read the book will gain a fairer notion of it, as the plan is uniform, from a special direction to a particular part, than from general observations on the whole. The first chapter of the second book gives the literal explanation of the words, *My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?* Any failure there may be in explaining with convincing clearness the meaning of the mysterious words, is neither greater nor less than is found in the writings of those who have preceded or followed Bellarmine. It is possible that the sorrow of the sacred soul of Christ in its desolation would have been a mystery, even were it revealed to an intuitive knowledge of our souls; equally mysterious would be the words that express that sorrow. It is, says the Cardinal Archbishop in one of his finest sermons, "a divine depth of mystery, round about which we may walk in adoration; into which we shall never be able to descend" ("Sin and its Consequences," p. 214). But for a full and clear statement of the errors to be avoided in meditating on the mysterious words, the author is not easily equalled:—

"The abandonment of Christ by His Father might be interpreted in five ways, but there is only one true interpretation. There were, indeed, five unions between the Father and the Son: one, the natural and eternal union of the person of the Father with the person of the Son in essence; the second, a new bond of union of the Divine nature with human nature in the person of the Son, or, what is the same thing, the union of the Divine Person of the Son with human nature; the third was the union of grace and will, for Christ as man was *full of grace and truth*, as He testifies in S. John: *I do always the things that please Him*. And of Him the Father spoke: *This is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased*. The fourth was the union of glory, since the soul of Christ, from the moment of its conception, enjoyed the beatific vision; the fifth was the union of protection to which He refers when He says: *And He that sent Me is with Me, and He hath not left Me alone*. The first kind of union is inseparable and eternal, because it is founded in the Divine essence, so our Lord says: *I and the Father are One*, and therefore Christ did not say, *My Father, why hast Thou forsaken Me?* but *My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?* For the Father is called the God of the Son only after the incarnation, and by reason of the incarnation. The second kind of union never has nor can be dissolved, because what God has once assumed He can never lay aside, and so the Apostle says: *He that spared not His own*

Son, but delivered Him up for us all ; and S. Peter, Christ suffered for us, and Christ therefore having suffered in the flesh ; all which proves that it was not a mere man, but the true Son of God, and Christ the Lord Who was crucified. The third kind of union also still exists, and ever will exist, *because Christ also died once for our sins, the just for the unjust,* as S. Peter expresses it ; for the death of Christ would have profited us nothing had this union of grace been dissolved. The fourth union could not be disturbed, because the beatitude of the soul cannot be lost, since it embraces the enjoyment of every good, and the superior part of the soul of Christ was truly happy.

“There remains then the union of protection only, which was broken for a short period in order to allow time for the oblation of the bloody sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. God the Father, indeed, could in many ways have protected Christ and have hindered the passion, and for this reason in His prayer in the garden Christ says : *Father, all things are possible to Thee : remove this chalice from Me ; but not what I will, but what Thou wilt*” (p. 72).

The literal interpretation being developed at some length, in the sense suggested by the last sentence of the quotation just given, the author devotes not less than five chapters to the fruits to be derived from meditation on the words. But his wealth of thought cannot easily be described. The best we can do is to give his own summary of one chapter. He proposes the question, Why Christ, who knew all things, asked the reasons of His abandonment, and he answers, that we also might know them, especially these five :—

“God abandoned His Son on the cross when He was suffering such an extremity of torment in order to teach us the greatness of sin, the greatness of hell, the greatness of divine grace, the greatness of eternal life, and the greatness of the love which the Son of God had for His Father” (p. 81).

With the exception of his Commentary on the Psalms, this is the only work of Bellarmine, we believe, that we have in our own language. He is, we dare say, little more than a name to many ; but the translation of “The Seven Words,” while giving a glimpse of the theologian, will fairly show his power as an ascetical writer.

A Funeral Discourse, preached in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, London, at the Solemn Dirge in Memory of Cecil, Marchioness of Lothian, May 29th, 1877. By FATHER GALLWEY, S.J. London : Burns & Oates.

DURING her life the name of the Marchioness of Lothian was linked in all minds with the most active, practical, and unostentatious charity ; but it is only after her death that we hear of the extent of the great work she did for God and for the Church. Reading this funeral sermon is like reading a panegyric. The veil is suddenly withdrawn from the life and labours, even from the inmost soul, of one who was in our midst ; and we recognise, as the preacher said, “one of that blessed race, concerning which the inspired writer exclaims : “How beautiful is the

chaste generation! The memory thereof is immortal; it is recognized both by God and by men, who, when it is present, imitate it, and they desire it when it hath withdrawn itself." We can attempt here no *resumé* of her labours. Her works were literally among the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned: and, moreover, they were not alone those which are done and pass away; but the churches she built, the schools she founded, the poor missions her generous hand assisted in secret, the Home of Refuge established by her, and placed under the Sisters of the Good Shepherd to save from destruction and raise up to God the poor women discharged from prison, penniless, and without good name—these are works that are for all time. Her vast labours for the poor and imperilled, her influence on the rich, her aid to converts, are works of another kind; but, perhaps not less lasting. "As church and chapel, school and orphanage, and other kindred institutions," says F. Gallwey, "continue here on earth her apostleship, and our Blessed Saviour sees soul after soul mount up from this desert, to whose salvation she has lent a helping hand, will He not again and again, and for ever and for ever say from His Divine Heart, 'Give her of the fruits of her hands, for she hath done it all to Me.'"

The sermon is sold in aid of the Institution for Women discharged from Prison, a charity for which she worked untiringly to the last. It is a beautiful picture of the life and death of one who was not only remarkable for her holiness, but for her joy of heart; and it leaves us trusting that God who has given us this great example will lead many amongst the rich to choose the better part, and follow in the steps of that "valiant woman."

The Power of S. Joseph. A new Book of Meditations and Devotions in Honour of the Foster-Father of our Lord. By the Rev. Father HUGUET, S.M. Translated from the Twenty-first French Edition by CLARA MULHOLLAND. Dublin: McGlashan & Gill. 1876.

THIS delightful little book, of a delightful author, scarcely seems to need thirty pages of recommendation and introduction upon its subject. The meditations are orderly, simple, full of matter, and very devotional, each one ending with an example and practice suitable for public use during the month of March. It contains also a full collection of beautiful hymns to S. Joseph, both the original well-known verses of F. Faber, and translations from various liturgical hymns, notably F. Caswall's admirable version of "Dei Tui Gratiam." "The Little Office of S. Joseph," freshly translated, completes this volume of devotions for practical use.

Preces Xaverianæ. Burns & Oates.

IT is taken for granted that the congregations of churches served by the Jesuit Fathers have for many years been familiar with the prayers, Novena, and "Ten Fridays" of St. Francis Xavier. But as, probably,

these devotions have been in general either printed for the occasion, or in certain prayer-books only, it has been judged well to reprint or put forth afresh a translation of the "Ten Fridays" from the Italian, dedicated to Abbess Caryll, who was head of the English Benedictine nuns at Dunkirk in 1662. It will perhaps be remembered what intense devotion was cherished by the English Carmelite Sister Xaveria Burton to the great Apostle of India, who was canonized exactly forty years before Abbess Caryll's time. She also seems to have applied to "Saint Xaverius" in much extremity of sickness, and been healed, and her devotion and that of her community to S. Francis Xavier spread to other houses of English nuns in the Low Countries. It is a pity, in these days of good English writing and more cultivated taste, that the colloquies or invocations to the Saint should be addressed in the second person plural.

The Eucharistic Year ; or, Preparation and Thanksgiving for Holy Communion on all the Sundays and Principal Feasts of the Year. Translated from the tenth French edition by SYDNEY AGATHA SHEIL. With a preface by the Most Rev. Dr. M'GETTIGAN, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, 1877.

A WRITER is always at some disadvantage in the work of translation. One mind does not apprehend the thoughts of another as vigorously as if they were its own, and cannot therefore express them with equal force, inasmuch as thought creates its own expression. On the other hand, a translator has a great advantage in being able to select—and unless judgment be at fault, which is remotely probable in judging of the work of another—will not be likely to lose time and labour over a worthless book. Miss Sheil has shown no error in judgment in translating "The Eucharistic Year." The book has reached a tenth edition in France ; and being well translated, although occasional sentences show a mistaken purism, will have a good circulation among English readers. We may point out as an offence to the eye, "Who is He *who* comes?" a phrase running throughout the book. However, greater faults than that can be readily forgiven in a work of 800 pages. It is a beautiful tribute to the dogma on which it treats, and contains a few pages of the best sacred poetry we have read for a long while.

The Happiness of Heaven. By a FATHER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. London : Burns & Oates.

THIS very useful little book is made up of four chapters on the Beatific Vision, three on the Attributes of the Body after the Resurrection ; a few valuable words on "Several Errors to be avoided in our Meditations on Heaven" ; three chapters on "the

Life and Intercourse of the Blessed in Heaven"; another directly facing a commonly felt difficulty, "Will the Knowledge that some of our own are lost mar our Happiness in Heaven?" eight chapters on the light of glory, and the various degrees of glory of the saints, with a last chapter on the eternity of happiness. No attempt is made to fill in the broad outlines of pious belief, fact, and doctrine. The object is not so much to impress as to instruct or to furnish food for meditation by defining and explaining, as far as it is possible to explain in a few simple words, what is the doctrine of the Church with regard to the happiness of heaven. St. Thomas is the author's guide through this region of mystery which eye hath not seen. The result is a few pages written in the most ordinary language; but having in them, for those who will take them to heart, more value than could be found in much mere eloquence; for here we have nothing but doctrine and approved belief, plainly but suggestively stated, so as to give a clear idea of what the Church teaches, and also to point out those errors into which the mind is apt to fall when representing to itself the happiness of the blessed. Doubtless most people have noticed how disappointing and barren are the generality of sermons on heaven, and probably there are few preachers who do not recognise the difficulty of choosing it as their subject. There must necessarily be failures in the attempts to realise and present to the imagination joys which man's heart cannot conceive. Even the different constitution of men's minds, and their different ideas of happiness would make the pictured heaven of one be a monotonous existence to the other. Hence it seems that success is likely to be attained not so much by eloquent description as by the bare statement of doctrine made in all fulness, so as to excite the imagination and reasoning powers of each individual mind. It is true there are exceptions. In Faber's works, he that was at once theologian and poet, gave, as far as human language can give, glimpses of the world beyond the veil; but his was the hand that, emboldened by love, yet trembling with reverence, could "describe God," and his flights were higher as well as stronger than those vouchsafed to most men. In the present little work, by a Father of the Society of Jesus, there is to be found all that could be desired as a simple doctrinal explanation. The manner in which the more obscure points, such as the absence of regret for the lost, the light of glory, the degrees of happiness, are treated, is very clear and admirable. We give for example the few words about the participation in the Divine Nature:—

The Beatific Vision means, therefore, that God not only enables the soul to see Him in all His surpassing beauty, but also that He takes her to His bosom as a beloved child, and bestows upon her the happiness which mortal eye cannot see. It means, furthermore, that God unites the soul to Himself in so wonderful and intimate a manner, that, without losing her created nature or personal identity, she is transformed into God, according to the forcible expression of St. Peter, when he asserts that we are "made partakers of the Divine nature." This is the highest glory to which a rational nature can be elevated, if we except the glory of the hypostatic union and the maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In explaining this partaking of the Divine nature in heaven theologians

make use of a very apt comparison. If, say they, you thrust a piece of iron into the fire it soon loses its dark colour and becomes red and hot, like the fire. It is thus made a partaker of the nature of fire, without, however, losing its own essential nature. This illustrates what takes place in the Beatific Vision in relation to the soul. She is united to God and penetrated by Him. She becomes bright with His brightness, beautiful with His beauty; pure with His purity, happy with His unutterable happiness, and perfect with His Divine perfections. In a word, she has become a partaker of the 'Divine nature,' while she retains her created nature and personal identity."

Unfortunately the similes used throughout the book are not always as happy as the above, and they would have been more forcible had they been more brief. This, however, is a minor blemish. The work contains much that deserves to be generally read. All the chapters are worthy of attention, but particularly that which deals with errors to be avoided in meditation; and there are numbers to whom new and consoling thoughts would be given by the explanation of the teaching with regard to the glorified body with its eternal youth, the exalted pleasures of the senses, the intercourse of the saints, and the mutual joy of those whose love, begun on earth, will in that higher life become not only purified but intensified.

Legends of the Blessed Sacrament, gathered from the History of the Church and the Lives of the Saints. By EMILY MARY SHAPCOTE. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

THIS is exteriorly an attractive book, large and bright with crimson, and gilding. But, like everything good, its best beauties are within. Beginning with sketches of the hidden Church guarding its great Treasure in the catacombs, unnumbered tales relating to the Blessed Sacrament bring the chain of marvels up to Mary von Mörl, the Ecstatica who died so lately as 1868. The illustrations are not equal to the letter-press, but the best are those copied from old engravings, and many of the latter are quite worthy of illustrating Miss Shapcote's beautiful stories. We believe we have seen these legends before now, in the pages of one of our weekly periodicals. Collected they form a praiseworthy tribute of love to the Most Holy Sacrament, and a book which ought to be soon a favourite with the young. Here they can gratify their innate desire for stories, the stories being not only true, but simply and gracefully told, and wonderfully various. Moreover, they wreath round the very centre of all truth and beauty, and cannot fail to draw readers nearer to the hidden God of the tabernacle, strengthening faith, and making love more real and tender. "Legends of the Blessed Sacrament" would make a most welcome First Communion present, or an excellent prize for schools.

The Life of Marie Lataste, Lay-Sister of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart. With a Brief Notice of her Sister Quetterie. London : Burns & Oates. Dublin : W. B. Kelly, 1877.

GOD fashioned out of very humble material the perfect life which is described in this book. It is one more instance of the truth, that "the foolish things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the wise"; for this life of a poorly-educated peasant girl,—of not the most promising childhood, born and reared in an obscure French hamlet,—presents a sustained series of supernatural wonders. The life of Marie Lataste belongs to the present century, yet might as well be of any age, so little does the interest of it depend on any external circumstances. The earlier part—from 1822 to 1844—was passed under the direction of the priest in whose parish she lived, and embraces years of most singular contemplation; and the rest, a brief span—from 1844 to 1847—was hidden in the convents of the Sacred Heart, at Conflans and Rennes. A thought that will probably occur to the reader as strange, is that so singular a life—a fact that should be marked as an event in the century—has left little impress upon the world. It came and went with little manifestation; although, among saintly lives it is exceptional for its sustained supernatural elevation. The reason, we apprehend, why the life of Marie Lataste—and it is worth noting that it is but one of many that have made splendid the religious life of France in this century—has arrested so little of the world's attention, is its purely subjective character. The same reason perhaps accounts for the Divine economy which hides from the world chosen souls like Marie Lataste. Their credibility would be ruthlessly assailed, and, though of easy acceptance by faith-illuminated minds, they are not the strongest arguments against unbelievers.

We shall not attempt a critical investigation of the supernatural phenomena recorded in this life, although the question is very important on account of the many biographies that have appeared lately, containing such marvellous truths. A fair treatment would demand materials that we have not; above all, as our judgment would be formed on intrinsic arguments, the writings of Marie Lataste, which are not yet translated, but are promised. Any one reading the Life will see that, being of a most subjective kind, intrinsic argument drawn from her writings must form the basis of its credibility. Miracles are hardly claimed; her visions are her own; and her prophecies are more likely to be accepted as conclusions from faith in her heroic sanctity, than as establishing it beyond dispute. One reason for adverting to the question is, that a life so exceptionally singular comes not by itself, the miracle, as it were, of the century. We could name at once a dozen lives as marvellous, that have come before us in a limited time; and if it be said they give strength to each other, as so many concurrent testimonies in favour of a visible supernatural power ever-present in the Church, it may also be said that the manifestation is greater than the history of the past would lead us reasonably to expect in one country within a brief time. We need hardly say that we accept the

judgment of those who have rigidly investigated each case—experienced religious, keen theologians, and prudent bishops. These have testified to the virtues and approved the writings of Marie Lataste. With such authority before us, we cannot err in recommending the Life to our readers, and with it the edifying sketch of her sister Quetterie. Our own duty is done in saying, that the life, considering its want of natural incident, is of greater interest than we should have expected; it is very valuable as giving an insight into the exceptional operations of the Holy Spirit in a human soul; and cannot fail to do good in those who read it with the prepossessions of faith. The name of the translator, Mr. Thompson, is sufficient indication that, from a literary point of view, the work is a success.

A Thought for Each Day of the Year. By P. MARIN LE BOYLESVE, S.J.
Translated from the French by WILFRIDUS. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

THIS is a valuable book, and we can safely prophesy that we shall take up a score of publications before finding another of the same dimensions as vigorous and comprehensive. We gather its purpose from the preface; from a frequent perusal of it we give our judgment of its worth. Many persons, we are reminded, dispense themselves from the duty of meditation, on the plea of having no time to spare. The author of this work annihilates the excuse by giving for each day in the year the briefest of reflections suggested by the Gospels of the Sunday. A few moments suffice for reading, and less than a quarter of an hour for considering the thought and bringing it home to the mind. If this brief spell cannot be snatched from incessant occupation, at least the thought can be read after morning prayers, and be made a subject of reflection throughout the day.

The value of a work conceived with such a purpose is evident, if it be well done. In our opinion it is thoroughly well done. It fits the comparison of Ecclesiastes, "The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails deeply fastened in," for there is in every thought a unity and point that make it capable of being driven in like a nail. The reflections are usually very appropriate to the text, always striking, and in many instances of singular power: while their practical tendency is shown in the fact that each one is the inspiration of a short prayer, and takes root in a resolution. We agree with the author in the title, "A Thought for Each Day of the Year" (and we know not that we can give higher praise), for he gives *thoughts*; and, taken throughout, his little work is an admirable commentary on the Gospel of the Sundays, from a devotional point of view.

The following is the meditation for the day on which we are writing (Easter Sunday):—

"'Who shall roll us back the stone from the door of the sepulchre'? (S. Mark xvi. 3.)

“Thought.”—How would it be if we were to know everything? Not only does an enormous stone close the entrance to the sepulchre, but this stone is sealed by the powerful enemies of our Lord, and is surrounded by soldiers. Go on in spite of all this; God asks of you only that which you are able to perform; He takes what seems impossible upon Himself. When you draw near, all these obstacles have disappeared. True, your sweet spices are of no service, but your wishes have been accomplished and even surpassed.

“Prayer.”—Jesus, if Thou triest Thy friends, it is but to surprise them with consolations which more than recompense for any sacrifice.

“Practice.”—Make progress in spite of obstacles.”

The Life of Pope Pius IX. By the Rev. ALEXIUS MILLS. Volume I. from 1792 to 1868. London: D. Lane. 1877.

THIS is one of the numerous lives of the sovereign Pontiff which have been called forth by the Jubilee. We cannot praise too much the simple, clear, flowing style in which it is written. It is like a familiar conversation about Pius IX., in which the narrator draws upon a rich store of anecdotes and facts relating to his life and reign. In all that is personal to the Pope it is most excellent. It gives us a living picture of the man and of his character, and it will be a welcome book in many a Catholic household.

While we give Mr. Mills's book this well-deserved praise, we are sorry to have to point out numerous errors in relating matters not purely personal to Pius IX., but rather belonging to the political history of his pontificate. These mistakes are, we have no doubt, the result of haste in bringing out the book in time for the Jubilee; and indeed some of them are clearly mere misprints, others are of a more serious character.

The allusion, at p. 171, to Farini's "Roman State from 1815 to 1850" is likely to lead any one who does not know the book to believe that it was written in defence of the Holy See. The account of the affair of Perugia is quite incorrect; and this is the more to be regretted, as the massacre of Perugia is one of the stereotyped calumnies against the temporal government of the Holy See. Our author says that 5,000 Tuscans attacked Colonel Schmidt and the Papal troops in Perugia, and were repulsed with loss. "Schmidt ordered his men to charge," he says; "they did so, killing fifty, and wounding about a hundred of the aggressors. The rest sought safety in flight. This is the whole truth of an affair which sensational journals delight to call 'the massacre of Perugia.'" The real facts are very different. The discontented minority in Perugia had hoisted the tricolour flag, established a provisional government, and received reinforcements and arms from Tuscany. Attempts were made to bring them to reason by peaceful means, and these having failed, Schmidt marched from Rome with a mixed column of Swiss and Romans, and stormed the town. That there was neither sack nor massacre was very clearly shown in an article on Perugia in the old series of this Review (October, 1859).

The infamous proclamation attributed to gallant Count Gyulai at p. 180

is one of the many anti-Austrian calumnies of the Revolutionists. It is no more true than the sanguinary proclamations attributed by the same unscrupulous men to Radetzky in 1848, and Lamoricière in 1860. No officer in command of a European army would dare to issue such an edict, and in Gyulai's case especially there was no need of strong measures. Notwithstanding all Garibaldi's efforts, the Lombards gave him very little trouble in 1859.

The account of Castelfidardo (pp. 200-206) requires several corrections. Fanti's ultimatum to Lamoricière was not sent in October, but in the second week of September. Farini (p. 200) is, of course, a misprint for Fanti, and le Brocetti for I. Crocetti. At p. 204 Loretto is misprinted for the Crocetti, so that the Papal troops are made to appear to have attacked the town in which they spent the night. At p. 205, Lamoricière is represented as having broken his way through the Piedmontese with the remnant of his army. What was left of his army had been withdrawn to Loretto, when it capitulated next day. Lamoricière, with a few followers, reached Ancona by the coast road without a second encounter with the Piedmontese.

There are also errors in the account of the campaign of 1867. The action of the 13th of October took place actually in Monte Libretti, not on the road. It was the most brilliant *fait d'armes* of the Zouaves. The Zouaves were *not* beaten with loss at Nerola next day. Charette's account lies before us. They took the town, but evacuated it next day on account of the general concentration on Rome. The Zouaves were not engaged at Monte Rotondo when the Garibaldians took the place. The troops there were some companies of the Legion d'Antibes. Misprints in names of men and places are very numerous. When the book reaches a second edition these will, of course, be corrected. We need not point them out here.

We must repeat, in conclusion, that we have a very high opinion of the book. It is for this reason that we have pointed out in detail the inaccuracies that have crept into some of the political chapters. There are not many of these errors, but the general excellence of the work makes us regret all the more that there are any.

My Conversion and Vocation. By the Rev. Father SCHOUVALOFF, Barnabite, translated from the French. With an Appendix by Father TONDINI, Barnabite. London: R. Washbourne, 1877.

THIS is a book which we are glad to see translated—and so well translated into English. It cannot fail to have the effect of spreading far and wide amongst us the propaganda of prayer for the return of the Russian Church to Catholic unity. The establishment of this association of prayer was the great work of F. Schouvaloff's life, it was his mission, the work that he was sent into the world to accomplish. By birth he was a son of a well-known noble family of Russia. He was brought up in the

bosom of the official Church, and manhood found him virtually an infidel. The three first parts of his book tell how, through sharp and bitter trials, he was brought to the knowledge and love of the truth. These pages were written without any idea that they would ever be given to the world. "They were written," says F. Schouvaloff, "shortly after my conversion. I was then still a layman and a man of the world. I wrote them only for myself, that I might give myself a reason for my faith, and above all that I might speak to God of my gratitude as one speaks to a friend or to a father." These pages possess a wonderful interest. They are the story of a soul struggling painfully from the dry arid desert of the Russian schism into the promised land of Catholic unity.

Count Schouvaloff spent some years as a Catholic layman. His faith made him an exile from Russia, but he enjoyed, in Western Europe, the friendship of many leaders of Catholic thought. Amongst others he was on terms of familiar intimacy with his well-known countrywoman, Madame Swetchine, and with F. de Ravignan. But a second call was vouchsafed him, and after a retreat in one of the houses of the Barnabites in northern Italy he became a novice of that order. In 1857 he was ordained a priest. His narrative of his conversion and vocation ends with his great event, and we may say here that we have seldom read a more delightful narrative than that of his vocation, novitiate and preparation for the priesthood. In less than two years after his ordination he was no more. But his death was a great act of sacrifice. His love for his native Russia appears in every portion of his work, but, as he himself says, it was in the novitiate of the Barnabites that the true love of his country entered into his heart.

"Before this epoch," he says, "I did not concern myself about it in a spiritual point of view, and I had prayed but little for the conversion of Russia; but in that life of silence and prayer I one day came to understand that, next to my salvation, the object of my prayer should henceforth be the return of that great and generous nation to religious unity. This I understood, and besought God to listen to me. If, Lord, circumstances have not permitted me to serve my country by fighting for her, let my prayer at least, let my life if need be, be henceforth consecrated to her, and let me bring if only a grain of sand to the magnificent edifice of its spiritual regeneration."

This was the origin of his association of prayer for the conversion of Russia. After his novitiate, before he left Italy for France, he had an audience with Pius IX. From that time forth, in accordance with a recommendation made to him by the Holy Father, he three times each day offered to God the sacrifice of his life for the return of Russia to Catholic unity. On April 2nd, 1859, the sacrifice was accepted. He died, leaving his work to be carried on by his friend and brother in religion, Fr. Tondini. The association of prayer which he has organized has received three briefs from the Holy Father, and the approbation of many bishops, including the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the late saintly Bishop of Southwark. It is spreading far and wide through the Catholic world. It is the first fruit of F. Schouvaloff's life and death, and it is a noble one, the fitting reward of his great sacrifice.

At this moment it seems to us that the extension of this association in Western Europe would be most appropriate if we view it in connection with the political events of the time. The large majority of Catholics justly look upon Russia as the great enemy at once of the Church of God and of peace in Europe. We are forced by the acts of her rulers to say, with good reason, stern and bitter things of herself and of her policy; but from the very nature of her government we must absolve her people as individuals from complicity in these acts, we must not cease to think kindly of them; and this association of prayer for the highest favour that can ever be conferred upon them, their return to the Church of Christ, will help to keep alive amongst us that spirit of true charity towards them which we must not allow to die out even in the midst of the most just resentment inspired by the acts of their government. In F. Schouvaloff we see a true lover of Russia. The prayers which he began for her in his Italian novitiate are now going up from many Catholic lands, from thousands of Catholic hearts, from hundreds of Catholic altars. No man can penetrate the designs of God—we cannot say when or how these prayers will be answered. The Holy Father has told us that whether Russia conquers or not in the present war “God’s hand will be heavy upon her.” As we listen to his almost prophetic voice, it seems to us that perhaps, like F. Schouvaloff, Russia herself will be brought, through heaven-sent suffering, to feel the desire of Catholic unity, and to take the means of restoring herself to communion with Rome. Humanly speaking, the prospect of reunion seems distant. The Russian Church is dead, strangled by Autocracy. Its faith is being rapidly undermined by fashionable scepticism, which is spreading fast among the more educated clergy. But this is not a matter to which we can apply the ordinary rules of human foresight, we must trust to prayer to work miracles for the Russian Church. Her only hope, although she knows it not, is in the prayers of Catholic Christendom.

Prospectus of the Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, Facts illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By HENRY FOLEY, S.J.

THE fathers of the Society of Jesus are now publishing a series of documents illustrative of the history of the English province. The prospectus of this important work lies before us. The only records of the province hitherto published are those to be found in Bartoli’s “Inghilterra” and Father Henry More’s “*Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ Societatis Jesus.*” The first of these works ends with the year 1610; the second with 1635. Both are rare, and written in foreign languages. For the English reader, therefore, it may be said that the history of the province does not exist.

The work now projected and partly executed will prepare the way for the production of such a history by collecting together a large number of the most interesting documents bearing upon it. The first series has

already been published, under the title of "Jesuits in Conflict." We had the pleasure of giving it a favourable notice in a former number. From this volume our readers can judge what will be the value and historic interest of the whole work. The second volume now in the press bids fair to be the most interesting of the entire series, as the documents it will contain are those relating to the London district, in which such heroic men as Campion and Southwell laboured and died for the faith.

My Return to the Church of Christ. By H. A. DES AMORIE VANDER HOEVEN, Barrister-at-law, and Member of the Second Chamber of Holland. A Translation from the Dutch. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

OUR Catholic literature is very seldom enriched with translations from the Dutch, and we fear Catholics in England know little of their brethren in Holland. Yet the Dutch Catholics have a press which holds its own gallantly among the Protestant journals, their hierarchy was restored about the same time as our own, and in the defence of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Holy See they showed themselves worthy sons of the Church. Several hundred sons of Catholic families in Holland served for a longer or shorter period in the Pontifical Zouaves, and the wonderful victory at Monte Libretti in 1867 was won by Dutch volunteers. We have in the little book before us (which appeared at Amsterdam in 1871) practical evidence of the living power of the Church in Holland and her colonies. We cannot but admire the humility and zeal for the good of others which the author showed in giving to his fellow-countrymen these confessions—for we can call them by no other name. M. Vander Hoeven is the son of a worthy Lutheran pastor, and received a religious education; but as he grew up he fell into infidelity and into a reckless course of life. Fits of unnatural excitement were followed by periods of depression, in which he more than once contemplated suicide. He became involved in debt, and was on the point of leaving his family and flying to England; when a friend revealed to his father the state of affairs, his debts were paid, and he set out for Java to begin a new career among new surroundings.

It was in Java M. Vander Hoeven was led to be reconciled to the Church by a long series of events, the first of which was what the world calls a mere accident. At an auction he bought a lot of books, and amongst them he found a volume of Lacordaire's "Conferences." He read the book, was struck by it, and was led by it to pursue further studies in Catholic literature. Later on he was brought in contact with the Catholic clergy in Java, men whose zeal and self-sacrificing devotion had impressed him with a deep respect for the Faith that they professed. Finally, after careful study and much thought and prayer, he submitted to the Catholic Church. He details at some length the reasons which gradually led him to take this step, and also his experience of the consequences which to him

have resulted from it. The book is interesting as a record of the life of a soul in its passage from error to truth, and it may be the means of leading others to "return to the Church of Christ." The conversational style in which the book is written has occasionally led the author into rather loose statements on certain points of doctrine; but the translator has (as far as we have observed) throughout obviated the danger of any misunderstanding by adding short notes which put M. Vander Hoeven's meaning in a clear light.

Foreign Policy.—England and the Eastern Question. By the Right Hon. Lord ROBERT MONTAGU, M.P. London: Chapman & Hall. 1877.

THIS is a remarkable book, a work of great merit, and a perfect handbook of the latest phases of the Eastern Question. It is a treatise on the politics of the day by a man who has a practical, statesmanlike grasp of principles, and a knowledge of facts down to their minutest details. We cannot say more than this, but we cannot say less. With the teaching of the book as a whole we most heartily concur, without, of course, accepting it in every individual point. But even those who do not as fully agree with Lord Robert Montagu's work as we do will find in it the materials for coming to a sound judgment on the present state of affairs in the East. It is at once an essay and a history. In his opening chapter our author lays down and develops a series of definitions and principles bearing upon national power and policy. He describes the various kinds of power that a nation may possess;—naval and military power, financial power, social power, federative power, in every case illustrating his meaning by practical examples drawn from recent history. The main body of the work is devoted to a careful analysis of the latest development of Russian policy in the East. Throughout the conduct of the English cabinet is kept continually in view. Lord Robert is no partisan. While he praises much of Lord Beaconsfield's policy, he unhesitatingly condemns the action of Lord Salisbury at the Conference. Russia he justly describes as "a compound of the astutest diplomacy and the most barbarous ferocity. Pope Gregory XVI.," he adds, "characterized Russian diplomacy as *avita fraus*, or hereditary duplicity." He gives a clear account of her secret action in Bosnia, Montenegro, and Servia. To summarize his argument would be impossible. We must merely indicate his conclusions. He holds that at this moment the Turks are defending not only their own liberty, but the independence of Europe. He points out that the Conference, which endeavoured, in defiance of both treaty rights and the law of nations, to force upon the Porte a programme drawn up by foreign diplomatists, is a measure which could be applied and, if successful, would be applied to every nation of Europe in turn. In a word, by this system of conferences Russia is organizing an extra-national government of Europe, a kind of general committee of direction, whose rule of conduct is not law, but caprice. Lord Robert points out the dangers of this

system of lawless extra-national government, and, writing as a Catholic, he fearlessly points to the only possible alternative.

"The extra-national government," he says, "which you are seeking to institute will crush all liberties, annihilate local varieties, and disregard the sanctity of law and treaties. Moreover, who is to call together your sovereign Areopagus, or extra-national cabinet? Who is to preside over it? Who is to be charged with seeing to the execution of its decrees? That person will be the true despot of the world, or Cæsar with a universal dominion. That the possibility of maintaining things as they are has passed away I quite allow. That some centre of unity or supreme government must be acknowledged I admit. The question is—which do you prefer, the Church or a committee of diplomatists; law or lawlessness; liberty or Cæsarism? If we are to look to the Universal Church to harmonize or federate all nations of the earth, then we must find that Church under the government of one who is the principle of unity, the centre of action, the supreme interpreter of the moral law. To him must be the appeal in the last resort, and from his decision there can be no further appeal. . . 'But this sacred Republic,' you will say, 'is as absolute as the extra-national government which you fear!' Yes: it is a theocracy. It is the kingdom of Christ, who is the King of the whole earth—*Rex regum et dominus dominantium*; and who has left a vicegerent over His Church to rule in His place, while it pleases Him to be invisible. Yet it is not absolute as the extra-national government of Europe would be absolute: for it is limited and restrained by the eternal laws of God, by the law of nature, and by the unchanging moral laws of the Decalogue and the Gospel; while its aims are determined by the end of man and the divine precept of perfection."

In other words, Lord Robert Montagu sees the only hope of European peace in a reconstitution of Europe under the headship of the Holy See, as the supreme judge of the law of nations. We are glad to see Catholic thinkers urging these views upon the public, and we recommend to all our readers the book in which this thesis is so ably developed and supported.

The Works of Charles Lamb. Centenary edition. Edited by CHARLES KENT. London: Routledge. 1876.

CHARLES LAMB is, undoubtedly, the best of English humorists. His writings are an inexhaustible source of enjoyment to thousands. His fame as a humorist has gone on steadily increasing ever since his death, and the essays of "Elia" have now permanently taken their place among the classics of our language. Lamb's wit is always refined and polished, always eminently good-humoured, never for a moment coarse. It was the natural expression of a happy spirit that bore him up through a life of fearful suffering that would have utterly crushed most men. Mr. Kent has given us an excellent edition of his works, prefaced by a charming life of Lamb, and elucidated by a number of brief but pertinent notes and introductions. The biography and notes contain much new matter, and give evidence of wide research. The whole work has evidently been a labour of love.

Nora. A Novel taken from the German. By Princess MARIE LIECHTENSTEIN. Burns & Oates. 1877.

BEFORE we attempt to criticize this story or its translation, we will say at once that it is as good to read as its exceedingly pretty covers would lead us to expect. It introduces us also to an author comparatively unknown in England, who has dared to create an interest out of the common, conventional circle of "goodness," and while doing so has had the skill to throw her own high, pure feeling, as well as principle, over the untoward circumstances of her tale. It opens with the well-grounded fears of the invalid wife of a circus-rider that her only child may be drawn into her father's questionable "profession" and tastes; and the sketch of this young wife is so delicately drawn that we feel sorry not to see a little more of her before she dies. On her death-bed Madame Karsten solemnly assigns the care of her little Nora to a priest who happens to be at the hotel as chaplain to the Austrian Countess Degenthal, and as solemnly insists that she shall be severed altogether from the Karsten circus-troupe, and educated in a convent where girls of good prospects and position are received. Karsten himself, though rather sullenly, accedes to his dying wife's requests, and Nora, then a charming and exceedingly handsome child of seven, is transferred from her wandering life from one city to another, and her riding, which is almost a passion, to a convent in Belgium. The description of Nora, before her mother's death, with her large blue eyes, jet-black lashes, and magnificent hair, her fine noble expression and frank impulses, is very pretty. At the hotel in which her mother died she makes friends with the young Count Curt Degenthal, a boy of thirteen travelling with his mother; and this friendship is the thread upon which is woven the whole after-pattern of Nora's life. After ten years of her peaceful convent life,—peaceful as a whole, though rippled by the breezes inseparable from a large, independent nature—Nora is recalled by her father, whose second marriage enables him to give his child a home, and she is once more launched into the full stream of life. In the conversation with the reverend mother, "Madame Sybille," in which Nora learns this fact, and some of the ideas throughout the book, we are reminded of Mrs. Craven's "Fleurange," though "Nora" cannot lay claim to the marvellous charm of that exquisite story. No wonder, under the peculiar circumstances of the circus-rider's daughter, that Madame Sybille should have wished her to leave the outer world, and find safety at once in a religious community.

"She had never uttered a syllable in that sense; only in her prayers had she breathed the wish to Heaven; but now, at Nora's passionate appeal, she drew her closer to her heart.

"'Well, then, my child, remain here,' she said gravely. 'Can you make up your mind to walk with us along the narrow but quiet path to God, and for God? He fills the heart with such a beautiful peace; and for you, my child, it would be a port in many a storm. I would bless the hour in which you took such a determination.'

"She spoke fervently and persuasively. Nora's face lay upon her shoulder, so that she could not observe her expression. For a long time did the girl remain silent; at last she raised her head. 'No,' she said, gently but

firmly ; 'no, I cannot do it ; and I think it was only pride which gave me the first idea of it. I do not as yet long for peace and quiet. I cannot remain in the port just now ; rather let me go out to meet storms and danger. I have been, oh, so happy here ! But do not tell me to remain ; let me go—let me go ! I cannot be as Mary at the feet of the Lord.'

"A deep expression of disappointment passed over the nun's face, yet she could not help laughing at Nora's strange way of expressing herself.

"'Well, then, go, my child,' she said ; 'go. Each heart has its own road traced out for it, and each one leads to the goal.'" (pp. 50, 51.)

This truth, in fact, is the moral and whole intent of the story. In whatever circumstances a soul is placed, by whatever difficulties or drawbacks it is surrounded or beset, God's grace is enough to open out a path to salvation, and, if corresponded with, to purify it to the higher degrees of holiness. The Karsten circus-troupe wanders in its various engagements to Bonn, and there Count Degenthal, by this time a student, meets with Nora again. True as yet to his word to his first wife, Karsten has hitherto kept his home entirely separate from his public life, and at his villa outside the town Curt Degenthal and Nora meet continually, till the young man, forgetting his mother's proud exclusiveness, and all the restrictions of the Austrian nobility, reveals his love, and finds that he is loved in return. The short dream of joy is soon over, for Karsten himself forbids the engagement, and Nora's few touching words confirm her father's veto :—

"It was a beautiful but a great mistake. It is better we should part. Farewell, and may God bless you !—NORA."

The haughty Countess Degenthal at once recalls her son, with the full determination never to lose sight of him again. In regard to her at this time, an admirable remark is made which is worth preserving :—

"Her nature was one which built everything upon set principles, and, as we have before stated, a stern feeling of duty had been the guide of her life. To active, and particularly to feminine natures, there is some danger in the amount of things they include in their conception of duty, and in the extent they bring their notions to bear upon the fate of other people. Unless the heart asserts itself in a soothing manner, there is but one step from that stern spirit to the love of domineering." (p. 111.)

She temporizes by insisting on two years of complete separation and cessation of intercourse, promising her consent to the marriage if at the end of that time her son remains of the same mind. By this crafty arrangement the fatal work of division is begun, and in the various complications and temptations which the proud mother brings about her son the author shows a considerable knowledge of the wide divergence in moral tone between men and women. Count Curt joins the Embassy at Constantinople, and amuses himself in every possible way to kill time and the pain of thought, while Nora is left unhelped to fight single-handed against her father, gradually lowering in habits and tone under the influence of his Jewish assistant, Landolfo ; against Landolfo himself, who strives by every art to win her affection ; and against the weak, unsteady Madame Karsten, jealous of her stepdaughter's beauty and influence. After a series of robberies and treacherous deceits on Landolfo's part, Nora is at last wrought upon to save her father from ruin by appearing in public as a circus-rider ; and while the whole world lays its intoxicating, most questionable homage

in vain at her feet, Countess Degenthal keeps back a letter from her to Curt till she can send with it a number of newspaper reports and announcements of the beautiful new circus-rider and her brilliant success. Curt, in his madness, returns Nora's letter to her unopened, and is seized with a lingering brain-fever, which brings him to death's door. In his convalescence, he is brought to the house of his cousin, Countess Lily, and from less to more is worked upon to believe that Nora, his own most noble and faithful love, has eloped with Landolfo. In such a miserable mood of blindness and lowered tone of faith, it costs a man but one step to seize and enjoy the present paltry goods of life, instead of waiting patiently for the higher, which he is casting from him. This missing, by Curt Degenthal, of all the loftiest fruits of single-eyed faith and love, and his lapse into a commonplace marriage with a narrow-minded woman of tiresome temper and small aims, whom he does not love, is admirably characteristic of the different standards in feeling of men and women. No such coarser pabulum is craved or seized by Nora. She rejects an excellent marriage, and neither swerves nor pauses on account of her broken and marred earthly career. On the contrary, she builds those very scattered fragments of her earthly love into stepping-stones to mount to higher degrees of the heavenly, and after many useful years in God's service, dies unflagging in the full vigour of her work.

As we sincerely hope that the translator of "Nora" will continue her labours, and provide us with other tales of heroism and victory over the direst woes of circumstance, we wish her to be severe with herself, and not to content herself with less than high excellence in her work. Although an Englishwoman, brought up in England, Princess Marie is not yet perfect mistress of her own tongue, and she should aim at writing in more correct English idiom and simple purity of language. The essence of good translation is, not to translate word for word, but to render the idioms of language into the corresponding idioms of another. "Expulsed," we may remark, is not an English word at all; it should be "expelled." "I took a great interest in her . . . and should be very sorry if the education *we* caused her to receive had only made her *fit to lead an intrigue cleverly*," is a most awkward and un-English rendering of the meaning. So, again, "Children *must be left their toy*," &c. It would be in better taste also, in a translation, to translate *all* the foreign expressions, and not to leave little sprinklings of French and German which have their exact and well-known English equivalents. "Drink-money" is as easy to write as "pour-boire"; "dear Count" and "dear Viscount" as "cher Comte" and "cher Vicomte"; "a pretty girl" (or woman) as a "belle dame"; "our mother-house" as our "maison-mère," &c., &c. "The reading of the riddle," or "the key of the mystery," would be the English rendering of "le mot de l'énigme"; but most certainly "the word of the enigma" (p. 285) would never convey any meaning at all. These are faults which practice and the study of good English models will easily cure, and we mention them because we feel sure that the translator (why does she speak of an *authoress*?) will not insist on her picture being painted wholly without shade.

The Consolation of the Devout Soul. By the Very Rev. JOSEPH FRASSINETTI, Prior of S. Sabina in Genoa. With an Appendix on the Holy Fear of God. Translated by GEORGINA LADY CHATTERTON. Burns & Oates. 1876.

A FEW touching words from the late Lady Chatterton's husband, the author of "Sherborne" and other works, explains the motive of this translation. "No sooner," he says, "had my most beloved and lamented wife become a Catholic, than with that thoroughness of purpose and purity of intention which characterized her whole life, she at once desired to write something definitely Catholic." Having, therefore, first drawn up and published her "Convictions," a most useful pamphlet of the kind, Lady Chatterton began a story which she unfortunately did not live to finish, and the present translation of Frassinetti's treatise on Christian Perfection, which simply and clearly shows to the "devout soul" that spiritual progress presents no terrific toils or difficulties to those who are determined to conquer the lower inclinations. The treatise proceeds from the first principles of holiness and the purification from deadly sin to a clear account of venial sin, and the obstacles of human weakness. There is an excellent appendix on the true nature of the fear of God and inward peace, affording in the simplest language a treasure of beautiful and comforting reflections. This justly-named and deeply-spiritual treatise is truly calculated to give consolation to many devout souls.

Correspondence.

THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF THE CITY OF ROME.

To the Editor of the "DUBLIN REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,—As the continual press of other important subjects requiring a place in the DUBLIN REVIEW has not permitted the carrying out of my original intention, which was to submit to the readers of the REVIEW an outline of the evidence which I have collected to establish the historical fact of a primitive religion of monotheism, brought to the city of Rome by her king, Numa Pompilius, from the city of Jerusalem, previously to collecting it all together for publication in a separate volume, I may ask your leave, now that the volume containing this evidence "in extenso" has been for some few weeks before the public, to make it the subject of a few brief remarks addressed to those of your readers whom my first communication, published in the January number of the REVIEW, may have caused to take some special interest in the question that has been raised.

It would be very superfluous for me to say in what way I hope that the interest which I then promised myself would be secured, for the proposed outline or skeleton of evidence will suffer no diminution because the same is now placed within the reach of the readers of the REVIEW in a far more extended form than would have been possible in the pages of the REVIEW itself. There is a world-wide honour and dignity attaching to the city of Rome, to which, it may be hoped, no one can wish to be wilfully blind; and whatever nearly concerns the history of this city at the same time concerns the whole world, present and to come. No other known city is in possession of a similar prerogative.

It may conduce, however, to the clearness of the few observations I wish to make to be allowed briefly to recapitulate what has gone before. It will be remembered, then, that we commenced our investigation of the subject under the protection of the fiction that we were supposed to be the officers in command of a Roman legion, who had made the discovery of their being in the presence of a new and formidable class of adversaries, with the tactics of whose warfare we were practically but very imperfectly acquainted. Under the idea that I might freely speak my mind as a member of the council, sharing in common with my compeers all the doubts and difficulties of our common position of danger, I contended that a proper system of teaching Roman history was a weapon offensive and defensive, which the providence of God placed in our hands, the due and effective use of which we were called upon to study, under pain of being guilty of the worst kind of neglect and imprudence, or, as it would not be

at all too much to say, of exposing ourselves to the reproach of a self-destructive dereliction of duty.

I then proceeded to set forth a succession of arguments, all derived *à priori*, leading to the conclusion that it must have formed part of the counsels of God, in preparing the way for the rapid and effective spread of the Christian religion, to have taken care that the Roman imperial power should have been brought into communication with the Hebrew nation, that Rome might learn from this chosen nation so much of the light of the Divine Revelation committed to its special keeping as Rome was capable of learning, in order that Rome might become the better fitted to perform the particular work of preparation for the Christian religion which was entrusted to her.

These arguments I need not repeat here, but only again call to mind the admission I was careful to make at their conclusion; namely, that no amount of such arguments could have the slightest pretension to establish any alleged fact of history which in the nature of things can never be proved by anything else than direct evidence. I was also careful to add that, as regards this particular alleged fact in question—namely, “the primitive monotheism of the city of Rome, derived from communication with the Hebrew people,”—that the more important the fact was perceived to be, the stronger the presumption became, supposing it to be a real fact, that the providence of God would, beyond all question, have caused evidence to be preserved not merely justifying belief in the truth of the fact, but justifying such belief in a manner to carry at least all the conviction that can be reasonably required.

In the volume, then, to which I invite attention, I have applied myself, to the best of my ability, to discharge the task of producing this evidence; and to those who may be induced so far to recognize the dignity of the subject, and the many important questions that are mixed up with it, as to be attracted to the labour of making a patient study of the evidence therein set forth, I shall only have to say, “Gentlemen, having studied the evidence produced, what do you say? Do you find the city of Rome guilty of having been an idolatrous city from her first beginning, or do you find that she was in the beginning a disciple of the city of Jerusalem and the Law of Moses? This is the simple matter of fact issue that is placed before you. What is your verdict?”

I do not know that there is very much to add to the above remarks. I am not aware that my part in the work of collecting the evidence has in any way gone beyond the fair and impartial labour of gathering up and bringing together all the various sources of information that I have been able to discover which can throw their light upon the verdict that has eventually to be given. I have consequently now nothing further to do with the subject than to earn the legitimate praise of an advocate for the painstaking manner in which I have discharged my duty to the work of gathering together the evidence. And if I can be said in any way to have earned a title to this praise, all the use I shall think of making of the title thus earned will be to claim it as the ground for saying to those who have now to act the part of the jury, “See that you follow my example in the

care and pains which you give to your study of the evidence, and remember that as it is the character of the city of Rome which hangs on the issue as either to be completely cleared henceforward from the stigma of having been an idolatrous city from the very first, or to have this stigma fixed more firmly than ever upon her, the case is one in which you had either better not attempt to give so much as even an opinion at all, or otherwise to give one in the true character of a jurymen, who has heard and knows himself to be bound by the words, 'You shall true verdict give according to the evidence, so help you God.'"

It may not be altogether out of place if I briefly observe that the ordinary work of the advocate in any cause has, commonly speaking, come entirely to an end when the jury retire to consider their verdict. I do not know, however, that the analogy can be held to bind so strictly as that nothing could happen which might constitute a call to me to reply to any criticisms that may be made upon my work. I should, however, greatly prefer to hope, for the honour of the city of Rome, of which I can scarcely be supposed to be the solitary champion, and the only known instance of one whose spirit is moved with the desire to defend her character and rescue it from unmerited disgrace, that, in the event of any adversary appearing on the scene, some one else ought rather to rise up to answer to the challenge.

In the meantime I may be allowed to conclude my labour by drawing attention to the somewhat varied significance of the fact of this alleged primitive monotheism of the city of Rome to the Catholic cause at the present day and hour, not as if such significance could make the evidence anything different from what it is directly, or add to or diminish anything from its force. My reason for pointing out this significance has two different aspects. I wish, in the first place, to set before Catholic readers the grounds on which the subject treated calls in a special manner for their serious and impartial attention, and to awaken as far as I am able in their minds the conviction that the designs of God for the extension of the Catholic religion, and for the bringing in of many souls to the communion of the Church, are bound up in ways surpassing our limited powers of discernment and comprehension with the city of Rome. Consequently, whoever has any noble and honourable ambition to distinguish himself in the service of God may learn herefrom what a large number of strong reasons conspire together to lead him to the conviction how wise it will be for him to seek the realization of his desires, not in any crooked national bye-paths or sideways, but in the straight, direct, and open way of associating himself with the destinies of the city of Rome and the world-wide cause of the Holy Father of Christendom.

And then, again, it does not appear to be given to all the various Catholic spirits who are zealous in various ways for the honour of the Catholic faith, that they at all times adequately bear in mind a certain saying of the wise man, in which, after labouring in vain to persuade the wise to make use of their wisdom, he has a word of comparative praise "for the fool who hideth his folly" (Eccles. xx. 33). It may, indeed, be quite possible that any attempts I may make to induce the wise to bring their wisdom to the task of helping to clear the city of Rome from the

stigma of an idolatry contemporary with her origin, with which, as I contend, she is most wrongly calumniated, may fail of success ; but if this should be the case there will still remain something to be gained in the contrary direction. I may, at least, show cause to the opposite class why they should refrain from the too precipitate display of their superficial knowledge, and their over hasty eagerness to pronounce upon a grave issue, where, putting all higher considerations out of the question and taking the lowest possible ground, something more than ordinary deliberation and study is indispensably needed.

However, not to multiply words, let me proceed to show, as briefly as possible, in what way a number of varied considerations of a very high order, and such as most intimately concern the cause of the Catholic religion, are bound up with the question, whether the city of Rome is to be held clear of the stigma of a subjection to the Polytheistic idolatry of the Gentile world from her first foundation, or whether she became through her king, Numa Pompilius, a disciple of Jerusalem and the law of Moses. I may, perhaps, again repeat that eventually the decision must exclusively turn upon the evidence, and not on these considerations. But at least these considerations must be in charity supposed to have their due weight with every Catholic reader who is capable of reflection, to act as a useful stimulus, prompting him to apply all his powers of mind to the study of the question.

One of the first results, then, of the establishment of the claim of Rome to be clear of the stigma of a subjection to idolatry from her first foundation would be that a very specious and mischievous calumny would fall to the ground. The extent to which this calumny circulates in the nation it may not be a very easy matter to ascertain ; however, it exists in the form of a cheap reprint of "A Letter from Rome," by a certain classical scholar, a Dr. Conyers Middleton, professing to show "the exact conformity between Popery and Paganism" ; or, that "the religion of the present Romans is derived from that of their heathen ancestors." The copy I have in my possession bears "second edition" in the title page, 1875. If the city of Rome, under Numa Pompilius, has given the world the edifying example of submitting to learn legislation and religion from the city of Jerusalem, and the city of the Cæsars in the same way has submitted to learn the Christian religion from S. Peter and his successors, nothing can be more reasonable than that S. Peter and S. Peter's successors should have found Rome in possession of many sacred ceremonies and religious practices, which were as perfectly capable of being applied to Christian worship as to the great displeasure of the Jews ; but, to the great benefit of the Christians, we now transfer and apply to our own uses the whole of the sacred books of the Hebrew Bible.

A second and extremely important gain to be reaped from the general recognition of the fact of Rome's debt through her king, Numa Pompilius, to the law of Moses and the city of Jerusalem, is the general antidote-tendency and corrective effect it will have upon a rather subtle temptation to which the Christian society is exposed at the present time, the nature of which I must be permitted to explain.

The foundation of a belief in the Christian religion must, of course, always be the prior belief in the existence of God, and of His being a rewarder of those who come to Him. "It is necessary," says S. Paul, "for him who comes to God to believe that He is, and that He is the rewarder of them who seek him" (Heb. xi. 6); and Christ Himself says, if "You believe in God, believe also in Me" (John xiv. 1). Agreeably with this we continually find in the Acts of the Apostles that S. Paul's missionary discourses were addressed, not to Jews exclusively, but to another large class of persons who were associated with the Jews in the common belief in God, and who appear to have been permitted, or at least tolerated, in frequenting, together with the Jews, the worship of the Synagogue. They are known principally by the name of "Colentes," but S. Paul sometimes speaks of them under the designation of "those who fear God"; as, for instance, when on the Sabbath-day, in the Synagogue at Antioch he begins his address, "Ye men of Israel," and then adds, and "you who fear God, listen."

How far this theism or belief in God, to which S. Paul gives the well-merited honour of regarding it as the title to receive further knowledge and instruction in the Christian doctrines, may have been due to the original monotheistic traditions not wholly extinct in the Gentile nations, or how far it was the result of intercourse with the Jews themselves added to some knowledge of their sacred Scriptures, must, of course, for ever remain unknown. In all probability the remains of the Gentile knowledge of God would have been the attraction which, in the first instance, would have induced the "Colentes" to ask the permission to be allowed to frequent the Hebrew synagogues, and in their case consequently their belief in God evinces the desire to find a teacher who is able to communicate still more of the knowledge for which a marked value and esteem are already distinctly discernible. These then formed the class who were beyond measure delighted with the preaching of the Apostles, and to whom the doctrines of salvation which they brought were in truth "glad tidings of the greatest joy."

Now the characteristic mark of this early theism, we must observe, is the unfeigned joy and delight that is experienced on coming into communication with the person of a Heaven-sent teacher who is able to impart an increase of the knowledge the relish for which is already in existence.

But, because the first times of the preaching of the Christian religion found the work of its extension and dissemination everywhere favoured and promoted by the existence of this original, just, and noble theism of the populations fresh from their Gentile traditions of God, we must be on our guard not to mistake for it a current form of theism which we may continually meet with in our nineteenth-century society, which has literally nothing whatever in common with the noble theism of the first "Colentes" and "those who feared God." The theist of our present state of society is one who is not unfrequently positively guilty of the worst possible contempt of God, that which Aristotle describes as the most offensive of all injuries "*ἀτιμωρία*," or the "holding cheap." Such a theist

is one whose notion of God is, that He is a very useful kind of supplementary policeman to preserve and maintain the good order of society, a

“ . . . furum aviumque

Maxima formido,”

He thinks it extremely good for the people generally to believe in God ; for such a belief will frighten them into telling the truth when they are put in the witness-box, it will help to cause the law of the country to be observed, and to hinder revolution, &c. The God of a theist of this class will prove in an especial manner how useful He can make Himself in keeping the world in a condition suited to be a nice place for the theist to live in, which it might not be if there was no God. In this way it appears that the real God is the theist himself, who lives in the world, and the subordinate God is the God of Heaven, who performs His office in keeping the world in some sort of decent order for the benefit of the theist. With a theism of this kind the Cause of the Church, as needs not be said, can have nothing in common. On the contrary, we have to remember that the theism of the Catholic Church is the theism of Calvary and the Cross, the theism of the Very God and also the Very Man. The Catholic has to say, “ God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by whom the world is crucified to me and I to the world ” (Gal. vi. 14). While to the nineteenth-century theists, S. James will say, “ Thou believest that there is One God, thou doest well ; the demons believe the same and tremble ” (James ii. 19). And, again, we have to remember that they who clamoured “ Crucify Him ! Crucify Him ! ” were all theists, and numbers of those who brought the Christian martyrs to prison and death were fully persuaded they were rendering God service.

Now, it is a characteristic of the theism which is the natural friend and ally of the doctrines of the Cross, that it flies to the person of a teacher as to a friend and protector, and evinces an eager desire for enrolment and membership in the society of those who are fellow believers. Theism of this noble kind will not only have no difficulty, but will even be prepared by anticipation gladly to accept a master and teacher in the person of the Sovereign Pontiff of the city of Rome. The ordinary current theism, as above described, such as we meet with in the world at large, has not in itself so much as the elementary form of the notion, that the God whose existence is *pro formâ* recognized by the theists, is represented in the world by a Society empowered to teach in His Name. There may possibly be such a thing known to this kind of theism as religious self-culture, I should not like positively to deny its existence, but beyond self-culture such theism does not think of going. And yet the one great moral malady of the present state of the world lies precisely here, namely, in the false colour of religion, which the above-mentioned current notions of theism supply to those who violate the first principle of all religion ; in holding themselves in an attitude of independence and separation from the society of the teachers and the taught, which true religion must necessarily create.

Here, then, I shall argue, we shall find the inestimable value of the fact

of history which my investigation labours to recover, namely, the example of the city of Rome renouncing the perilous folly of relying upon self-culture, and willingly accepting the "Magisterium" of the city of Jerusalem and the Divine Code of Jurisprudence given by the Servant of God, Moses, to the Hebrew people. Who can easily undervalue the encouragement which the whole world of men must derive from the knowledge of the great city of Rome having accepted the gift of instruction from the city of Jerusalem and the law of Moses, as an example of world-wide notoriety proper to induce them to follow in the same path, and equally to renounce a state of ruinous independence to gain in its stead the society and the instruction of the Catholic Church, of whose Divine Founder Moses was but the servant, entrusted with a preparatory mission.

The next advantage I shall claim as resulting from my body of evidence will be the new and clear light which it will throw upon a question that has been from time to time hotly debated, and on which we can hardly say more than that a certain calm for the present prevails, rather than that any real solid and final rule of thought has been generally admitted and recognized.

Monsignor Gaume, in his work, "*Le Ver Rongeur*" of modern society, attempted to lay the chief if not the whole blame of the existing decay of Christianity, which all agree to deplore, upon the use of the Greek and Roman classics for the purposes of education. He has tried to fix upon this literature the accusation of that criminal and noxious, but equally vague and indefinite something to which he gives the name of "Paganism."

The unfortunate consequence of this vague charge of "Paganism" being made to adhere to the Greek and Roman classics is, that it gives rise to not a little of the evil of a false conscience in those who have the parental responsibility for youth. A young man cannot hold up his head in the world unless he acquires this knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics; and, therefore, "*coûte que coûte*,"—bad as this Paganism may be,"—we cannot have a young man spoil his prospects in life. This is the invariable rule for practice, and my investigation will maintain that its result is to explode all the absurd scruples against this invariable rule that is founded on the vague terror of "Paganism." I shall contend that I have shown how the Providence of God intended that the chief works of the Greek and the Latin literature should be the basis of the mental culture of the Christian people for the specific purpose of securing a certain unity of mental training and general formation of mind, which, without precisely abrogating all nationality and rendering the growth of national literatures impossible, becomes a most powerful impediment, to the too great growth of national diversity and its direct consequence, the mutual alienation and estrangement of nations from each other, when their common Christian faith has taught and continually teaches them to look upon themselves as all members of the one great Christian family, which has received the Divine gift of a restored unity, the common Father and Guardian of which is the Sovereign Pontiff of the city of Rome.

If this literature contained nothing else than a reflection of all the vices and falsehoods into which the society Greek and Latin of old Rome had fallen, and from which it was to be recovered by the Christian Redemption, it might be argued that, however valuable the unifying effect of the use of the Greek and Latin classics might be as a system of mental culture common to various Christian nations, this improving and unifying influence would be bought at too ruinous a price if the effect of it was to be the lowering the standard of Christian morals to the degraded level of the standard that prevailed in the Greek cities and in Rome herself. This is the contention of Monsignor Gaume, who has loudly proclaimed that the standard of Christian morals has been lowered, and that the wicked cause of it having been so lowered is what he stigmatizes as the "Paganism" of the Greek and Latin classics.

Experience, however, has refused to subscribe to the truth of the outcry of Monsignor Gaume. It is not the so-called "Paganism" of the Greek and Latin classics that is the guilty cause, but the far worse corruption of the various national literatures. The "Paganism" complained of exists indeed; not, however, in the literature of Greece and Rome, but in the popular literatures of England, France, Germany, Italy, and the other nations where this decay of Christian morals is observable.

What is the salt, then, that has so largely preserved the literature of Greece and Rome from reflecting the degradation of the heathen world? I answer, the Hebrew nation; through the Providence of God in bringing the light of which the Hebrew nation was the depository into contact with Greece and Rome. As the Apostles and their successors are the salt of the earth for the nations since the appearance of Christ on the earth, so the Hebrew nation was the salt of the earth in the times before Christ.

This I contend is the significance of the fact that the title of Jesus Christ as king of the Jews was placed above His head on the Cross, in the three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. These three languages with which Christ thus identified Himself on the Cross, supply the basis of mental culture for the Christian people. They always have supplied it, and they always will continue to supply it. The Hebrew literature is, for the most part, known through its Latin and other translations, but the Greek and Latin literature in the original languages, and it is the universal study of these originals in conjunction with the translation of the Hebrew books, that forms the Providential corrective of the tendency to barbarism, which is inherent in the division of nation from nation; in brief, in all separate national existence. The whole Christian unity of the nations is brought to speak and breathe ideas derived from the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, and outside this unity all else is either Hindoo or Chinese barbarism, or worse.

There is another important bearing of my investigation affecting the question respecting the future of Rome, whether it is to remain the national capital city of Italy, or to revert to its ancient destiny as the city of the Pope, and the central seat of unity for the Christian nations; but as this is added to the volume in the form of a postscript, I need not here go beyond drawing attention to its existence, and I may now conclude these

few valedictory remarks by expressing once more the hope that the subject treated will not fail to obtain from Catholic readers the degree of attention and study which the dignity of the city of Rome, at least, has an undoubted right to demand. The Greek legislator, Charondas, gave a law to his city of Thurium which enacted, that if any citizen desired to advocate the repeal of any law forming part of his code he was at liberty to do this, but only upon one condition, which was, that he appeared before the assembly of the people with a halter round his neck, with which he was to be hanged if he failed to carry the public vote of the assembly in favour of the repeal for which he pleaded. It may not indeed be literally true that the writer who comes forward in the nineteenth century to advocate the repeal of the ordinary mode of teaching early Roman history must appear in public with a halter round his neck, but he must unquestionably expose himself to the possibility of something very like an equivalent. Except the historical evidence proves to be such as to bear out his assertion of the early monotheism of the city he must become the general laughing-stock of the educated world. I am the last person in the world to be shy of making the most ample and uncompromising acknowledgment of the fate that awaits me, in becoming the general laughing-stock, if what I advance is unsustained by the requisite evidence. I wish, however, that the counterpart of this truth may be understood and accepted in the same open and honourable manner, viz., the deep disgrace that must fall upon all those who shall continue to treat the city of Rome as an idolatrous city from her first origin if the evidence I have collected proves the truth of her early monotheism. The measure of the honour which the Catholic people pay to the city of Rome is the measure of the honour they themselves will receive from the rest of the world, and the degree of loyalty and obedience which they have for the supreme authority which resides in that city will be the measure of the deference and the treatment they must expect from their fellow men.—Yours very faithfully,

HENRY FORMBY.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1877.

ART. I.—THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

1. *The Channel Islands.* By DAVID THOMAS ANSTED, M.A., F.R.S., and late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and ROBERT GORDON LATHAM, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. With Illustrations drawn by Paul J. Naftel, Member of the London Society of Painters in Water-colours. London : W. H. Allen & Co. 1862.
2. *A Legend of St. Helier, Hermit in Jersey.* By the late Rev. J. B. DALGAIRNS, in the Oxford Series of Lives of English Saints. London : J. Toovey. 1844.
3. *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand ; ou, Recueil des Mots particuliers au Dialecte de Guernesey, faisant voir leurs Relations Romanes, Celtiques, et Tudesques.* Par GEORGES METIVIER, Membre de la Société Philologique de Londres. Williams & Norgate, London and Edinburgh. 1870.

THE Channel Islands form one of those parts of the British Home Empire, if we may use the expression, which possess a special interest, as still preserving traces of those remote times in which that process of aggregation was going on, which made the Empire what it is. Or rather, they are fragments of the "almost kingly Dukedom," from which the aggregation took its point of departure. This little, but not humble group, can say of itself: "I represent Normandy, whence the Conqueror went forth who reduced England under his dominion. The lions which England quarters are my original arms." It shares indeed with the Palatinates of Chester and Durham, with the Duchy of Cornwall, nay, with the Principality of Wales, the honour of being one of the recognizable elements which make up the collective whole, but has retained its individuality far more than they have done, since it has its own legislation, even as in the days of the Plantagenets, just as Lanuvium, a little city of Latium, retained its dictator when the Roman Republic had spread its

wings over the world. Such communities must be worthy the study of the politician and historian. They illustrate a law of social development, which we have called that of aggregation, the *synoikismós* of the Greeks, by which in the world, new political wholes are continually being formed out of once discordant elements. The process is no doubt painful. All such unions force together units that would prefer to be distinct, and which retain more or less their tendency to separation, after an evidently new creation has come into existence to supersede them. English "county" feeling is but the unconscious continuance of the patriotism of the Northumbrian, the East Anglian, the Kentish man, the Saxon of the South or of the West. Even yet the English type is far from being so completely one as it will be some time or other, before our history has run its race. And then, unless conquest supervenes, a period of disintegration will arise, even as, in the middle ages, there rose once more free cities in Italy, the history of which reads like the early books of Livy over again. We feel, however, that this preface is running to a length that might suit a book rather than an article, and that the reader will willingly see it cut short, and desire us to descend not indeed *in medias res*, but rather to the more prosaic preliminary duty of giving him a sort of index to the task which we are attempting.

Briefly then, we propose to give such notices (1) of those physical features of the Norman archipelago, and particularly Guernsey, as may suggest to the summer-voyager what he should look for; (2) to remark some interesting particulars connected with the Norman *patois* still spoken in this island; (3) to give some idea of what is known, or may be inferred, of their early history, particularly with reference to the *primordia* of the population and the period of their conversion to Christianity; (4) the most striking events connected with them in later times, and the leading points of the insular constitution and social manners. Our chief authority is Messrs. Ansted and Latham's "Channel Islands"; but we have been, as will be perceived, largely indebted to the elaborate glossary of the very learned insular scholar, M. Georges Métivier.

The Channel Islands constitute a very much more numerous group than is commonly supposed by such geographers as perhaps are the majority of those to whom their name is familiar. With them, the name stands for Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and perhaps they may remember enough of school lessons to add Sark, Herm, and Jethou. But in reality these are only the

most important members of a far larger assemblage, dispersed over an area of about 3,000 square miles. Professor Ansted reckons four groups: (1) the Northern, including Alderney, Burhou, and the Casquets; (2) North-central, Guernsey, Herm, and Sark; (3) South-central, Jersey and her daughters; (4) Southern, the Minquiers, and Chaussey islands. But all these have depending on them numerous rocks, ledges or islets, or shoals, of which three groups connect the north of Jersey with France. Seven or eight of the islands are regularly inhabited, and several others occasionally in the summer. Of islands, or groups of islands having names, it appears that about twenty-one may be reckoned.

A political writer of note—we forget his name at this moment—said that, given the climate and physical conditions of any country, he could *a priori* construct its history. Considering that man is the lord of nature, this was far too ambitious a boast, and indeed it is shown to be so by the varying fortunes of the tenants of the same soils throughout ten centuries. But that it is, to a certain extent, founded on probability, is equally obvious; and the character and fortunes of the Channel Islands are a striking example of this. Take first—which indeed is the most obvious feature to the superficial observer, and one at many periods of history of the least consequence, but of much at our stage of civilization—their natural beauty, attracting visitors, and so having, directly or indirectly, a great effect on their prosperity. Can there be a lovelier prospect than an archipelago of small islands, scattered over an azure sea in the brightness of a summer's day? On landing on one of them, what can be more delightful than the rocky bays and inlets with which their coasts are pierced, and the long winding ravines leading upwards to the smiling fields? All these are caused by certain singular geological conditions, which absent, all would be altered.

The smallness of the islands is a cause which must obviously greatly affect the social state, as tending on the one hand to minute subdivisions of property and the formation of a class of peasant-proprietors, and on the other, driving out many to seek their fortunes in the wide world without. Again, the proximity of this little archipelago to France has of course resulted in its occupation by a race of the same origin and language as those on the Continent, whilst their importance in a naval and military point of view, rendering their possession essential to the preponderating maritime power of Britain, has operated on their connection for centuries with the latter state, a connection that must rest on

necessity, for the islanders are far from English in their character, although as little disposed to be merged in France as if they were sons of the Saxons. Many reasons have contributed to the continued preservation of political constitutions of a peculiar type in the islands. But all bring us back to their smallness and their situation within sight of the Continent, caused by the working of ocean-tides and the character of their rocks. Yet we repeat, we do not recognize herein the operation of any fated law, "binding men's deeds as in a chain," any more than we suppose that riches make all men self-indulgent, or that poverty makes all men humble or self-assisting, as the case may be. We trace only circumstances, having a certain tendency which might have been anticipated, and is in a considerable degree realized.

The great physical cause in which these circumstances consist is simply this. The islands were once part of the French mainland. They are formed chiefly of hard granite; but this granite is intersected with yet harder veins, and again with veins of softer material than the rest of the mass. The sea constantly dashing for ages against the cliffs, has been able to knock out, beat away, decompose, and disintegrate the portions of softer rock, and dislodge the harder, which would then serve as so many hammers to shatter the surface and carry on the work of destruction. Thus winding bays were formed, and the islands were separated from the Continent and from each other, vast ledges being quite submerged.

The bottom of the sea, were it visible, would offer striking monuments of this history of change, in its pinnacles of rock, and sand-banks with deep valleys between them. An insular region of this type must necessarily afford scenery of a very singular and picturesque character; whilst its navigation must be very difficult, affording an excellent school for a hardy seafaring race. The various islands and groups have all their own special features, and in many instances, of a grandeur such as people go vast distances to observe in quarters where they perhaps find little that merits greater admiration. It is not our object, nor within our powers, to perform the office of a guide-book in any detailed description of particular points of the scenery. But we are able to say, that whilst the islands are so small as to make all the points of interest quite within reach, these points are so numerous, as that even the smaller islands will be found not easily exhaustible, if the traveller really wishes to study them. We would name in Guernsey, above all, Moulin-Huet Bay, with the rocky glen leading down to it, and the rivulets which constitute the latter one of those "water-lanes" so

characteristic of the island scenery; Rocquaine Bay, with its romantic name, so well adapted to its wild, ruinous expanse of rocks and reefs, stretching miles out to sea; Saints' Bay, Fermain Bay, Petit-bot Bay, each with beauties of its own; the cliffs near Pleinmont, with their jagged promontories and narrow isthmuses; the island of Lihou, set off by twelfth-century ruins of a chapel that make it a kind of humble Lindisfarne; in the interior, the quaint cottages, small orchards, minute fields, with cattle economically tethered to eat down their measure of grass fairly; and, when you approach glen or rock, rich colouring everywhere of fern, lichen, and gorse. Then in Sark, the noble Gouliot caverns, with their splendid zoophytes; the singular natural shaft and tunnel to the sea, called the Creux Derrible, the typical specimen of a class of scenery found also in Guernsey and Herm; the tunnel of the Creux Harbour in Sark, where the hand of man has created a feature rivalling in sombre grandeur the corresponding works of nature; the boasted Coupée, a wild precipitous pass with cliffs vertical and sloping, connecting Great and Little Sark, almost everywhere detached cliffs or rocks affording endless occupation for the draughtsman or for those who paint by the pencil of words in novel or in poem—such are some of the objects about which the tourist should seek information beforehand, and visit again and again, till he has thoroughly made such imagery part of the permanent possessions of his imagination.

We proceed to offer some remarks on the curious subject of the French patois spoken in the Channel Islands. Without pretending to original observations founded on anything but the superficial notices of a mere "bird of passage," we feel confident that we shall be able to interest the reader with a few specimens from the rich collection furnished by the Franco-Norman Dictionary of M. Georges Métivier. The present seems a time, all over the civilized world, in which scholars are eager to preserve the linguistic monuments of the past, and in which, by the aid of scientific methods, superior, beyond all comparison, to the vague guesses of philologists of earlier date, we are obtaining a rapidly increasing harvest of very important results. M. G. Métivier's work indeed, now seven or eight years before the public, belongs to a somewhat transitional state, but his knowledge of this singular branch of the French language is perfect, and he has been able to save from oblivion very many curiosities on the point of being lost.

To the unscientific hearer, Guernsey-French seems marked by a good deal of clipping or converting some vowels into diphthongs, or shortening of others before combinations which

ought to make them long, a simplification of the nasal sound (for example, *bring* for the French *brin*), and a preference (like Ionic Greek) for vowels coming together without contraction, particularly the substitution, in infinitives, of the termination *aïr* for *er*. A few examples in parallel columns will make this clear to the eye.

<i>French.</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman.</i>
Foin.	Fain. .
Hisser.	Haïstair.
Chômer.	Choumaïr.
celui-ci.	ch'tin'chin.
Louvier.	Loviaïr.
orgueilleux.	orguillaëux.
pelle.	paille.
œil.	ieil.
eux.	iaëux.
sucré.	chucré.
mieux.	mûx.
menacer.	m'nichier.
glaner	gllanaïr.
bleu	blu.
recorder (v. fr.)	r'cordaïr.
même fusse	o-fuche.

It has often been said that there are dialectic varieties belonging to each of the ten parishes into which Guernsey is divided. M. Métivier, whilst allowing that not two pronounce precisely in the same manner, says that it would be difficult to give even approximately, an idea of their modes of distinction; but that there is a very appreciable difference between the pronunciation of the people in "the low parishes" situated to the north, and those of "the upper parishes" to the south of the island; so marked indeed that it might serve as a basis for ethnological questions. (See *Notices préliminaires*, where some curious information is given on the pronunciation of Guernsey-French generally, and on certain peculiarities of its conjugations.)

As might be expected, words are borrowed by Guernsey-French straight from the English, and subjected to a sort of chemical change, to assimilate them to the rest of the dialect. Thus *jug* becomes *djouge*. Borrowings, however, like these, though important in their way, are comparatively of little interest. It is rather in its capacity of representative of one of the primitive dialects of old France, than in its symptoms of decay, that the Guernsey-French idiom should be studied.

We shall, however, confine ourselves here to the evidence found in its vocabulary, of the presence of Norwegian elements, as affecting the controversy about the origin of Rollo and his companions in the conquest of the future Normandy. Little trouble is needed to bring together words which tend to verify the common account of their being Norse. Take for instance the word *hougue*, very frequent in Guernsey. It means an eminence, a hillock, a sepulchral mound, and is found indeed in the Norse, Shetlandic, old high German and Danish, but the Guernsey form is nearer to the first of these *haug-r*, or the Shetlandic *heog*, than to the old high German *houe* or *hohe*, or to the Danish *høy*. It meets us perpetually in the nomenclature of the island. Thus, *la Hougue Fouque* or *Foulque*; *Hougue Renouf*, *la Hougue Boubigny*; *la Hougue au Paulmier*, *la Hougue Falle*, &c. &c. In the north of Scotland and in Sweden, they give the name of *stack* to detached rocks of pyramidal form which occur at the end of promontories. There are many such about the Channel Islands, called *étac* (the accented *é*, as constantly happens, representing the older combination of *st*). For example, the *Etac-ré*, near Lihou, the *Etacq* at Alderney, the *Tac* or *Etac* of Sark, &c. One of the Guernsey parishes is called the *Vale* or *Valle*. This, however, has nothing to do with a valley, but comes from the Norse *Vallr* or *Vall*, meaning a pasturage or grassy enclosure. The Guernsey name for a shark is *haus* or *haü*. The same fish is called in the Shetland islands *hoe*, in Norse, *haa*. M. Métivier quotes the following quaint lines from his MSS.

Nou veyait, à la Grand' Rue,
L'congret frais et la mouarue,
D'longs, laids, maigres, hidaeux *haus*,
Ses cousins, les tchiens roussiaux,
Et l'dravan qui, jouant d' sa coue
Des chancres fouittait la broue.

These verses describe fish for sale in the High-street, the conger, the codfish, the shark, the sea-dog, and the stickle-back. Among nautical terms may be mentioned *halair*, to haul, from the old Norse *hala*; *matnot*, a companion, is the original of *matelot*, and derived from the old Norse *mat-naut*, English, messmate. The Swedish word *holm*, for a pasture-land near water, or for a peninsula, familiar enough in the north of England, is found in the Guernsey-French word *houmet*, occurring in various localities of the island. One of the De Beauvoir family styled himself *Sieur du Houmet*, from a property so called in St. Sampson's. There was in A

a primitive practice, derived no doubt from the days when Northmen and Hindoos were members of one nation, of plastering the walls of the town of St. Anne with a wash of cowdung. The insular name for this article is *couême*, in Danish (M. Métivier, though suggesting the thing and name may be Norse, gives no Norwegian equivalent), *kuh eme*. The probability is, that the Northern nations, at the time of their piratical invasions of the South, were all much less distinguishable from each other in language and manners than they afterwards became. There is a very curious word in Guernsey for a gift made on the last day of the year, *oguinane*, which is also found in various forms on the neighbouring mainland; at Caen, formerly, *haguignettes*, Norman *hoguinâno*, Lower Brittany *eghinaneit*, &c. Readers of Scott's novels will not have forgotten the corresponding name in the south of Scotland, *hogmanay*, and in Saxon it was *hogen-hyne*. M. Métivier quotes a relic of the expression in a rhyme sung by Guernsey children in petitioning for this gift:—

Oguinâni ! oguinâno !

Ouvre ta pouque, et pis la r'ello ! *

He traces the derivation, perhaps rather fancifully, from *agen*, Engl. *own*, and *hine*, a domestic, Latin *famulus*, comparing the Spanish *aguinaldo*, a new-year's gift, from *agen*, as before, and *ald*, Franco-Teutonic, a serf or vassal.

The article on the famous word *haro* will repay perusal. Whatever conclusion we may arrive at about Rollo and his Northmen, the stock etymology which refers this word to *Ha, Ro!* a sort of appeal to the patriotism of the great leader, is not one which can recommend itself to the taste of a generation whose ears have been accustomed to the mere sound of the school of modern linguistics. Brachet ("Dictionnaire

* With reference to this curious subject, we may quote from the first article in Alban Butler the following illustration, old-fashioned indeed in its etymology, but a remarkable specimen of the out-of-the-way information to be found in that great repertory of learning as well as of devotion:—

"The French name Etrennes is pagan, from *strenæ*, or new year gifts, in honour of the goddess Strenia. The same in Poitou and Perche, anciently the country of the Druids, is derived from their rites. For the Poitevins for Etrennes use the word Auguislanneuf, and the Percherons Equilans, from the ancient cry of the Druids, *Ou guy l'an neuf!* i.e. *Adviseum, annus novus!* or, To the mistletoe, the new year! when, on new year's day, the Pagans went into the forest to seek the mistletoe on the oak." (Alban Butler, "Lives of the Saints," Jan. 1.)

The form which the word before us had assumed in modern provincial French seems to have arisen from a mistaken etymology, just as from the word *girasole* has been formed the first part of the compound *Jerusalem*—artichoke.

étymologique de la langue française") simply notes against it, *origine inconnue*. M. Métivier makes a bold attempt, first however dismissing, on what appears cogent grounds, its limitation to Normandy. He quotes a Welsh antiquarian work, Roberts' "Collectanea Cambrica," in proof that it was even known to the Kymry. It seems they proclaimed war by the cry *hara*; and he cites many instances of its use in Germanic France, yet not, as it would appear to us, proving that it might not have been derived by the latter from Normandy. His own idea is, that it is a cry borrowed from the sound resembling the rolled *r*, in the barking of an angry dog, and like the hunting-cries *har-levrier*, *har-loup*, referring also to the verbs *harier*, *harer*, to importune. In addition to his remarks, we may refer to the clause "nonobstant clameur de Haro," so familiar to readers of old French books in the royal licenses to publishers in the reign of Louis XIV. and downwards to the end of the monarchy.*

The introduction of Christianity into the islands is not capable of easy reduction into the form of history. It is legendary, that is, it has been passed from mouth to mouth in a long series of years, by people who sought to edify each other, who would never wilfully have distorted facts, but who dreamt not of criticism. Ages of a different character require such relations to be given them in a different form, even when faith may be as deep-seated. One thing is noticeable immediately: that the towns and villages in the Channel Islands are all named after some saint. Thus we have St. Peter's Port, St. Sampson's, St. Martin's, St. Helier's, St. Aubin's, St. Brelade's, &c. &c. Dr. Latham draws from this the interesting conclusion, ~~that~~ "the towns which bear such names are comparatively new, that the monastic preceded the municipal institutions, in a word, that they have their origin in the diffusion of the Christian religion; that before they became Christians, they were of small importance, roughly speaking, all but uninhabited." The contrast in the names of the principal towns in France is very striking, which, as is well known, are generally derivable from those of the Gallic tribes of which they had been the centres; thus Vannes of the *Veneti*, Paris of the *Parisii*, Sens of the *Senones*, &c. The fact of a town being named after a saint is alone sufficient

* It appears from Dr. Latham, that the triple repetition of the appeal *Ha! Ro!* is still operative in Jersey, in case of encroachments on property. "If the encroachment is proved, a fine is imposed, and no islander would venture to resist this curious form of injunction, which has been made in some instances within a few years from the present time."—"The Channel Islands," 1862, p. 538.

to show what qualities were admired and influential in those ages, as the nomenclature of new settlements in our own times shows what are our own proclivities, the respect for great statesmen or soldiers, moneyed men, or at best the affectionate remembrance of localities in the mother country. But we take it, after all, the towns were not so much named in honour of saints, as simply, that the saints had been intimately connected with them. St. Helier's was Helier's town, the place where he had lived and laboured long enough to make it, in the thoughts of the simple population, inseparably associated with him. The Channel Islands merit a small hagiology of their own. In many instances it would of course coincide with that of the Breton or Norman mainland, with which their people are identified in origin. But S. Sampson and S. Helier stand out as peculiarly the patron saints of the two larger islands, and as the authors of their Christianization. Dr. Latham has given a sketch of the lives of both from the Bollandists, the tone of which may be judged of by what he probably regards as a considerable concession. After relating various legendary miracles of the first-mentioned saint, he observes that "in the face of so many circumstances as this, and with the principle before us, that *where there is smoke there is fire* (a principle which forbids us to deny in even the most untrustworthy narratives some *scintilla* of fact as a basis), it is unsafe to say that S. Sampson never had a real existence" (p. 320). There is no doubt that whilst all lives of saints are characterized, from their very nature, by the wonderful, and are, to use an expression of F. Newman's, "hung round with miracles," Breton hagiography is peculiarly strange and marvellous. The Bollandist preface to the life of S. Helier has the following remarks in point:—"Non tam est vitæ gestorumque S. Samsonis ordinata ad normam historiæ quam miraculorum prodigiorumque ut sunt pleræque Britannicæ legendæ ad stuporem magis quam ad imitationem collectio, stylo plerumque contorto, obscuro et sæpe barbaro congestæ, ut si appositis annotationibus singula illustrare aut explicare volueris, tantumdem fere laboris subire necesse est, ac si totum ab ovo construendam componendamque suscipias" ("Vita S. Helerii," Julii 28). The Protestant or sceptical historian, however, will deal with such legends merely as rubbish, out of which, here and there, a fact may be picked up, the rest serving but for amusement; the Catholic will find in all of them either a lesson, equally true whether conveyed in events which really happened or not, or else an unproved example of Divine power, extraordinary indeed, but not more extraordinary than some which have actually

happened, and which cannot be disbelieved without upsetting the foundations of faith. This discussion, however, must not carry us too far from our subject, and we proceed to give the reader some idea of what is known of S. Helier, the patron saint of the capital of Jersey.

Helerius, better known as S. Helier, lived in the seventh century. He was the son of Sigebert, a noble of Tongres, in what is now Belgium, and Luitgard his wife. They had been long childless, when this son was granted to them on the prayers of S. Cunibert, who made it a condition of their fulfilment that the child should be given up to him to train for the religious life. However, the rude warrior only discharged this promise when the boy, in his seventh year, had been nearly lost to him by ill-health, from which he recovered through the same powerful prayers to which his birth had been accorded. He lived with his holy master until the latter was martyred by the savage followers of Sigebert. After this, Helerius fled to Teroenne, where a pious widow-woman gave him lodging for a short time, until he took up his abode in S. Mary's church in that town, where he led a life of the sternest mortification, rewarded by the gift of miracles. Later, he went to Nanteuil, and took up his abode with S. Marculfus, one of the great missionary-saints to whom the conversion of the Bretons is due, and who baptized him; for hitherto, strange to say, he had been but a catechumen. After three months' stay with S. Marculfus, by the inspiration of God, and at the suggestion of this spiritual father, he, with a companion named Romard, betook himself to the island of Jersey* to lead the life of a hermit; and this event in the history of the saint brings him into connection with the subject of our article. Jersey, in those days, was a wild place, and, according to the Acts, which evidently represent very ancient traditions, had but thirty inhabitants. Here we cannot withhold from the reader the striking description of S. Helier's hermitage, which the late beloved and lamented F. Dalgairns, himself, as is well known, a Channel-islander, wrote before his own reception into the Catholic Church. The book we quote from is, we believe, out of print, and now perhaps almost forgotten, and our quotation from it will derive additional interest from the fact which we happen to know, that F. Dalgairns visited, on purpose to write the life of S. Helier, the scene he has so beautifully described:—

Theirs (Helier and Romard's) were in all likelihood the first Christian feet

* Called in one account *Gersut*, in another *Agus*. The latter is explained by F. Dalgairns as a mistake for *Augia*, from *aus*, the German for a meadow.

which touched the ground of the island. It was the last stronghold of the Celts, where dwelt a thin remnant of the old race which the Franks had conquered. Here, then, in the old haunt of Druid rites, did Helier find himself, with the stone circles and the huge granite altars of a worn-out faith all around him. And now how was he to set up the Cross over these rude relics of an ancient world? He began by bearing it in his own flesh; he fasted and wept all day, and he sung psalms, and kept his thoughts ever fixed on God, and on all the wonders which Christ had wrought. No one who dwelt in king's houses, clad in soft raiment, could have hoped to win the hearts of the rough and simple feeders of cattle who dwelt on the island. It was the rude giant Christopher, says the legend, who bore the infant Jesus, with the globe and cross in his hand, across the swollen stream, and so by rough arts did Helier bring Christ over the fretful waves to these poor islanders. A common missionary might have preached to them for many a year in vain, but Helier certainly took no common way of teaching. He was to be the forerunner of the faith of Christ, and so, like John the Baptist, he lived a supernatural life. The place of his abode was as dreary as the wilderness on the banks of the Jordan. About the middle of what is now St. Aubin's Bay two huge rocks jut into the sea, divided from each other by a dark chasm, and from the island by a sort of causeway. At high tide, however, the water rushes through this chasm, and completely surrounds the rocks, which are thus at certain times wholly cut off from the shore and from each other. On the larger of these huge crags may still be seen Helier's hermitage. It is a rough pile of stones, built on a ledge of the shelving rock, which itself forms one side and the floor of the building. On the side nearest the sea, the thick wall is pierced by an opening about as large as the narrow loophole of one of the many watch-towers built on the headlands of the coast; and through this any wind that sweeps across the sea might whistle at will. In a corner of this dreary abode, there is a hole in the rock, now worn smooth, probably by the monks and hermits of after-times, and here, as tradition says, did Helier stretch his limbs during the few hours which he gave to sleep. For this dreary place he gave up his father's palace; and if any one is tempted to ask why he took all this trouble, I would bid him wait till the end of my story, and he will know. ("A Legend of S. Helier, Hermit in Jersey," pp. 23, 24.)

Among the miracles recorded of S. Helier in Jersey are the healing of a paralytic named Ascretillus, and of a lame woman; and the legend told that the mark of their footsteps was left on the rock. It is a curious coincidence, and at the same time an example of the confusion that is often found in legends of this class, that there existed till recently (that is, recently when F. Dalgairns wrote) on a rock on the beach near this place some singular marks, which tradition ascribed to the foot-prints of the B. Virgin, and from which the locality was called *Le Havre des Pas*. This rock, with the ruins of a chapel that had been built on the spot, was blown up in order to procure stone for the building of a fort.

S. Helier had been three years in his rocky hermitage when S. Marculfus came to visit him, and such had been the effect of the austerities his young disciple had gone through, that at first he could not recognize him. Whilst S. Marculfus remained on the island, it was menaced by a fleet of Saxon pirates, stated, however, in one account, to have come from the Orkneys. The few and peaceful islanders, when their well-known and dreaded foes were in sight, had recourse to S. Marculfus, whose prayers and encouragement enabled them to offer an unexpected resistance. Three days after, S. Marculfus returned to the mainland, and S. Helier remained as before twelve years longer. At the end of that time, he was martyred by a band of Saxon or Vandal pirates, who made a descent on the island; and his body was found lying decapitated on the sand, by a religious who had been assigned as his spiritual guide (called in the Acts *pædagogus*) by S. Marculfus, and who dwelt on the shore opposite his hermitage. He conveyed it to some place on the continental coast, whither is uncertain; but the Abbey of Beaubec, in Normandy, possessed some of his relics. The whole record is characterized by circumstances of marvel, which, however vague or unreliable, would alone prove, by their having circulated in these early ages, that S. Helier must have been a great servant of God. Some historian of the Channel Islands, and we hope a Catholic, will yet have to investigate and disentangle the copious, but wild and confused legends of the saints, to whom the islands were indebted for Christianity. The incredulous and rather desultory sketch given by Dr. Latham may stimulate but certainly not satisfy curiosity on a most interesting subject, which is practically unworked. We can but indicate its importance; yet would remark that the early history of Christianity in the Channel Islands ought especially to attract the small but increasing band of Celtic scholars among us. The remaining great saints, by whom Guernsey and the other isles were converted, came indeed immediately from Brittany, but their origin was from the western Celtic regions. The founder of the great Abbey of Dol, S. Sampson, from whom a town in Guernsey takes its name, was born in Glamorgan-shire, was the disciple of the British saints, Illutus and Dubri-tius, and afterwards made the voyage to Ireland to profit by the example and instructions of the saints who at that time made the Irish Church so illustrious throughout Christendom. When he passed into Brittany, he was accompanied by his kinsman, S. Maglorius, of whose missionary labours Jersey, where he founded an abbey of sixty monks, and probably also Guernsey, was the scene. On the general character of the

introduction of Christianity into the Channel Islands, Dr. Latham has the following very suggestive remarks, in which, however, we note the attempt to depreciate the traditional character of the early Irish Church, and, on the other hand, to elevate it by an imagined contrast with political views on the part of the Mother and Mistress of all Churches: such, at least, seems the motive of one sentence:—

It was in the main Irish; in saying which it may be well to add that this assertion is not made by an Irishman. When all that can be said or done in the way of deduction from the extravagant claims of the over-patriotic Irish antiquaries of both the last century and the present has been said and done—when the claims for the green land of Erin having been an isle of saints and a sanctuary for simplicity, orthodoxy, and learning, have been set aside, there still remains the undoubted fact that, for the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, the Irish Church was not only a Christian but a missionary one; indeed, with the exception of the two great organized capitals—Rome and Constantinople, it was more so than any other. And it was a missionary Church in the best sense—simple, active, and single-minded; with no political ends to subserve, and with nothing but a purely apostolic mission to fulfil. The evidence of this, not resting upon the lives of its saints (though these are, on the whole, more truthful than any others), lies in the earlier accounts of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, and in the numerous German and Italian monasteries which, as has been shown from the Irish MSS. they possess, were regulated after the Irish discipline, and inspected, if not superintended, from Ireland. These are simply historical facts. In a more special view of the matter, we find that it was with the populations of British and German origin that the Irish missionaries most interested themselves; so that Brittany is, of all others, the country in which they are most to be expected. The name, then, of the chief Breton saint, Maglorius, is Irish; and from him comes the name of St. Malo. That the islands were just the spots which such missionaries would choose we infer from their establishments in the western islands of Scotland, especially Hi, Iona, or Icolmkill. Their discipline was essentially anchoritic and recluse; and the lone island, with a rude and simple congregation, was what they best loved. (Ansted and Latham, "*The Channel Islands*," pp. 325, 326.)

The later medieval history of Guernsey and its sister-islands offers comparatively little of interest. It is a noteworthy but little-noticed fact, that it was owing to the miserable King John that they did not finally follow the fortunes of the Duchy of Normandy. He saved them to the crown of England and gave them a constitution. Yet, ecclesiastically, they still remained under the jurisdiction of the see of Coutances until the Reformation, though by a thread of obedience which, it is perhaps surprising, lasted through so many centuries under many kings. Henry V., for example, banished Norman ecclesiastics out of the island; their influence would probably be

exercised in a way to cause the same jealousy which was felt on the part of England against Normandy in earlier times. In the long conflict between France and England, however, the Channel Islands must have generally afforded one of the retreats least liable to disturbance which were to be found in Europe, little as one might have expected it from their situation. They escaped not—as nothing escaped—the watchful eye of the Holy See; and, in 1380, Pope Pius IV. issued a bull excommunicating all who disturbed or molested the inhabitants of the Channel Islands. We have seen, at a later period, a similarly benign exercise of Papal authority in favour of the island of Man. This neutrality was respected and enforced by successive sovereigns both of France and England, and confirmed in particular by Henry VI. In the reign of Edward III., indeed, a breath of war brings Guernsey into the picturesque pages of Froissart. In the course of the quarrel between the French and English crowns about the rival claims of Charles of Blois and John Earl of Montfort to the Duchy of Brittany, a naval action of some magnitude took place off Guernsey in 1343. Names of attractive splendour occur in it. The Spanish fleet (for it was then acting for France), with 3,000 Genoese on board, was commanded by the famous admiral Don Louis de España, aided by Carlo Grimaldi and Odoardo Doria, and by the Countess of Montfort herself, who fought like another Artemisia; and the English leader was Robert of Artois, Earl of Richmond. The long-bow of the English and the cross-bow of the Genoese were well matched; but the English were harassed by the enemy from their loftily-built Spanish ships throwing down great bars of iron among them. A terrific storm put an end to the conflict, which carries with it no historical consequences. Scarcely of greater importance, even to Guernsey, was a descent made on the island in the same reign by a Welsh chieftain, Ivan or Evan, who had betaken himself to the service of the King of France, and was sent by him with ships and an armed force to attack Guernsey. He fought a battle with the governor, Edmund Ross, whose small army was but 800 men, and forced him to fly to Castle Cornet, which he unsuccessfully besieged for some time, till called away by the King of France, whom the defeat and capture of the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Guiscard d'Angle before La Rochelle gave better hopes of contending with the English in Poitou.

After this, little of interest to the general historian occurs in connection with the Channel Islands till we arrive at Stuart times. The well-known tale about the alleged burning of the child of Perrotine Massey in the Marian epoch occup

page or two of Dr. Latham's sketch. We do not propose to discuss it, beyond remarking that his bias is quite plain, in spite of his habit of balancing probabilities, where he at once sets aside Parsons' account, as coming from an apostate (meaning a convert) and a Jesuit, and an apostate "because he had been detected in dishonesty." Words like these show a prejudice with which reasoning can hardly contend.

The part taken by Guernsey and Jersey respectively in the civil wars had been prepared long before by the differences in their social and religious conditions. Guernsey, on the whole, was Presbyterian, Jersey, episcopal and royalist, the inhabitants of the former being more addicted to commerce, those of the latter to agriculture, for traffic generally favours the spirit of change, and tillage the conservative principle. The Reformation, in its early operation on the two islands, had been coloured accordingly; a consistory of ministers and lay elders having been introduced in Elizabeth's reign, which, in that of her successor, was abolished in Jersey, but retained in Guernsey. The influence of particular families also favoured the different lines which the insular politics respectively took; those of De Beauvoir, Carey, and De Havilland being most prominent in Guernsey, and that of De Carteret in Jersey. Members of the three first-named families figure in a romantic adventure which took place in Castle Cornet in 1642. There had been an attempt on the part of Sir George Carteret, of Jersey, in concert with Sir P. Osborne, the Governor of Guernsey, to make a move on the royalist side, which was counteracted by the partisans of the Parliament; and subsequently the Parliament constituted a provisional government of the island, and gave them orders to arrest their governor, seize Castle Cornet and all ships employed for its relief, and administer the armed force of the island on behalf of the Parliament. Osborne, however, held his fortress against them, and threatened the town with his cannon. Later, by a trick of a parliamentary naval captain named Bowden, who had deserted his party, the three leaders of the Guernsey parliamentary faction, Peter de Beauvoir, James de Havilland, and Peter Carey, were enticed on board his ship, taken to Castle Cornet, and there imprisoned. The accommodation of state prisoners in that island-stronghold was anything but comfortable. It happens that curious particulars of this are extant, referring to different times of the same epoch. Readers of Clarendon are familiar with the fact that it was thither that Henry Burton, the companion of Prynne and Bastwick, was banished, after exposure in the pillory and amputation of

his ears. M. Métivier furnishes on this subject the following details from family records of his own :—

In the journal of our maternal ancestor, John de la Marche, minister of S. Peter's Port, and subsequently of S. Andrew's, it is said that Henry Burton, Doctor of Divinity, was "buried alive" in the year 1637, in the same chamber in Castle Cornet where De la Marche had himself been incarcerated four years previously. Neither sun nor moon was seen in it on any day of the year, and the partition-wall of this chamber was of *torcas*, a compost of straw and mud. The word is analogous to the Spanish *torca*, a bunch or bundle of straw, Neo-lat. *torcia*, *torsia*, Orléanois, *turcia*. (Métivier, "Dictionnaire Franco-Normand," art. *Torcas*, from which we translate.)

It does not, however, appear that the Guernsey commissioners were lodged in poor Burton's cell, and they were allowed wine and beer, though they had to complain of bad water, and short commons in fresh meat; besides, as it is said, the imminent prospect of being hanged. This they avoided by their own ingenuity and daring. They had been removed from a lower room, where some cotton was stored, into an upper one. They cut through the flooring of the latter, got at the cotton, of which they made ropes, let themselves down the wall, and, though fired at, succeeded in making their escape to Guernsey.

The next event of importance in the insular annals is the arrival of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., in Jersey, in April, 1646. He had no sooner got there with a train of three hundred followers, on board three ships, than most anxious pains were taken, though unsuccessfully, by watching every outlet on the Jersey coasts, to prevent the news reaching Guernsey. The Prince resided at Elizabeth Castle, and won that sort of popularity which his easy, gracious manners always enabled him to earn very cheaply. He gratified the public curiosity by dining in public; he held levees and receptions; he made the governor, Sir George Carteret, knight and baronet, and conciliated the people in a more substantial way, by ordering restitution of various articles of property, particularly jewellery, which had been declared forfeit to the Crown during the late troubles. The islanders were prepared to like him, and there was no lack of enthusiastic loyalty on the part of Jersey. The Prince's stay, however, in Jersey was not very protracted. Queen Henrietta Maria was bent on his removing into France, contrary to the judgment of the best adviser in his suite, the future Clarendon, whose residence in the island is also one of the associations which give its history an interest at the period before us. A

fresh complication was introduced into the question by the arrival of the versatile and sanguine Digby, who arrived from Ireland with three hundred soldiers, and was at first eager to induce the Prince to take refuge in that country instead of France. He went to France to induce Cardinal Mazarin to support this plan, leaving his ships, officers, and soldiers in Jersey, says Clarendon, "without one penny of money to subsist on in his absence." The politic cardinal knew Lord Digby well, and by flattering his importance with communications about the intentions of France with reference to the royal interest both in England and Ireland, brought him round to favour the Prince's removal into France. The Prince himself, with his characteristic wilfulness, decided on this step, though all the members of his council but one, Lord Colepepper, opposed it. He was detained some days by contrary winds, during which the little court of Elizabeth Castle was troubled by its own storms in this conflict of opinion. A scrap from a letter of Hyde's at this period, gives a hint which Scott could have worked up into a striking and amusing scene:—

The Lords Capell and Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, went once a day from the town to kiss his hands, after they had first taken their leave of him, and stayed very little time, there growing every day a visible strangeness between them and the rest, insomuch that they had little speech together, and the last day none; the other lords sitting upon the bowling-green with the prince, who quickly left them, and they returned. (Quoted by Dr. Latham, "*Channel Islands*," p. 384.)

When incidents are somewhat scanty, one is tempted to make the most of any that occur. Let us add one, of no importance except that it is indirectly connected with this sojourn of the Stuart exiles in Jersey. That brave and frank cavalier Sir Harry Killigrew, had done good service in the gallant defence of Pendennis Castle in Cornwall, on the surrender of which he resolved to join his friends, Hyde and the rest, in Jersey, and had written to the former to send a boat to fetch him thither from St. Malo. Just upon sending this letter, an accident had occurred he thought of little consequence. A carbine he was discharging burst, and a splinter wounded his forehead, in spite of which he proceeded to St. Malo, but the injury was then found to be a serious one, and he died next day, desiring his dead body might be sent to Jersey. It was accordingly conveyed thither by the ship which Hyde had despatched, and on its arrival, he and his two faithful companions in exile, Capel and Hopton, with Sir George Carteret, went down to the harbour in all haste to welcome their friend, but instead found his body in the coffin, which was honourably buried in Jersey as he had wished.

The royalist cause was maintained in Jersey, and at Castle Cornet, in Guernsey, for several years after the period we have just noticed, till in both islands it yielded soon after the great defeat of Worcester in 1651. Admiral Blake was the too powerful adversary to whom Jersey succumbed. A four hours' battle was fought between his fleet and the garrison and island militia, after which he distressed his enemy by simultaneous attacks on St. Ouen's Bay, St. Aubin's Bay, St. Clement, and Granville. A night attack on St. Ouen's Bay followed, which was resisted with great bravery by Sir George Carteret, in spite of which Blake effected a landing, and the fortresses were not able to hold out many days. Fort St. Aubin, Mont Orgueil, and Elizabeth Castle successively yielded, the last, however, after a gallant resistance, which began to fail in consequence of a terrible explosion caused by a bomb which fell into a powder magazine, on the site of the old church of St. Helier. Charles II., then in Paris, sanctioned Carteret's making the best conditions he could, and the garrison were admitted to a capitulation of the most honourable kind, marching out with colours flying and drums beating, all being allowed to retain their swords, and the officers also their horses, cuirasses, and pistols. Castle Cornet, in Guernsey, capitulated on the same consolatory conditions. Both islands might no doubt have been saved from the Parliament had the king been willing to make France a depositary of them. "But the king," says Clarendon, "was so strict and punctual in his care of the interest of England, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to deposit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to their just owner, what obligations soever they entered into." (Clarendon, "*Hist. Reb.*," vi. p. 608.)

An address presented from the island of Guernsey to Oliver Cromwell subsequently to these events gives a vivid idea of its state during the time when Castle Cornet was being held for the king, and of its condition when the struggle was over. We borrow the following extract from Dr. Latham, who quotes the document at considerable length:—

The inhabitants, during the heat and danger of war, were in continual fears, services, and watchings, commonly twice a week, sometimes thrice; they had frequent alarms from Jersey, from Castle Cornet, from Normandy, from Brittany, and from the king's ships; they were always in arms, as in a garrison, or frontier-place remote from England; they constructed fortifications and some other works for their own defence, and were at their own charges for reducing and keeping Sark. They have paid for the maintenance

of frigates to prevent relief being given to the Castle, for beds, candles, fire for the soldiers, and divers other disbursements, amounting to above thirty thousand pounds. But what grieved the island most, being an evil undeserved, was the filling it with soldiers, though for seven years before, by the mercy of God, and the faithful endeavours of some active inhabitants, they had preserved themselves and the island in obedience to Parliament; and when the king was put to death, and his party and interests were brought low in England, there was no reason to fear for the inhabitants, who were then kept under like slaves, affronted, threatened, beaten; their orchards were robbed, their trees cut down, and their sheep stolen. The Parliament promised that the soldiers should be no charge to the inhabitants. Yet they took no notice that the island was almost undone, and could not bear the burden. (Latham, p. 388, 389.)

They especially besought Parliament to relieve them of a tax called *champart*, which was a payment of every twelfth sheaf of corn. It appears that the population of the island was 8,000, of whom only two or three had £200 a year, and fewer than ten £100; moreover, that two-thirds of the land was out of cultivation. Of the whole population, about 6,000 earned their living by making worsted stockings and other woollen articles.

Notwithstanding the more than proclivity which Guernsey had shown towards the Parliament, the islanders, upon the accession of Charles II., in 1660, made a very humble and penitential address to the Crown through their bailiff, Mr. Amias Andros, of Saumarez, and Nathaniel Darell. A full pardon was in consequence granted, from which honourable exceptions were made in favour of certain individuals as having continued inviolably faithful to his Majesty, and therefore having no need to be included in the pardon. These were Sir Henry Devic, Bart., Mr. Amias Andros above-mentioned, his son, Edward Andros, and brother, Charles Andros, and Nathaniel Darell. It is still remembered in the island that one of the Andros family was honoured with the office of cup-bearer to Charles II.

The history of the islands from the Restoration down to the present date is marked by certain leading facts, pervading long periods of time, and carrying with them important social effects, but presenting little that is picturesque and striking. They went with England, as might be expected, in the deposition of James II. The reign of William III. caused in Guernsey and Jersey a by no means glorious revolution, for he abolished the privilege of neutrality they had enjoyed from the reign of Pope Pius IV. downwards. The consequence of this was that smuggling and privateering became favourite pursuits of the islanders, and from the latter very unsatisfac-

tory source, during the great French war, much of the wealth of new families is said to have been derived. It was, however, only after England was a party to that war that the islanders took to privateering. At the commencement of the struggle between Prussia and Austria, the intention was formally disavowed by a circular to the merchants of the chief French ports. Dr. Latham supplies the curious fact that this circular, which was signed on the part of the islands by a Dobree, was also acknowledged on the part of France by a Dobree, showing how names are still found common both to insular and continental Normandy. Throughout the long wars of the last and present centuries the islands were sufficiently protected against hostile attempts, and only two of consequence appear to be on record, the last of which was in 1781, conducted by a Baron de Rullecourt, who surprised St. Helier's, seized the governor, and forced him to sign a capitulation of Elizabeth Castle, which, however, was defeated by the bravery of Major Pierson, the officer in command of the English troops. There was a combat in the market-place, in which the unchivalrous French invader was killed, and his force compelled to surrender.

We proceed to notice the most interesting features of the civil constitution of the islands, remarking, as we write these lines, that the subject seems to be attracting attention at this very moment, a detailed list of the privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Channel Islands having been asked for in the House of Commons on May 31. Jersey and Guernsey are each, it is scarcely necessary to say, under a lieutenant-governor appointed by the Crown, always a general officer. With Guernsey go Alderney, Sark, Herm, and Jethou. Alderney formerly had hereditary governors, of the family of Le Mesurier; and Sark is still the property of a seigneur, or feudal lord, who appoints a seneschal, with jurisdiction in small offences. It was held by the Vernon family in Elizabeth's time, then for a very long period by the Le Pelleys, the last of whom, by the bye, was unhappily drowned within a very short distance of Creux harbour, he having persisted in an attempt to cross to Guernsey in dangerous weather in spite of the remonstrances and entreaties of all the friends who surrounded him. From the family of Le Pelley, the seigneurship of Sark passed to that of Collings. In the principal islands justice is administered by a magistrate called the Bailiff; and each has an attorney-general, styled the Procureur de la Reine. The Bailiff presides in the Royal Court, consisting of twelve jurats, elected for life; in Alderney he is represented by a judge, with a court of six jurats. The Bailiff, though

an officer of such importance, need not necessarily have had a legal education. The magistrate corresponding to High Sheriff is called in Jersey the Viscount, in Guernsey the *Prevôt*. Guernsey has a kind of parliament called the States of Deliberation, but between this body and the ratepayers, or *chefs de familles*, intervenes another assembly called the Elective States. This latter consists of the Bailiff, twelve jurats, rectors (the incumbents of the ten Protestant parishes, appointed by the Crown), the Queen's Procureur, the douzaniers and constables, making up altogether two hundred and twenty-two members. The douzaniers are like the churchwardens, having control over parochial expenditure, and are elected by the ratepayers. The Elective States appear to have nothing to do but to elect the jurats and the sheriff, but as the jurats are really the bench of judges, and also have seats in the deliberative assembly, this alone is an important function. The States of Deliberation are composed of the same officers as those already mentioned in the Elective States, but the douzaniers and constables are replaced by deputies elected from the various parishes. The number of members is altogether thirty-seven. The Bailiff nominally proposes measures, but in most cases they originate with committees, officials, or even private individuals, and he must bring forward any measure if required by a certain number of members to do so. The States have the important attribute of considering any question affecting the interests of the islands which has to come before government, and if an Act of Parliament has to be opposed, it is they who communicate with the Privy Council. The Bailiff presides, and the Governor may sit and speak if he thinks proper. All bills for discussion are first submitted to the Royal Court, and may be discussed by the douzaniers, who thus influence their deputies. The meetings of the States are public. As in the Imperial Parliament, there is a good deal of legislation by committees, their business chiefly concerning public works, harbours, roads, streets, parochial education, and the like. In Jersey the governor has a veto on all questions discussed. His consent is also necessary for convening the States, though he must convene them if required to do so by the bailiff and jurats. In Guernsey the Royal Court has also very considerable legislative power. It not only prepares bills for the approval of the States, but it may issue *ordonnances* entirely *proprio motu*, but these *ordonnances*, if intended to be permanent, must be approved by the States. They range over various matters—harbours, rights to seaweed, mode of levying taxes, discipline of militia, &c. It will thus appear that there is something in

the powers of the Royal Court of Guernsey analogous to the old French *parlements*. The overlapping of the judicial and legislative functions seems to belong to the earlier stages of the development of society, though they can never be wholly dissevered.

The laws and customs with regard to landed property in the islands are somewhat peculiar. Much of it is subject to an annual payment called "rents," strictly of corn, but paid in money, and varying with the price of that article on a scale settled by the States. These payments have arisen from part of the purchase-money being left unpaid, the interest of which they represent, but are bought and sold like other property. Some of the rents are payable in fowls, similarly valued. The law of inheritance is very reasonable. The eldest son gets the family-house, with a small portion of land, two acres in Jersey, but only one-sixth of an acre in Guernsey, and the rest is divided between the sons and daughters, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter. Property sold remains liable to the debts of the vendor charged on it, so that the purchaser may find himself in an awkward position, if its state has not been carefully seen to. Again, the lord of the manor can claim land that has been sold, on payment of the purchase-money. Whether, practically, inconvenience arises from these embarrassing privileges, we cannot say. Legally, in England, the property of a tenant, we believe, may be seized for the debts of the landlord, but how often, in practice, has such a right been carried into effect?

One particular connected with Channel Islands' jurisprudence is not generally known, which is, that the training for it is not obtained in the Inns of Court, but in the legal schools of Normandy and Brittany, as Caen or Rennes. Though English law is so largely traceable to Norman origin, and though, on the other hand, the French Revolution swept away so much of the old system, yet the Code Napoléon, it seems, has left the modern French law still so like the old, that the Guernsey lawyers, practising on the basis of the *Coustumier* of old Normandy, still find that they must go to France to be trained for their work. No doubt this custom is of old date, and continental influences must all along have not been without their effect on the insular legislation. Another reason is, that the pleadings are, or may be, carried on in the French language. Notwithstanding this important surviving connection of the Channel Islands with France, we believe we are correct in asserting that there is no political sympathy whatever for France in the Channel Islands. The people cling to England, yet not because they are English, but because they have a

common sovereign. The upper classes, indeed, are English in language and habits—we speak, of course, of those really native to the islands—English in their pursuits and ambitions, but with a good deal of the French type of character, more, however, that of old France than of the France of to-day; and in Guernsey, as in French Canada, is still preserved a nationality which, on the European Continent, has been unhappily displaced by the development and predominance of elements of a description none lament more than good French people themselves. On this head of our inquiry we could speak more largely, but, after all, it is only individual impressions that we could give, however individually decided, and travellers must make and use opportunities for drawing their own conclusions. It is well known that society in the island is, or perhaps we ought to say, for many years was, divided into two sets, called respectively the Sixties and the Forties, the former composed of the old families and those allied to them, the latter of families of newly-acquired wealth and position. The distinction was almost as rigidly kept up as that between the *sangre azul* in Spain, and the *nuevos Cristianos*. The two sets did not intermarry, or if they did, the descendants took the lower level, as in old Rome, when patrician blood was contaminated by alliance with plebeian. They did not meet in society, and saluted not in the *carrefour* as equals. All this was deprecated by strangers, but then the Sixties alleged that the Forties owed their wealth to privateering and to trade, and that it was too much to expect that this could be condoned by those whose shields bore no such blot. Time, however, does what neither laws nor governors can do, and a generation has seen the distinction greatly obliterated. People, indeed, say the order is reversed, that the social pyramid of the island is inverted, and that the Forties stand where the Sixties did. “The streams of the sacred rivers run back to their sources, and justice and everything is turned upside down.” To speak seriously, that has happened in Guernsey which has happened in many an English provincial capital which any reader who knows English society could name; only in Guernsey, the distinction had been more marked, because the sets had definite names, so that the change must be more deeply felt. Something of the same kind exists, or existed in Jersey, under the name of the factions of the Laurel and the Rose; how far it still obtains, we are unable to say.

We may remark, on the whole, that the old society of Guernsey had a real claim to respect, independently of high-sounding Norman names. Few communities have contributed more, in proportion, to the riches of the empire than they, and

names like De Saumarez, Le Marchant, Brock, and others of their stamp, have merited very honourable remembrance in the list of British officers of note and importance. Island birth seems to favour such excellence, because, on the one hand, it affords small scope at home, and drives the youths out to seek their fortunes, and on the other, the motive is intensified by the wish to return to the old hearths in their seagirt homes with a title, or a medal, or a sword, to make those they love proud of them.

It has been remarked that if any individual whatever could give a faithful account of his own biography the work could not fail to be of general interest, and it would be still more true to say that a really complete history of any place or province must interest all. For the life of a nation is a most complex thing, not to be understood without understanding the manifold influences which, coming, many of them, from very remote and hidden quarters, make up the organism of the whole. No historian is qualified to do justice to England without a deep acquaintance with the county-histories, and we have said enough to show that the Channel Islands present even a more powerful admixture in the tissue than many important counties have done. We can scarcely say that the work of recording this has yet been accomplished. Messrs. Ansted and Latham's splendid volume, whilst Paul Naftel's pencil makes it unrivalled in its class as regards artistic illustration, is admirably drawn up as a physical account of the islands, and very fairly as regards civil history; indeed, we have been far too much indebted to the work in the foregoing pages to undervalue it. But future investigators may add to their researches materials of which a good supply may be found for a *libro d'oro* of the families of this insular Normandy, and sketches of the careers of those who have adorned their island by success in literature, in arts, and arms. If such do not stand in the very first rank of renown, we are much mistaken if any space equally narrow has contributed examples of cultivation and practical service more numerous or more deserving remembrance.

ART. II.—HERGENRÖTHER ON CHURCH AND STATE.

Catholic Church and Christian State. A series of Essays on the Relation of the Church to the Civil Power. Translated from the German of Dr. JOSEPH HERGENRÖTHER. Two vols. 8vo. London : Burns & Oates, 1876.

IN somewhat tardy fulfilment of a promise made in our number for April, 1876, we intend now to give our readers a more complete idea of the great work named at the head of this article. It is too much the fashion at present to call every work *great* which is written on the right side, in a loyal spirit, and with evidence of a certain amount of reading and reflection. Such slovenly or partial criticism of course creates a low standard, and authors of inferior merit are classed with those who may justly claim to rank far above them. We make this remark because we wish our readers to understand that we are speaking advisedly, and with a sense of responsibility when we put in this higher rank the work which we are about to review. Many of the subjects of which it treats have been handled separately, with more completeness and effect by other authors. But we say, without hesitation, that there is no work, in the whole range of ecclesiastical literature, so well adapted to the general reader, and yet at the same time so comprehensive, so solid, and so accurate. It treats of all the relations of Church and State ; of the principles on which they are founded, and of the historical facts in which they are exhibited. The most striking feature of the work is, perhaps, the amount of positive information which it contains. The number of subjects treated, of authors quoted and referred to is overwhelming. It is almost a library in itself. The whole ground is covered. The principles of the Church's action are fully exhibited ; very many special points are fully illustrated ; and by remarks, suggestions, and references, the author gives his readers the means of finding an answer to almost every question connected, even remotely, with his subject. And if the great number of facts and arguments make some parts of the work difficult to follow and realize in a cursory reading, this will be no drawback to the thoughtful student.

The keynote of the work is the defence of the Vatican decrees, and, especially, the dogma of Papal Infallibility, against the attacks of such men as Schulte, Huber, Döllinger, Friedrich, and others, belonging chiefly to the

German Alt-Catholic party. The author has followed the lines laid down by these men, and this explains the general shape of the work, and accounts for what we must consider a certain defect of logical order and method. The divisions seem to be made sometimes at haphazard; subjects are not always treated according to their intrinsic importance, but according to the importance given them by objectors; some parts read like digressions; one or two important subjects are omitted, because the author has elsewhere treated them. Of course we do not mean to question an author's right to treat his matter in the way he may prefer; we only regret that a work of such value, so certain to *live*, and to become a standard authority, should allow its form to be determined by accidental and ephemeral considerations. As our other objections against the work refer also chiefly to its form, we take this opportunity of mentioning them. The first is a certain want of unity in the general structure. The materials are not worked up into an organic whole. Too much is left to the mechanical means of detached paragraphs; a method which, like the framing of a picture, is useful to fix our attention on a special object, but certainly disturbs our view of its connection with the objects which surround it. The other fault that we have to find with the work is that it is not sufficiently *impressive*. There is a want of grouping in the minute details, a lack, here and there, of the final *clenching* to an important argument, a want of consideration of the effect likely to be produced upon the mind of an ignorant or prejudiced reader. But, after all, these defects do not affect the substance of the work, and weigh lightly indeed against the solid learning, the sound argument, and the general clearness and propriety of exposition which distinguish it.

The English translator and editor has done his work well. The translation is excellent in its three requirements of fidelity, correctness, and grace. Our extracts will sufficiently prove this. We think the translator might well have taken somewhat greater liberty with the notes, and compressed the whole into one volume. We must regret that the high price should put so useful a book beyond the reach of many. There are a few inaccuracies of grammar and expression, and once or twice the German original is improperly rendered. The Latin notes require a more careful revision. The text of the translation is from the author's second and popular edition, while the notes are supplied from the greater edition, the whole being thus happily adapted to the general and to the studious reader.

The work consists of eighteen essays, most of which are

divided into two or three parts, the parts being subdivided into numbered sections. Each essay treats separately of some great principle or fact belonging to the main subject. The order of the essays does not seem to be considered by the author of any great importance, as it is different in the different editions. The translator has also made a slight change here. But to us the author's idea seems to be nearly this. The first five essays treat of what we may call the *urgent* religious questions of the day,—civil allegiance,* the infallibility and authority of the Pope, the authority of the Vatican Council, and the Syllabus. The seven following essays have a closer sequence. After a splendid essay on the "Fundamental Principles of the Middle Ages," the chief historical difficulties of that period are separately treated. The thirteenth essay, on "The two Powers," is to our mind the most important of all, and we think that those who really wish to master the work would do well to begin with this essay. At the same time it is chiefly with regard to that part of this essay which treats of the indirect power that we shall have to take exception to some of our author's statements. Closely connected with the thirteenth are the two following essays, on civil and on ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The three last essays treat of various general objections against the doctrines and practice of the Church; such as the Inquisition, liberty of conscience, and the punishment of heresy.

In such an immense range and variety of subjects it is not easy to present the reader with a clear and accurate idea of the work. If we try to reduce the immense collection of facts and principles to strict systematic form, we shall give a very vague idea of the method and style of the book, and if we follow the author's method too closely, we run the risk of making our paper a mere summary and tedious repetition. Perhaps the following plan will best hit the mean. We will divide our author's essays according to their subjects into three groups. In the first we will place those which treat the general principles, theoretical and actual, of the relations between Church and State; in the second, those which treat special points of history; in the third, those which treat special points of doctrine. In treating the first group we will throw the author's teaching into our own form; as regards the

* We think the translator would have done well to retain the author's own title to the essay on this subject—"The danger to the State of the Roman See, and of its doctrines." The English title leads us to expect a treatise on the general subject; the German expresses more correctly, though less neatly, the exact subject of the essay.

second and the third, we will follow more closely the author's treatment.

I. In pursuance of this design we come first to speak of the general doctrine on Church and State, treated by our author in Essays I. VI. XIII. XIV. XV. and in part of Essay V. This we will consider according to the three great objections which are made against it. We will therefore, in the first place, exhibit and defend the general theory of her claims; then we will defend her from the charge of usurpation which is made against her application of these principles in the Middle Ages; and finally we will rebut the favourite accusation of modern adversaries, that because in these days, her authority is not recognized by the State, she sets herself in irreconcilable opposition to the State.

The Church is a society instituted by God to secure the eternal interests of men. She is, therefore, the depository, guardian, and interpreter of God's truth and of God's law. To this description of the Church's nature and office no exception can be taken by men who believe, in any true sense, in the Catholic Church. The Church is then the supreme society (*societas suprema*); that is to say, her claims take rank before the claims of all other societies. The proof is simple: as the individual man must put the interests of his eternal life before all merely temporal interests, so a society duly appointed primarily to regulate the eternal interests of men, stands above a society appointed primarily to regulate their temporal interests (H., XIII. Pt. 1). The Church, again, is a perfect society (*societas perfecta*); that is to say, she is complete in herself, and in independent possession of that legislative, judicial, and coercive authority which is included in the very idea of a perfect society (H., V. Pt. 2, §§ 1-7, and especially XVII. p. 374). In what sense could the Church be called the supreme guardian of God's law, if she herself were under the control of another society, and allowed to speak and act only under the direction of a higher power? The Church then is supreme and perfect. She is supreme because the end of her institution is supreme, and perfect because she is supreme.

But the authority of the Church, though supreme and perfectly independent, is not universal. The end of a society, while it determines its nature and rank, also limits its competence. The sphere of the Church is the spiritual order, and her end the eternal interests of man. There co-exists with the Church another society, the State, instituted by God to secure man's temporal well-being. This society has a distinct sphere of action, in which it is quite independent. It

is a perfect society, having its own rights and its own duties. To put the case practically, an individual, member of both societies, is equally bound to obey the laws of each, and finds his duties as a citizen in no way hampered by his duties to the Church. He owes obedience to each in the sphere of each. As S. Thomas says (quoted by Herg., I. p. 15, note 1), "the secular power is under the spiritual power in so far as it is placed under it by God, that is to say, in those things which belong to the salvation of souls, and therefore in these we must obey the spiritual rather than the temporal. But in those things which belong to the civil sphere he must obey the temporal rather than the spiritual power, according to that—'*Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.*'" The State cannot define a dogma, or institute a new ceremony; but so neither has the Church received any power from God to raise a new tax, to introduce conscription, or in any way to interfere with the merely temporal polity of the State.

We cannot turn over even the first pages of our author without finding clear proof that the Church in modern days fully recognizes the independence of the State. As to earlier times it will be enough to quote the doctrine of the Popes who are most earnestly accused of denying it. Nothing, for instance, could be clearer than the words of Nicholas I., whom Neander considers the founder of the Papal supremacy. "Acknowledge that the administrator of temporal things ought as little to interfere with spiritual matters as the clergy, the soldiers of God, ought to entangle themselves with secular concerns. Before Christ's coming, the offices of king and priest were sometimes typically united, as for instance in the case of Melchisedech; and the devil, imitating this in his members, caused the Pagan emperors to be considered also the high priests. But when the true King and Pontiff came . . . by peculiar duties and distinct dignities he so distinguished the two offices, that the Christian emperors should require the Pontiff for eternal life, and the Pontiffs, for mere temporal matters, should observe (*uterentur*) the laws of the emperor, taking care to keep the spiritual action apart from secular control (*carnalibus incurisibus*). (Letter to Emp. Mich., referred to by Herg., XIII. p. 186.)

So Gregory VIII. addresses Henry IV. of Germany as placed by God "*in summo rerum culmine*" (H., XIV. p. 237, note 4); and in his letter (Registrum, l. vii. ep. xxv.) to William the Conqueror clearly states the distinction in nature and duties of the two powers.

Innocent III. refused to decide on a certain case which had been brought before him, because "the King of France ac-

knowledges in temporal matters no superior" (H., XIII. p. 195). And elsewhere he clearly distinguishes between his own universal spiritual jurisdiction and limited temporal power (ib. p. 207, note 5). We intend later on to exhibit more fully this doctrine of Innocent. Similar is the doctrine of Boniface VIII.

The State then is, and is acknowledged by the Church to be, independent in its own sphere; but that sphere is itself subordinate to the sphere of the Church. The State is a perfect society, but it is not supreme. It must take, therefore, a subordinate part in the conduct of human life. It must give up its control over the action of its members, in so far as this action enters the sphere of religion and morality. And this brings us to the most important question concerning the relations of Church and State. Keeping strictly to what we have asserted, admitting that the Church has authority only in the spiritual sphere, insisting again on the Church's full recognition of the independence of the State, we still maintain that the Church has a real claim on the obedience of her members, even in matters which in some respects come also within the sphere of the State, in the case that the principles of religion and morality, of which she has been appointed supreme and sole guardian, are in question. We may deny the existence of such a guardian, but, this admitted, it is surely unreasonable to deny her competence in matters of her own jurisdiction, merely because these may happen to have relation to secular matters. We do not deny that this does give the Church a real, though indirect power, over temporals, but this is not because she claims a wider field of jurisdiction than belongs to her, but because the temporal sphere in which the State has power, has its roots in the spiritual sphere, where the Church alone has jurisdiction. The very duty of obedience to the State rests, like all other duties, upon the moral law. If the comparison is not trivial, we may say that while God has given to the State the surface of men's actions in civil matters, He has reserved to the Church, as representative of His Kingship, the *royalty* of them, and she has rights of property over *them* in so far as they come between her and the treasures which lie beneath them. Even candid Protestants admit this. The clear-sighted Leibnitz says: "I think we must recognize the power of the Church in temporal matters, on account of the indirect influence which temporal matters may have over the salvation of souls. The Church must determine also the case of conscience concerning the obedience due or not due to temporal sovereigns. I make an exception only with regard

to the power of rebellion, which the Church cannot and must not authorize. The Church can forbid her children to obey the magistrates in certain cases, and they must then obey the universal Church rather than their sovereign," &c. (Letter to Pélisson, quoted by H., I. p. 12, note 2).

That this, and this alone, is the principle on which the Church claims authority in temporals, we will now proceed to show. We are speaking, of course, of her own innate prerogative, and independently of any special rights which may at various times have been granted her. In the first part of Essay XIII. the author clearly exhibits this as the doctrine of the Popes and Fathers, but we will content ourselves on this point again with stating the doctrine of those Church rulers who are said to have held the most extreme views of the extent of their power. We intend to consider the principles of Gregory VII. more in detail in the second division of our article. It will be enough here to quote Neander: "Gregory decidedly avowed the principle that God had conferred on Peter and his successors not only the guidance of the whole Church in respect to spiritual affairs, but also a *moral* superintendence over all nations" (ed. Bohn, vol. vii. p. 118). Of Innocent III. the same author says: "Over bishops and monarchs, in affairs ecclesiastical and political, which latter he believed he could bring before his tribunal in so far as they should be decided *on religious or moral principles*, he asserted his supreme juridical authority with energy and firmness" (ib., p. 240). Innocent's doctrine is chiefly contained in the celebrated Decretal "*Novit*," of which we will here give the author's exposition (E. XIII. pt. 1, § 15).

Innocent declares that he has the honour and well-being of the King of France so much at heart, that he considers the exaltation of his kingdom as the exaltation of the Holy See, and that he was far from intending in any way to injure him; that, burdened already with duties beyond his strength, he had no thought of encroaching upon the jurisdiction of the king, and neither would the king desire to do anything to the prejudice of the Pope's jurisdiction; that he had merely made use of the spiritual jurisdiction possessed by the Church (Matt. xviii. 15-17); that when brotherly admonition and correction before witnesses were fruitless, the sinner was to be brought before the judgment-seat of the Church; . . . that the right of correction, even in the case of princes, had ever been inherent in the Church; that he had no intention of judging in a question of *feits*, but in a question of *sin*, to censure which was beyond doubt the duty of the Pope; that, moreover, this was a case of treaties of peace, confirmed by oath, and broken before the appointed time; and that it was the duty of the Church to take cognizance of oaths.

The principle of the Decretal is, that *directly* the Church has to pass judg-

ment as to the violation of the moral law, *indirectly* as to the temporal matters involved. The Pope was not directly concerned in the execution of the sentence of the French feudal court, nor in the sentence itself, but, grievous offences against the moral law fall under the judgment of the head of the Church. . . . This is a power given, not by men, but by God, the power of binding and loosing, given to S. Peter, and affecting all Christians without respect of persons.

We think we have now made good our statement that the Church only claims authority over temporal matters in so far as they become, so to speak, the subjects of the moral law. The doctrine is well summed up in the words of Cardinal Antonelli, cited by the author (XIII. p. 231) and by ourselves (April, 1876, p. 367). Before leaving this part of our subject, we must refer to a very incorrect expression of our author (I. p. 18), to the effect that the goodwill of the faithful is "the foundation of the doctrine of the indirect power of the Church over temporals." The foundation of the *doctrine* is what we have stated; the goodwill of the faithful is only a condition necessary for its application. He says better (VII. p. 375), "The Pope's power was not physical or material, but was a moral and spiritual power, relying on public opinion for its efficiency."

We come now to a closer consideration of the exact *nature* of this spiritual power over temporals. There are three systems among theologians on this point; they are treated by our author in the second part of Essay XIII., and are entitled respectively, the *direct*, the *indirect*, and the *directive* power.

The system of *direct* power makes the Church sole depositary of earthly power, and the civil authority a delegate of the Church. This theory we at once, with our author, put on one side as untenable. We can see no solid reason in its favour, and the Popes have consistently ignored it.

The system of *indirect* power we may define, nearly in our author's words, as a spiritual but real authority over temporal matters just so far as these are opposed to the supernatural end or necessary for its attainment (XIII. p. 209).

The system of *directive* power allows the Church simply to declare to her children their duty, to warn, admonish, and correct them. It will be seen that we have been defending the *indirect* power. The author, on the other hand, while anxious to reconcile it as far as possible with the *indirect*, supports the *directive* power. In his effort to do this we think he is inconsistent with his own doctrine, and does not treat fairly the indirect power. He might, perhaps, have avoided both these faults if he had kept the general subject of the *indirect* power distinct from that special department of it

which refers to the *deposing* power. With regard to the existence of the indirect power in general, it seems to us there cannot, in strict consistency of logic, be two opinions. It seems to us certain that with regard to *some* temporal matters the Church has a right not only to counsel and declare, but also to command or forbid. We do not intend here to prove the indirect power in detail, but we may say that it alone seems consistently to acknowledge the Church's power to bind and loose in matters of virtue and sin. It is implied in the action of popes and of other Church rulers who appeal, in the exercise of their authority over temporals, not only to the rights given them by the consent of men, but to the rights given them immediately by God. It is supported by the consent of the great body of theologians, and the author himself declares and proves that Bellarmine and the Jesuits of the 16th century, who formulated and thoroughly treated this question, only followed, in supporting the indirect power, the example of the earlier theologians. Surely, too, at least as much as this is implied in the expression of Döllinger, which the author seems to endorse, "When necessity calls for it, the Pope can do *everything*,—of course, with the reservation of observing God's laws" (I. p. 13). The author's doctrine, also, concerning the Church's power in the matter of oaths, of marriage, of unjust temporal laws, seems to imply the indirect power. But, whichever of the two theories we hold, it is of the last importance, in the interests of Church authority, that we should recognize the difference of principle between them. We must call attention to what we cannot consider other than a mistake of the author when he says, "In principle, the doctrines of the indirect and of the directive power do not in all points differ widely" (XIII. p. 230). It seems to us there is only one point to consider in the question of principle. In this they differ most widely, inasmuch as one affirms and the other denies the Church's power to command in certain cases. What the author means, or ought to mean, is that *in application* the two principles almost coincide. We say *almost*, because there are cases in which we might lawfully demur to the direction or advice, while we might not disobey the command of a lawful authority. Still, speaking generally, we agree that the wider principle is practically confined, by external conditions, to the same ground as the narrower. The questions to be decided would be so perplexing and so important, that the virtue of prudence, in the one theory, would lay our conscience under the same obligation as the virtue of obedience in the other. So, again, whether the Church possesses the right to command in these cases or not it is certain that she

is very frequently unable, through circumstances, to exercise it. The Church cannot assert a right against the laws of justice, of prudence, or of charity. Still, in these cases the difference of principle clearly appears. The one theory makes her the authoritative guide of conscience, the other only the adviser. One theory denies her right, the other only forbids her to use it. The general acknowledgment or concession by men is considered in the one theory as the very foundation of her right, in the other merely as a condition for its exercise.

We do not think it advisable to enter on the question of the deposing power within the brief space at our command. We must, however, remark that on this point again the author, while writing in a perfectly loyal spirit, does not do full justice to the *indirect power*. This remark applies especially to certain statements in p. 230, which are obscure, and, we must think, slightly inaccurate.

We have now exhibited the theoretical principles of the relation of Church and State, and while indicating what we consider the Church's full rights, we trust we have sufficiently shown that our duties to the Church do not conflict with our duties to the State; that there can be no other opposition between them than there may be between the law of God and the demands of the State. We now come to consider what we may call the Church's practical principles; that is to say, the modification of her theoretical principles, which acknowledgment of rights or denial of rights, which various and opposite circumstances, have made necessary. The history of the Church, from the time when she entered into intimate relations with the State, is divided by the Reformation into two most distinct periods—the Mediæval and the Modern. We will treat briefly of each of these.

The great charge made against the Mediæval Church is, as we have said, the charge of usurpation. It is a charge which can be maintained, even speciously only, by the unfair method, almost universal amongst the enemies of the Church, of judging her actions in the Middle Ages by the ideas and circumstances of modern times. To overthrow this accusation, we have to ask our readers simply to judge the Middle Ages by themselves. If we find that her rights were not only acknowledged, but extended, her help not only accepted, but demanded, her authority not only useful, but absolutely necessary, then is she completely cleared from this foul and impious charge. Our inquiry brings before us the great characteristics of the Middle Ages, which, while completely distinguishing them from modern times, furnish at the same time a complete justifica-

tion of the Church's action. These may conveniently be reduced to two.

The first is the great fact that the principles which we have been defending were fully and generously recognized in the Middle Ages as the fundamental principles of society and ethics. Essay VI. is one long proof of this. It was acknowledged that the Church was the sole guardian of religion and morality, entitled to direct her children in these matters with complete authority. Already, from the first submission of the Empire to the Church, as Neander admits, "the State itself declared the Church's principles to be those to which everything must be subordinated" (vol. iii. p. 185). So, from the Council of Chalcedon, the rule was admitted that whenever an imperial law contradicted the canon law it should be considered null. And even before this, as early as the year 445, the Emperor Valentinian III. declared resistance to the Roman bishop to be an offence against the Roman State. The power of the Church was more and more fully admitted during the times of anarchy which ensued between the overthrow and the revival of the Western Empire. Finally, the system of society which started from this latter event recognized Church authority, as represented not only by the Pope, but in a great degree also by the bishops, to be the very basis of the social order. The laws of Charlemagne sufficiently establish this. It is chiefly of this time we speak. We refer to anterior time chiefly to show that if circumstances developed them, the principles themselves were rooted in preceding ages. If the Church had only from Charlemagne's time begun the use of her power, she could not have fairly been accused of usurping, but when we find that Charlemagne solidified and strengthened a power already venerable, a power of which men had not yet tried the limits, we see that it was almost impossible for the Church to claim more than her children already credited her with.

Now, while the Church's power was thus considered to be almost boundless, the idea of the State, on the other hand, was proportionately contracted. Her province was *recognised* as subordinate. The theory of an irresponsible, absolute State was unknown. Princes and governments, as well as people, acknowledged themselves accountable to the Church in matters of virtue and sin. Thus Louis VII., referring to S. Peter's commission, "Feed my sheep," asks: "Are the kings of France, or any rulers, here excepted?" (Baronius, Ann., 1162, n. 10). Frederick II. admits that the temporal power is appointed for the support of the spiritual power (Herg., XIII. p. 180, note 5). Philip le Bel declares himself ready, "as

regards his soul and the spiritual order, to obey the counsels and commands of the Holy See, as he is bound to do.”* Perhaps the most earnest defender of the Pope’s power over princes is our own Henry VIII. The whole theory of secular government, indeed, was opposed to the idea of State absolutism. Princes were looked upon as parties to a contract. It was generally maintained that while civil authority in itself was from God, the people had the right to appoint the individual administrator. In many countries, as in Germany, and for many centuries in England, this right was exercised through actual election. So long as a prince, howsoever appointed, fulfilled the implied or expressed condition on which the sovereignty was intrusted to him, the people had no right to revoke their trust; but his duties were as determined as his rights, and their duty of obedience to him was not more absolute than his duty to them, to God, and to the Church. In opposing princes who violated the rights of their subjects the Church was really on the side of liberty and law. Such princes were the usurpers; and though it was sometimes possible for them by material force to oppose for a time the law of Christendom and the sense of the age, still in all the great struggles the Church came off victorious; thus proving how completely acknowledged by the consent of Christendom her principles were.

And here we must remark, in further defence of the Church, that her principles were not acknowledged merely in a general and vague manner, but certain special legal modes of action were at her disposal. The chief of these was her power to absolve from oaths, whether of allegiance or of any other kind, under certain conditions and limitations. A second was her power to inflict ecclesiastical censures, such as public penance and excommunication. The Church’s right to apply these censures equally to princes and people was admitted, at least antecedently, by all, and the temporal as well as the spiritual consequences of them were admitted with equal completeness. We do not hesitate to say that the Church’s admitted power of excommunication is alone enough to clear her from all the charges of usurpation made against her conduct to sovereigns in the Middle Ages.

But besides these supreme and exceptional rights there followed, from the general acceptance of her authority, very many other and special rights. Some of these rested on her essential authority, although, under different circumstances, she might not have been able to make them good. Such were

* Gieseler, K. G., vol. ii. pt. ii. edition Bonn, 1826, p. 175, note g.

the rights which she was gladly allowed to exercise of defending the weak, of protesting against injustice, of interfering between princes in the interests of peace and justice. Whole provinces of social life, now jealously subtracted from her control, were then, as a matter of course, submitted to it. The interests of the poor, of prisoners, of slaves, of all that needed relief and help, were under her maternal care. Education was her special province. The marriage contract, with its innumerable social ramifications, was under her immediate jurisdiction. In fact, it would be impossible to enumerate all the various channels in which Church influence and Church authority permeated the whole social system of the "Ages of Faith."

Other rights rested more directly on human institution, but still were founded on a sense of the Church's dignity and prerogatives. Thus from a sense of the sacredness of the sacerdotal character came the immunities of the clergy, and the spiritual courts. From a sense of their impartiality and with a reference to the very words of S. Paul (1 Cor. v.), they were called to administer even secular justice. From similar ideas and instincts came the rights of intercession, of sanctuary, and others of the same kind, all going back to the earliest days of recognition by the State.* To the Pope, as head of the Church, was attributed the right to appoint the supreme governor of the Christian commonwealth, and a proportionate power was given in the respective States to the spiritual authorities. Coronation, which was the formal recognition by the Church of the new temporal ruler, was generally considered an essential condition for the full enjoyment of sovereign power. The Pope, again, was the arbiter of Christendom. He admitted, with an authority fully acknowledged in those days, new members into the Christian confederation, and in another capacity, as head of the missionary office of the Church, was credited with a certain indirect authority even over the very lands of heathens. By a natural consequence also, and after the spirit of the ancient Roman law, islands, and places without regular and settled government, were considered to be in a special way under the Pope's jurisdiction.

Finally, many rights and privileges accrued to the Church from the free gift of the people or the sovereign. Such were the rights of suzerainty, the temporal possession and jurisdictions of the Popes and the higher clergy, and the special rights of the churches of various countries. These once

* The reader will find this matter clearly and fairly treated by Neander, vol. iii. sec. 2, pp. 184—207.

given became a sacred trust, not revocable at the mere caprice of the donors, given not to individuals, but to God in His representatives. And this is why the Church is so tenacious of her rights. She is not the real owner. She is God's trustee.

Such facts as these must all be borne in mind when estimating the Church's conduct in the Middle Ages. But besides this admission, generous and fruitful, of the Church's rights, there is another most important difference between mediæval and modern times in the different circumstances, and especially in the very different states of society during the two periods.

In the first place, all the nations of mediæval Christendom agreed in faith, and, whatever their practice, admitted the same principles of faith as the final test of right and wrong. What are now frequently laid down as the first principles of politics were rejected by the Middle Ages, as principles, with horror. The system of non-intervention, of "accomplished facts," of tolerating infidelity and heresy, were against public conscience as well as against public law. Uncharitableness and injustice were crimes, whenever committed, and however speciously coloured. Peace-making was a virtue for its own sake, irrespective of self-interest.

Besides this internal unity, there was the external unity in the fact, to which we have already alluded, that the nations formed a Christian confederation, the secular head of which depended more or less for his appointment and maintenance upon the supreme Church authority. The Pope came thus to be at once the head and the centre of the social system. He could therefore speak with the power and authority of the head of a family. In these days there is nothing analogous to this power. We see a sort of reflection of it now and then in the influence exercised by a Buonaparte or a Bismarck. But how different even this influence, transient and contracted, founded perhaps on lawless might, at best on the character or position of an individual, from the great, universal power of the Papal office, founded on the noblest aspirations of man, confirmed and maintained by law, deep-rooted in past ages, sanctified by religion, and exerted only to further the noblest interests of humanity!

But perhaps the most important circumstance to be considered in estimating the conditions which determined the Church's action in the Middle Ages, is the state of society at the time. We are not blind to the faults of the Middle Ages. They were, in general, the faults of a people passing from semi-barbarism to civilization, from childhood to manhood.

The half-controlled passions of those strong fierce natures broke forth continually into acts of violence, of cruelty, of oppression, of lust. On the other hand flourished far more luxuriantly the virtues of such a primitive and transition state. There was a childlike earnest faith in the unseen world, an attraction, unfettered by idle conventionalities, to all that was holy, and pure, and noble—a humble sense of dependence on superior power or wisdom. Hearts were ardent and enthusiastic, minds simple and true, wills earnest, tractable, and religious. It is hard to say whether the good or the evil of the Middle Ages more completely justifies the action of the Church. To deal with such men there was needed a power founded on sanctions which should make even the fiercest tremble, yet at the same time so gentle in its manifestation as to attract the timid, and to invite repentance;—a power able to raise the most ignorant and degraded, and yet capable of satisfying the aspirations of the noblest and most cultivated natures. A religion mysterious and awful in its doctrines and its rites, yet tangible to the least educated faculty. A religion at once above the people, yet amidst them; above them to satisfy their feelings of mysterious reverence, yet amidst them to fulfil the exuberant fresh love of their ardent childlike hearts; above them to terrify and chastise the oppressor, the ravisher, the marauder, amidst them to receive the penitent, to heal the broken spirit, to cherish with maternal love the poor and timid, but religious heart. Such a power the Church alone possessed, or rather such a power she *was*. And this fact, while it is a glorious proof of her supernatural origin, forms at the same time a complete justification of her action. In such circumstances she had not only a right but a strict duty to interfere. On this we particularly wish to insist, the more so, as our author does not give this fact the prominence we think it deserves. The natural law imposes upon us a definite obligation, in certain circumstances, of using any power we may happen to possess. Thus, a doctor is bound to help a dying man when other bystanders have no such obligation, simply because he possesses the required knowledge. In the same way the Church, from the mere fact that she possessed, or for that matter was credited with, the power to restrain the passions of those fierce nobles, to curb the despotism of the tyrannical sovereigns of the Middle Ages, was *bound* to use it. She was the only refuge of the oppressed, the poor, and the afflicted, and she was bound to succour them. In such a way as this came her duty to protest against and to forbid unjust taxes, tolls, and other exactions when made, as they usually were, merely to feed the

avarice, ambition, or selfish pleasures of a despot. Chiefly were her rulers bound to interfere to support herself, the Church, the only principle of stability and rescue, as well as the nominee of Almighty God, against all attacks.

We trust that we have sufficiently defended the Church against the charge of usurpation which is made against her general action in the Middle Ages, and we come now to vindicate her action from the general charges which are made against it as regards modern times.

She is now accused of setting herself, as it were out of spite, and because her claims are ignored, in determined hostility to modern ideas and the modern State. All that is necessary for us here, as in defending her conduct in the Middle Ages, is to gain a true idea of the conditions on which judgment has to be given. It needs a very slight consideration to see that these are entirely altered. The very concept of the State is changed, the rights of the Church, here and there grudgingly and partially admitted, are, in most places, refused and ridiculed, and the state of society is completely changed.

The Reformation opened the floodgates to this torrent of revolution. The whole process is so magnificently described by our author in the words of Von Moy, that we are sure our readers will thank us for giving the description at length.

After showing that in the Middle Ages the Church was recognized as the essential form of Christianity, after developing, as the consequence of this truth, the principles which we have already laid down on the true relations of Church and State, he proceeds:—

All this has been changed by the Reformation, which recognized, indeed, the supernatural end that had been given to our earthly life by Christianity, but rejected the Divine institution of the Church with her sacerdotal and teaching office. The work of the Church was thus transferred to the State, and the Church made an institution of the State. Religion became at once a serviceable instrument in politics, and this occurred not merely in Protestant, but also in Catholic countries, for the need of protection against the violence and encroachments of Protestantism gave such great prominence to the civil sword and state authority, and made the position of the rulers of the Church so difficult that, even in Catholic countries, the State grievously encroached on the religious domain. This abuse was formally erected into a system, and called, in France, Gallicanism; in Germany, Febronianism or Josephism; in Spain and Portugal, Pombalism. It was a system of hypocrisy and meanness, and its results were soon evident. In the Protestant States the Reformation continued its work of disintegration, and the break-up into a multitude of sects at length rendered it impossible for the government to continue their ecclesiastical dominion; in the Catholic states

the depreciation and misuse of all that was most holy, the insubordination of the powerful, and the powerlessness of the clergy, shook the faith of the masses, and in a great measure wholly destroyed that of the upper classes. This led to the French Revolution, which rejected Christianity and the Church alike, and set up the State anew as an institution reposing simply on human wills, and existing simply for this life, and for earthly ends. This is the "Modern State," according to the pattern of which all other states of Europe have gradually transformed themselves, and made its constitution and principles their own. When it first arose it made a vigorous attempt to extirpate Christianity, and a weak attempt to create a heathen religion as a support for itself. As both failed, it had to allow Christianity to exist, but only as a matter of personal taste and individual opinion—only as a form, in itself indifferent, of religious views, having no claim whatever to political influence or recognized legal position. This is the modern principle of "freedom of conscience," which is as necessarily and essentially connected with the modern State as the idea of the finite with that of the infinite (E. I. p. 23).

Those conditions then which we considered as justifying the Church's action in the Middle Age do not now exist. Hence her concrete rights and duties and claims are quite altered.

In the first place, her principles and rights are not recognized, nay, are denied. Her rights have only moral force, and are therefore practically, though not theoretically, dependent on the consent of men. When this, for one reason or another, is refused, the Church not only ceases to be bound to assert her rights, but, we may say she cannot, consistently with justice and charity, assert them. She cannot claim the same authority over Protestant England, as over Catholic England, over Queen Victoria, who is ignorant of her authority, as over Queen Elizabeth, who rebelled against it. Such a change reduces a right of command to a mere duty of warning.

As for the less essential and special rights and privileges of the Church, they have all disappeared, and she stands, as it were, naked before the all-powerful State. This is the reality and substance of that terrible bugbear which free-thinkers and displaced politicians, and, alas! liberal Catholics, love to parade before an ignorant and prejudiced world. Because the Church, using under favourable circumstances the powers given her by Christ, the powers acknowledged by men, the further powers given her by wise and grateful peoples, interfered to protect right and punish wrong at a certain period of the world's history, when no other protector existed, therefore, forsooth, when powerless, oppressed, and patient, she must be so dreaded that no liberty can be allowed her.

In the second place, the circumstances of the age, and especially the state of society, are now entirely different. We

defended the action of the Church in the Middle Ages, partly on the ground of the religious unity of that time. The religious dissensions of modern times, as they alter the condition, change also the relative obligations of Church and State.

And as there is no common religion, so there is no head of a religious commonwealth. Nor have the spiritual rulers in any country direct influence over the appointment of sovereigns. Here again the Church, instead of exercising any right of protest, and refusal, can only observe a prayerful silence.

Finally, and perhaps chiefly, the changed state of society in modern times relieves the Church of many of those duties which were imposed upon her by her position as sole guardian of public justice, sole refuge of the oppressed, sole bulwark against tyranny. Though we consider that, when the Church was recognized, subjects enjoyed far more of real liberty, though we consider the modern state to be in theory, as our author says, a despotism founded on physical force, or the brute will of a majority,—careless of that Divine sanction which upholds the real rights equally of rulers and of subjects—though we know that the Church would have led the world to a civilization far nobler, because more Christian, than the world can ever reach by its own powers,—still we admit that the Church's influence is less absolutely necessary to the social order now than it was a thousand years ago. Liberty of opinion and speech is a substitute, though a poor one, for the mighty power of the Church in checking despotism. There is a general respect for law and order. Passion is more under control. Each State possesses a government able to protect the rights of property. Justice is, on the whole, well administered.

It is unfair, then, to argue that the modern Church makes the same practical claims as did the mediæval Church. It is equally unfair to pretend that the Church considers the refusal of her claims to justify her in setting herself in opposition to the State. She cannot, indeed, admit the theoretical principles on which the modern State professes to rely, but it is false that she cannot, as her opponents assert, come to any terms with the State. On the contrary, she imposes on her children a full and loyal general acceptance of its authority. Witness the condemned proposition (63) of the Syllabus—"We may refuse obedience to lawful princes, nay, may rebel against them." And lest the term "lawful" should be considered, as adversaries pretend to consider it, an ambiguous term, it will be well to bring forward some formal proof of the loyalty of the Church even to the non-Catholic modern State.

As to our own country, although indeed S. Pius V., on the principles of mediæval law, then still acknowledged by the greater part of Europe, forbade obedience to the rebellious heretic Queen Elizabeth, his immediate successor suspended the force of the Bull, the title of James I. was fully recognized, and from that time to this, in spite of persecution and oppression far greater than that which drove non-Catholic Englishmen into open rebellion against the house of Stuart, the Catholics of Great Britain have kept unshaken fidelity to their sovereign. Surely, in face of such a fact and with the very *evidence* of our present loyalty, it is not only malicious but most unfair to say that the Catholics of Great Britain do not acknowledge Queen Victoria as their lawful queen. On the Continent again, is it not clear, as much from the manner of their opposition in what they consider wrong as from their loyal obedience to the general law, that Catholics acknowledge their rulers to have a claim on their true allegiance? Is it not *evident* that the Catholics of Germany, of Belgium, of Russia, acknowledge their princes to be their "lawful princes"?

The Church indeed may and must forbid her children to obey such commands of the State as may be against the law of God, but this does not interfere with their general allegiance. Pius VI. condemned the "civil constitution of the French clergy," but he upheld the authority which introduced it (H., I. 57). Pius VII. speaks in the same sense, and we would especially recommend to our readers the words of Gregory XVI. (ib., pp. 60, 61), in which, while he beautifully expresses his own doctrine, he exhibits it at the same time as in perfect accordance with that of his predecessors. The only real question for the spiritual authority to consider is whether the rulers in the modern State are "ordained of God . . . the ministers of God" (Rom. xiii.). Such the Church fully admits modern rulers to be, as being the guardians of the social order, as acknowledged by the society in which they rule. And their claim on our obedience is not negatived by the fact that the law or social system which they administer and defend may contain some anti-Christian principles. To these of course we cannot give our adhesion, and yet our loyalty is not thereby impaired. We recognize the State's general authority because God sanctions it; such commands as are without His sanction have no claim on our obedience. Catholics do not, as many moderns do, make the State infallible, all-powerful, the fountain of all rights; but they allow it a real authority, limited, like all human authority, to that which is according to God's law. There is an exact parallel in the history of early Christianity. Indeed, we

appear, as the author remarks, in many ways to be approaching a state of things analogous to that which prevailed in the time of the Apostles. And as their refusal of obedience, in regard of the teaching of the Gospel, to the Jewish authorities, did not prejudice their general obedience,* and as the rejection by the early Christians of such State laws as prescribed idolatry did not "divide their allegiance," so the obedient children of the Church in these days can and do shine also as obedient, faithful subjects of the State.

We have now completed the first part of our task, and we trust that we have sufficiently proved that the principles of the Church regarding her own power are and have been, in themselves and in their application, consistent with a full recognition of civil authority.

II. We come now to those essays which treat of the great historical facts brought forward to support the charges, and especially the charge of usurpation, made against the Mediæval Church.

Our space will not allow us to treat all these important subjects in full. We will therefore select as a specimen the Essay (VIII.) on S. Gregory VII.

This is of course devoted chiefly to the history of his contest with Henry IV. of Germany. With regard to this contest we will, in the first place, briefly remind our readers of the facts as given by our author (pt. I. §§ 1—7).

Henry had already given grave trouble to the predecessors of Gregory, in their efforts to reform the Church. He had led a scandalously immoral life, usurped the Church revenues, and encouraged simony. Still the new Pontificate opened under fair auspices. Henry, already in difficulties with his Saxon subjects, was induced to seek a reconciliation with the Holy See, promising repentance and obedience. For some time relations continued friendly, but as Henry's difficulties lessened he began to return to his wicked courses, and the Pope, who had previously had to complain of his faithlessness and neglect, at the end of the year 1075 "wrote to him"—we quote the words of a Protestant historian—"as the last trial of kindness, a threatening letter, couched in language of paternal severity, but at the same time tempered with gentleness."† The con-

* "Be ye subject to every human creature for God's sake" (1 Peter ii. 13). The Greek is *κρίσει*, which, from the context, is clearly to be rendered *constitution* or *form of government*.

"He that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God" (Romans xiii. 2).

Thus clearly did the Church, by the mouths of her greatest and earliest teachers, declare for all time the duty of obedience to the civil power.

† Neander, vol. vii. p. 13.

tents of this letter certainly gave Henry, after his professions, no fair ground of offence. If Gregory points out his serious faults, he makes the kindest promises, and goes so far as to offer to meet the king halfway on the subject of investitures. Shortly after this letter Gregory despatched three envoys to urge the considerations which it expressed, exhorting Henry to change his conduct, and threatening him, in case of refusal, with that excommunication which must be the punishment of such crimes. Surely up to this point no exception can fairly be taken to Gregory's action by those who remember that Henry had acknowledged Gregory to be his spiritual superior, and the Vicar of Christ. But the haughty and headstrong king, under the influence of evil counsellors, dismissed the envoys in an insulting manner, and had the audacity to make his synod of Worms pass a sentence of deposition, as illegal as it was futile, on Gregory. Gregory, who was in council at Rome when he received the announcement of this act of rebellion, calmly and with the consent of 100 bishops, proceeded to pass the threatened sentence of excommunication upon Henry, and to release his subjects from the obligation of their oath of allegiance. This, however, was not a real deposition; it was merely a suspension, and was only to come into full force by the contumacy of Henry, that is, by his remaining under the ban for a year and a day. This consequence was admitted by the Germans themselves as German law. The princes at Tribur determined to proceed to a new election. After fruitless negotiations with them, Henry was forced to agree to the conditions they imposed. The chief of them was that the Pope should be invited to a great assembly of the princes at Augsburg, to meet on the 2nd February, 1077, and there should finally decide on all the accusations against Henry. Meanwhile Henry was to live privately at Spiers as an excommunicated man. He started immediately for Italy to seek the absolution of the Pope, and in January, 1077, met him at Canossa, on his way to join the assembly. After voluntarily giving such proofs of repentance as the spirit of church discipline in that age would have required, he obtained absolution on what we must consider, under the circumstances, the most easy condition, that he should not resume his imperial rights until he had met and satisfied his accusers. The fickle king had hardly left the Pope's presence, when, finding himself strong in the support of his Lombard partisans, he broke through all his promises, put himself in direct opposition to Gregory, and prevented him from continuing his journey to the assembly, now necessarily deferred. The impatient princes in Germany proceeded to a new election, naming Rudolph of Suabia, a

man in every way pleasing to the Pope, as their future emperor. But the Pope held firmly to his purpose and first decision, and notwithstanding the faithlessness of Henry, and the bitter complaints of Rudolph's party, insisted on deciding nothing till a fair deliberation had taken place. It is a clear proof how completely Gregory's action is prejudged by most of his opponents, that instead of praising him for his disinterested impartiality, it is only made a new charge against him. Surely it is unfair to reproach a judge who is called on to decide between two parties, because he insists on remaining neutral till the legal inquiry has been made. The civil war, which raged through the disobedience and impatience of the parties concerned, can no more be laid to the charge of Gregory than could a duel between two litigating parties be laid to the charge of a judge who was reserving his decision till the parties had presented their case.

Besides, Gregory's decision would rather have had the effect of embittering the struggle, as is evident from the fact that when, at last (in 1080), Henry's contumacy and fresh crimes had really put him beyond the benefit of the Pope's help, and Gregory was obliged to give his support to Rudolph, the contest became more fierce than ever. Rudolph was slain in the same year, and Gregory was in the power of Henry. Violence prevailed over justice, and Gregory was driven into exile, where he died, 1085.

This brief outline of the facts, with our antecedent and accompanying remarks, seems to us enough by itself to justify the conduct of Gregory. But we prefer to give a more exact and formal defence, and at the risk of repetition will briefly show that Gregory had a right to excommunicate Henry and to release his subjects from their obedience to him; that he was justified in using this right, and that he used it with Christian moderation.

It seems to us that, with regard to the abstract right of excommunicating sovereigns who are also members of the Church, there can be no question. Protestants and Catholics agree in this. S. Paul only appealed to the necessary privilege of a society when he said, commanding the excommunication of a scandalous sinner, "Do you not judge those who are within?" (1 Cor. v.). Gregory could appeal to many precedents as well as to established law (H., VIII. 393-4). The temporal consequence of such excommunication is a different thing, and varies according to the laws and principles of the time. We must repeat that it is not fair to judge the Middle Ages by the ideas of modern times. We do maintain that in these days excommunication would incl

deposition and the other temporal consequences which it included in the days of which we write. At that time these temporal consequences were admitted by civil as well as by canon law, and the opposition of a few interested partisans of Henry cannot fairly be allowed to weigh against the consent of all impartial authorities. We maintain, then, that Gregory certainly had the right to excommunicate Henry, and as a consequence of this, in that age, to forbid his subjects to obey him.

And, in the second place, we say emphatically that Gregory was more than justified in using the right which he possessed. The crisis was tremendous. The most important Church interests were at stake. Simony and incontinence, like canker-worms, had eaten into all ranks of the clergy, so that in some places, notably in Germany, the laity had begun to refuse their ministration of the sacraments. And the great crying evil was that temporal rulers, for selfish and ambitious purposes, encouraged and upheld these shameful abuses. Gregory was the instrument used by God to rescue His Church. Impartial Protestant historians acknowledge his zeal and disinterestedness. It was impossible for him to carry out his great purpose so long as there was at the head of the temporal polity of Europe a ruler who, to scandalous immorality and public encouragement of simony, added an open and audacious opposition against the head of the Church. We say that, against such a mighty evil, Gregory was not only allowed, but bound to proceed, if necessary, to the very extremity of his power.

We maintain, in the third place, that, all things considered, Gregory used his power with moderation, nay, with gentleness and forbearance. It is enough, for this purpose, to compare his conduct with the conduct of Henry. Gregory overlooked Henry's early bad conduct, bore with him till greater forbearance would have made him a co-operator in Henry's sin; forgave Henry's insults and rebellion, refused, in spite of every petition and reproach to declare against him till his contumacy was evident; treated him in fact like a son, while Henry was provoking him by every species of crime and of outrage. And we must remember that it was far more to Gregory's interest to have Henry as a friend than as an enemy; and even had his personal feelings inclined him against the king, prudence, which Neander admits to have been one of Gregory's most distinguishing characteristics, forbade him to use his power tyrannously. When such all-important interests were not at stake, as in the case of Philip of France and of William the Conqueror, Gregory employed milder means; and here we may remark that it is more reasonable to argue

that the severer measures which he took against Henry were a consequence of the greater exigencies of the case, than to accuse him, as anti-Catholic writers do, of partiality and unfairness when he strove to gain by milder means a less absolutely essential end.

We shall not dwell on the other and less important charges against Gregory, which are treated by our author in the second and third parts of his essay. We will only say that with regard to his asserted claim of sovereignty over all kingdoms, that it is false, but has this specious appearance of truth, that many princes were actually his vassals by the voluntary act of themselves or of their predecessors. It is true also that Gregory, for the sake of the better enforcement of Christian principles, wished for the closest connection between all Imperial rulers and the Holy See; but the author clearly proves that, as a fact, he asserted no other than a spiritual authority over France, or over many other countries of Europe. The other essays of this series we must dismiss with a few brief remarks, though there is not one which does not deserve careful study.

Essay VII. is a detailed proof that the secular power in the Middle Ages fully acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Pope. The first part of the essay proves this specially with regard to royal marriages. The cases brought forward range from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and include those of Lothair II., Robert of France, and, in greater detail, that of Philip I. of France, and the numerous cases which occurred under the Pontificate of Innocent III.

The second part of the essay is devoted to the detail of the many other ways in which princes recognized the authority of the Pope. As late as the ninth century the power even of ordinary bishops to excommunicate sovereigns was recognized by sovereigns themselves. This power, however, on account of abuses, was reserved to the Holy See. To the Pope princes appeal to decide disputes between themselves or with their subjects; usurpers seek his countenance or acknowledgment; titles of honour are asked from him; letters to him express the profound respect even of the greatest sovereigns. He is asked to confirm treaties, privileges, donations, petitions, wills. And as it is sometimes asserted that this arose only from ignorance on the part of princes, the author shows (§ 13) that this charge of ignorance, as against all princes in the Middle Ages, is quite unfounded. Where it existed it was deplored, and was a consequence, not of Church influence, which lay always in the opposite direction, but of the bad state of the times.

Essay IX. is, as its title imports, an account of the relations between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. It exhibits in considerable detail the process by which the office of Emperor gradually threw off its ecclesiastical character and dependence on the Pope, and assumed an entirely secular aspect. A special division is given to the important contest between Frederick II. and the Papacy. To this essay more than to any other applies the remark in our short notice (Jan. 1876), that the work is almost too rich in details. We have no breathing-space; no time to apprehend the significance of the innumerable facts and arguments heaped together by our author's wonderful research. In one point we think the author's words calculated to give a false impression. From the time that Otho I. rescued the Papacy from the tyranny of the Italian princes and established what we may call the German Roman Empire, it became recognized that the king of Germany should have an *ex-officio* claim to the imperial dignity. The Popes willingly acknowledged this claim, but, in return for the sacrifice which they thus made of independent appointment, they required that the electors should present an acceptable and qualified man. So long, therefore, as the electors *claimed* the Empire for their king, the Popes claimed this negative influence over the election even of the king. In the case of a disputed election it became of practical importance. The author seems to speak as if the Popes claimed no control whatever over the election of the king of Germany (E. IX. p. 16). They certainly claimed a greater authority with regard to this than with regard to the election of any other monarch (see notes 4, p. 16, and 10, p. 17).

Essay X., "The Popes and their Vassal Kingdoms," is a detailed proof of what we have already shown in general, that in addition to her essential rights the Church received many special and important rights from the concession and gift of men. At one time most of the princes of Europe had made themselves vassals of the Holy See. There was nothing degrading in this vassalage. It was only an acknowledgment of the Pope's authority, and gave a special claim on the protection of the Church. The essay is full of important facts in justification of the Popes of the Middle Ages. In speaking of Innocent III. and Magna Charta the author would have done well to recall the fact that Innocent only condemned the *manner* in which it had been extorted,* and promised the barons that all grievances should be abolished, the crown

* Lingard, ii. p. 181, ed. Dolman, 1854. Card. Manning, *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec. 1875.

restrained to its just rights, and the ancient liberties of clergy and people should be vindicated.

Essay XI. discusses the doctrine and conduct of Boniface VIII., and in particular the doctrinal bearing of the celebrated Bull "*Unam sanctam*." We will not here discuss this; because in April, 1875 (pp. 489-491) we set forth what to us appears the more probable opinion on the matter, and we need only refer our readers to what we there said.

Essay XII. treats of the gifts of land made by the Popes, and the Donation of Constantine. Each of these topics furnishes our author with a new opportunity of vindicating Catholic truth and exposing the misrepresentations of adversaries. With regard to the lands of unbelievers, the Pope certainly used no greater authority than he was considered to possess. His aim was not directly to assert any power over such countries, but to prevent or settle the disputes of Christian princes, and to carry out the commission of the Church to "teach all nations." Such matters naturally came before the Pope as the head of Christendom. The whole question of conquest and colonization is complicated and obscure. Few problems of morality present greater difficulties. Certainly the Pope's decision had far more authority than the treaties made by any secular government. It is hardly necessary to point out that even supposing an error in this matter on the part of the Pope, this could have no bearing on the dogma of Infallibility.

In the second part of this Essay the author exposes the absurdity of the view which makes the Donation of Constantine the foundation of the so-called Papal system of universal sovereignty. He shows that this document was first appealed to by three Frankish writers of the ninth century. Only seven Popes appeal to it, the first being Leo IX. in the eleventh century, who alone appeals to it in anything more than a casual way. No opposition was made by Rome to those who from the fifteenth century began to call in question its authenticity. The Papal power rested on entirely different grounds, upon principles and ideas which had universal acceptance, as indeed sensible and candid Protestants acknowledge. In this connection a few words on the spurious *Dictatus* of Gregory VII., and a somewhat more extended treatment of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals would not have been out of place.

The eighteenth and last Essay, on "the Claims of later Popes," really belongs to the series which we are considering, of answers to historical objections against mediæval principles and practice. To these, as to the essential principles or

legitimate development of Christianity, the Popes consistently held, and this necessarily brought them into collision with the representatives of the new and revolutionary order. The Essay consists of an examination of the chief objections made against the later Popes; such as the excommunication of Henry VIII., and of Elizabeth, the case of Ridolfi, &c.

III. We come now to the third division of our article. This includes the various urgent dogmatic questions treated by our author. The most important of them,—indeed, as we have said, the very keynote of the book,—is the Infallibility of the Pope, treated in Essay II. The author divides his subject into three parts according to the three great objections brought against the doctrine.

His first thesis, that the dogma of Papal Infallibility is not *irrational*, he proves by exposing the misconceptions and false statements on which alone this statement can be supported. Of these the chief, perhaps, is that Infallibility invests the Pope with a certain *quality* which, like impeccability, as it is called, is an attribute of God alone. To answer this it is only necessary to recall the words of the definition. The Pope is *invested* with nothing. Infallibility as applied to the Pope expresses only a negative attribute. On its positive side it is rather an attribute or action of the Holy Spirit than of the Pope, and signifies that assistance of the Holy Spirit which preserves the Pope from error when speaking as Supreme Teacher of the Church on a matter of faith and morals. From this description of Papal Infallibility it follows:—

(1) That the Pope possesses an official, and not a personal Infallibility. This at once disposes of all the objections drawn from the personal character, from the crimes or ignorance of the individual Pope.

(2) That the Pope is not infallible in his governing or in his legislative capacity. Therefore, as Fessler has abundantly shown against Schulte, possible or actual mistakes in the government of the Church, unseasonable decrees, unjust censures, tyrannical commands, which may form matter of objection against the governing power, do not in any way affect the Infallibility of the Pope.

(3) That the Pope is not infallible when speaking on merely temporal matters, or even on spiritual matters in his private capacity. Nor in his speeches, his ordinary letters, or his conversation.

(4) That possessing only security from error, he has no inspiration, no creative dogmatic power.

The definition alone is therefore enough to answer most of

the objections against the reasonableness of the dogma of Infallibility. Those who object that it is liable to abuse, or that it interferes with the teaching office of the bishops, receive an equally complete answer (p. 83 and p. 85). The translator does, perhaps, a little injustice to the author when he makes him say (p. 86) that the Pope must "*expressly state*" his intention of binding the faithful in virtue of his office of Supreme Teacher. The author only says he must "*express*" (*ausdrücken*) this intention. If he really means what the translator makes him say, he is not only mistaken, as his own references show, but, as we pointed out in our short notice (Jan., 1876), contradicts himself. It is evidently only an inexact expression.

The second part of his thesis, that the dogma is not *new*, is proved, of course, by an appeal to Scripture and tradition.

In § 1 the author develops the ordinary Scripture proof. In § 2 he treats the canon of Vincent of Lerins. He remarks that Vincent does not say we are to believe *only* "*quod semper*," &c. Otherwise, as the author very well remarks, there would have been no heresies, and the very fact of a dispute would have made the Church unable to decide it. The exact rule of faith is, of course, "*that must be believed which the Church proposes for belief*." The canon gives a subordinate rule which may enable individuals to discover that which, without being actually defined, is still proposed by the Church. In this way the doctrine of Infallibility was binding on many individuals before its definition, and indeed was the universal belief of the Church before the unhappy schism of the West, and the Council of Constance. He concludes this section by the apposite question: "Can the opponents of the dogma prove, on the other hand, that the fallibility of the Pope in defining matters of faith has been believed everywhere, always, and of all men?"

Our readers must study for themselves the author's excellent treatment of the historical testimonies to Infallibility given in §§ 3, 4, 5.

§ 5 deals with the convincing proof from the Formula of Pope Hormisdas (519). In § 6, while admitting that obedience and faith are different in themselves, it is shown that *obedience in matters of faith* requires a submission of the intellect, and that therefore *respectful silence*, which was indeed condemned in the Jansenists by the Bull "*In vineam Domini*," is not real obedience in matters of faith. § 7 gives the proof from the Council of Florence, and in §§ 8, 9 are answered the difficulties regarding the Councils of Constance and Basle. In § 9 the author clearly develops the

argument, which cannot be too strongly insisted on, that "in the ancient principle that there is no appeal from a Papal decision to a higher authority, the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope is clearly contained." We strongly recommend the last section (10) of this part to those who still maintain the figment that Papal Infallibility is a creation of modern times.

The third part of the author's thesis is that the definition or doctrine of Papal Infallibility is not dangerous to the State. Much has been said on this point in answer to the attacks of Mr. Gladstone and others; and for ourselves we will here do no more than refer to the remarks which were made when Mr. Gladstone first preferred his most unreasonable indictment. See our number for January, 1876, pp. 178, 9.

Essay III. bears for its title "The Vatican Council." We must content ourselves with a very brief summary of its contents. In the first part the author proves that the opponents of the Council are heretics. He shows that their principle is the Protestant principle of private judgment, and that in their conduct and in the objections which they raise, they exactly resemble the Arians, the Donatists, the Jansenists, and other heretics.

In the second part are disproved their false and scandalous charges against the Council; but he remarks that their special charges, such as want of freedom or new method of procedure, are merely a cover to their real attack, which is directed against the dogma itself. In the fifth section of this part the author refers to another of those great historical arguments for the Infallibility to be overthrown by no trifling or irrelevant facts which the microscopic ingenuity of *scientific history* may discover. "No council, however numerous, has ever obtained universal recognition if rejected by the Roman See, and only those acknowledged by Rome have been acknowledged also by the whole Church." Their refusal to accept the decision of the majority as the decision of the Council, and their demand for moral unanimity (§ 10) is not only opposed to the custom of all deliberative and judicial assemblies, is not only against the history of all the early general councils, but is completely nullified by the fact that the decision of the Vatican Council *was* given with a most striking moral unanimity. Only two bishops, and these afterwards gave in to the general voice, voted *non placet* on the decisive day. The extra-conciliar protest of 52 bishops cannot be allowed any weight against the decision of 533 bishops in council, with the confirmation of the Pope. The request of a certain portion of the German press that the decision should rest with the few

bishops who formed the minority, on the ground that they were the most intelligent members of the Council, and represented the most intelligent populations, would be amusing in its absurdity if it were not an evidence of the most insufferable pride.

Throughout this essay, and, indeed, throughout the whole work, we find sad proof of the malicious hatred entertained by the opponents of the Vatican Council against that Church of which they profess to be the devoted children. We find continual proof of their blindness with regard to the real significance of history, and of their insincerity in their treatment of it. We find them continually appealing to popular prejudice, and fostering the jealousy and hatred which the secular power already entertains with regard to the Church. The third part of this essay is devoted to an exposure of the real end to which such conduct and such appeals must lead. The author shows that the demands and aims of the new heretics are not only absurd and impracticable, and contrary to the spirit of the Church, but also that they play into the hands of that state-absolutism which, in its final development, would swallow up Christianity itself.

Essay IV. is entitled "The Pope and the Bishops." One of the most frequent objections against the Vatican Council is that it has abolished episcopal jurisdiction, and reduced the bishops to the position of mere papal deputies. This charge is proved to be utterly untrue in both its parts.

In the first place, the bishops are not the mere deputies of the Pope. It does not follow because the Pope has supreme, and *ordinary*, and immediate episcopal power throughout the whole Church, that bishops have not also a real and *ordinary* power.

In the second place, whatever the relation of the bishops to the Pastor of Pastors, the Vatican Council made no change in this relation. No doubt, since the first ages of the Church, there has been a change in the administration of the Church authority. It has been necessary for the Popes gradually to reserve many of the powers which were at first committed, by tacit or express commission, to patriarchs and primates. But this change was long ago consummated, and it is most dishonest to place it to the charge of the Vatican Council. That the plenitude of Church authority resides in the Pope has always been the established doctrine of the Church, and is taken for granted in the Council of Trent, and in earlier councils. This has long been a standing objection of Protestant historians against the Catholic Church. For instance, Gieseler says, speaking of the period between Gregory VII.

and Innocent III., "The Pseudo-Isidorean idea that the Pope is universal bishop caused the bishops to sink into mere vicars of the Pope" (K. G., p. 206). And Neander: "From the time of Gregory VII. the government became an unlimited monarchy; the triumph of papal absolutism was complete. All other ecclesiastical authority was but the Pope's organ" (vii. 268).

In the second part of this essay the author shows that the Vatican Council did not decide the question whether episcopal jurisdiction comes to the individual bishop through the Pope as through its mediate source, but he shows at the same time that the affirmative is the common doctrine of theologians, and in a note (p. 182) he refers to no fewer than *ninety* authors who support it.

The third part of this essay is a powerful and sustained proof that the power of the Pope is not arbitrary or absolute, and that the power of the bishops is real, and, in fact, just what it was before the Vatican Constitution. Out of their own mouths does our author convict his opponents. The quotations from Schulte and others, especially the quotation from Döllinger (p. 197), are most telling. And he shows that it is practically a choice for the bishops between being what they are and being vicars of the civil power.

Essay V. is on "The Syllabus." We have already considered most of the second part of this essay, in which the most important and difficult propositions are treated separately. The first part, in which is considered the dogmatic force of the Syllabus taken as a whole, we earnestly recommend to the attention of those who may still feel a difficulty about accepting it with complete submission. The author's decision, as we stated in the short notice above referred to, is that the Syllabus is a dogmatic judgment in *a wide sense*; that all the propositions which it contains are pronounced infallibly to deserve censure in a greater or a less degree.

There remain still two essays to be considered, but we have already exceeded our space, and we can only say that they treat, according to the true Catholic tradition, the urgent questions of the punishment of heresy and liberty of conscience. We leave them with less reluctance because these questions have been discussed in earlier numbers of this Review.

We trust that we have now given our readers an accurate and sufficiently distinct outline of Hergenröther's work, and we shall be well rewarded if we induce them to study for themselves this splendid vindication of Church authority.

Against this fundamental doctrine the chief attacks of this

age of heresy and free thought are directed, and our defence and safeguard consist, of course, in a realization of the true character, history, and teaching of the Church. Our devotion to the Church must increase in proportion as she is more hotly assailed. To cultivate this devotion is the very object of such works as that which we have reviewed. Here we find a thorough and clear exposition and defence of our faith. Here we find matter to answer the cavils of bigoted enemies of the Church, and the inquiries of earnest seekers after truth. Here we find wherewith to encourage and confirm our weaker and less-instructed brethren. But the chief advantage and necessity of such works is to keep our own faith bright and ardent. Too easily, alas! is its precious light weakened or disturbed. There is so strong a temptation to adopt a little of the cynical tone of those around us, it is so easy to yield to fear or shame in the profession of our faith. The remedy is ready to our hand. "The truth will make us free"; free from all doubt and distrust, full of loyalty and devotion. We shall realize our glorious privilege as children of the Church when we see how false the charges that are brought against her, when we see how bright, and noble, and wise, and holy, and *divine* she is. We shall love the Church as Christ "also loved the Church, and delivered Himself up for it, that He might sanctify it . . . that He might present to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, nor any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. v.).

ART. III.—THE POETRY OF A PESSIMIST.

Poésies Philosophiques. Par L. ACKERMANN. Quatrième édition. Paris : Alphonse Lemerre. 1877.

IT appears from the writings of the German philosopher, Schopenhauer, that, after all his reflections, he came to the conclusion that the world was so purposeless, and so full of misery, that it would have been better if the universe had never been. Many others shared his opinion, and share it now. The world is for them like a great machine, in which the human race is entangled to be perpetually tortured and crushed. Long dwelling upon the mysteries of the darker side of man's lot has made them forget the brighter points

of life, or rendered its pleasures scarcely discernible in the general confusion and darkness. These minds are clear enough to follow their opinions to their ultimate conclusions; they have the honesty to face their full meaning, and acknowledge that it is bitter; and at times they make known the spectacle which man's existence presents to them. They refuse to see it except with the bodily sense, yet are forced to confess that, thus viewed, it can only be described as a scene of tumult and anguish, universal, meaningless, but admitting of no escape for the great multiplying race that are doomed to be its victims.

There are in these days countless numbers, who, peering through a sunless darkness, take a purely human view of life; but they take it not in the logical unflinching spirit in which the German philosopher acknowledged that the mystery was not only inexplicable, but on all sides most terrible. They rather adopt shadowy ideas of regeneration, and progress, a gradual breaking away from the shackles of this evil state of things, a sunrise of which they have dreamt for ages, when the gods of the world will be Culture and Prosperity, and there will begin a new era of universal light, man learning at last to be wise. These hopeful views form a wide-spread creed, which finds expression in the melodious verse of the new school of modern poetry: in the grave philosophical teachings and systems of social economy of those men who are proudly styled the thinkers of the day; and above all in the deeds and political movements of that so-called party of progress, but really of retrogression, which is spread through every country of Europe, and whose work is known to itself by a hundred different names, but to us by the one ominous word, the Revolution.

All these people, whether statesmen, political agitators, orators, guides of public thought, poets, or the numberless individuals in private life who advocate free-thought—all these with the same groundwork of scepticism have opinions varying in every shade from broad brightness to utter darkness. We speak of opinions, of the mind's hopefulness or despair of the welfare of itself and of the whole race, not of those gradations of feeling which are to be found among the unbelieving multitude, where some are "sad as death," while others cry out with the pagan, Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die. The diversity of thought is almost infinite between those who are the disciples of the regeneration theory, who expect human kind to progress to an ideal state of bliss with a godless society; and the opposite extreme, who hold that life is not worth living, though it is the life that the myriads yet to

be must in their turn endure. Human existence is to them the embodiment of vain longings, hopeless grief, endless toil. They have not even as much light in their thoughts as that poet hoping for the dawn, who once sang that the high gods made man, taking—

Fire and the falling of tears
And a measure of sliding sand
From under the feet of the years
In his heart is a blind desire
In his eyes foreknowledge of death ;
He weaves and is clothed with derision,
He sows and he shall not reap,
His life is a watch or a vision
Between a sleep and a sleep.

Of the two extremes of infidel thought—hope or despair, the first is arrived at by those who would fear not to be sanguine, who think out their theories halfway ; the second is the logical conclusion of unbelief.

There is nothing more awful than the voice of infidelity, when, realizing the breadth and depth of the chaos, it tells its own horror with the force of experience and of desperation. This is the poetry of those whom a knowledge of the unstable position of their more hopeful brethren has driven to be pessimists. Such are the verses that make up the "*Poésies Philosophiques*," a little volume which strikingly expresses the feelings of one who has reached the utmost depth of infidelity ; and as it bears a well-known name, and has been four times issued from the press, we may conclude that it is not only a forcible, but a popular expression of opinion. We ought to preface our examination of the book by stating that the poems were written under the lasting pressure of a great bereavement, by which the author's life suffered a sudden change from short-lived happiness to widowhood. The poetry, ranging over many subjects, is the vigorous and bitter outcome of the strongest feelings of an unusually strong mind, warped and marred by deeply-rooted and far-followed free thought. The voice comes to us, and to the hundreds to whom it has spoken, up from the great abyss of despair ; but unconsciously, despite itself, from the first word to the last, it is a witness to the truth at which it scoffs.

The outcry of these Philosophical Poems is, Why does man exist ? His short life is not worth its pain. Why this world ? Why this endless entanglement of evil and of suffering ? Christians talk of their God, and take refuge in believing. But no matter how it seems to solve life's mystery or to bring

peace, let us not take refuge in this delusion, in this "comforting lie." If there were a God, we would fain provoke him to shatter this earth into a thousand fragments; and so, by our suffering a more speedy annihilation, at least the generations of the future would be saved from existence.

Passing the poems separately before us, we shall be able to study more closely the view of life and of death which prompts this cry of helpless revolt. They that raise it have thrown away Faith, the one key of the world's great enigma; keeping their human sympathies quick and strong, they take away the supernatural from creation; what wonder is it if they are dissatisfied with the dregs that are left behind.

The first poem speaks of a shipwreck, where from sinking hands, the book is launched upon the waves. The last revives the same idea: all human kind are being engulfed in misery, and this is a drowning cry from the wreck, a cry battling with the waves, and rising above them "as if all hearts were gathered into one with all their despair." After this introduction the poems go on changing through many keys, but in the words of their composer, "for every melody henceforth there will be only daring verse and rebel cries." The next is a brief salutation of the "fair wandering star" of 1861, beautiful in versification, and full of thoughts of much poetic merit, but so embittered by the author's bias of feeling, that the grandeur of these few words becomes only the barren grandeur of a wide prospect marked by storm, flood, or fire with the track of death. All the rest has the same melancholy kind of merit. We admire, but with secret dread, standing where there has been scath and disaster—if, indeed, we can speak of admiring in any sense what is of its own nature false and monstrous. Certainly the writer has, in following these dire paths, the strength of feeling, and the passionate utterance of a poet. As a specimen of the French versification, we subjoin the address to the comet, a brief invocation of the stranger from the depths of heaven that came unexpectedly and went, and that perhaps, when it returns from its long voyage of ages, will look with pity upon an unpeopled earth, the scene of so much labour and anguish:

Bel astre voyageur, hôte qui nous arrives
Des profondeurs du ciel et qu'on n'attendait pas,
Où vas-tu ? Quel dessein pousse vers nous tes pas ?
Toi qui vogues au large en cette mer sans rives,
Sur ta route, aussi loin que ton regard atteint,
N'as-tu vu comme ici que douleurs et misères ?
Dans ces mondes épars, dis, avons-nous des frères ?
T'ont-ils chargé pour nous de leur salut lointain ?

Ah ! quand tu reviendras, peut-être de la terre
L'homme aura disparu. Du fond de ce séjour
Si son œil ne doit pas contempler ton retour,
Si ce globe épuisé s'est éteint solitaire,
Dans l'espace infini poursuivant ton chemin,
Du moins jette au passage, astre errant et rapide,
Un regard de pitié sur le théâtre vide
De tant de maux soufferts et du labeur humain.

Les Malheureux is one of the most remarkable of the poems. The bold and strange idea of the dead refusing to rise at the last trumpet, is somewhat explained in a later passage, where a man declares, in the frenzy of passion, that the present is the only time : let the preachers of eternity not try to comfort him with that word : better that the tomb should close for ever on the form of clay that he loves, than that she should be given back to him in a future life full of other thoughts, burning with another fire. It is this idea that pervades *Les Malheureux*, not faith in a call to resurrection, but scorn, not only of the belief that resurrection shall be, but also of the possibility of happiness in any future existence. The trumpet has sounded. The pale dead come forth from half-open graves. But some remain motionless ; neither the trumpet summons, nor the angels will drag them out of their last refuge. They refuse to rise. What ! they cry, to see the skies and the light that once looked on our sorrows without pity ? Death was our only friend when all rejected us ; let us remain in his compassionate arms. They give a sad account of their journey upon earth before they found that one friend. It is the pessimist picture of the life that has no Beyond.

For us Youth came and passed with empty hands,
Nor gave us joy in smiles or festal day ;
Beneath our thirsting lips Love's springs ran dry,
As Summer waters sink and waste away.
Our path without a flower spread blasted by,
And if perchance 'mid desolation drear
Some loved support to aid our steps was near,
We touched—it broke. Our hearts in direst need
Where'er they leant found but a bending reed.
A wound was ours where'er a wound might be,
Chance fiercely struck with blows as sure as blind ;
And toward the awful gulf of destiny
Fate pushed us on, while close and swift behind,
Watching as murderers watch the death-doomed prey,
Dire pitiless Misfortune dogged our way.*

* Près de nous la Jeunesse a passé les mains vides,
Sans nous avoir fêtés, sans nous avoir souri.

Perhaps, they urge, they may have a right to the eternal kingdom and its splendours, but they refuse it—

Yes, thou couldst give the wings of soaring flight,
Even yet to these crushed souls weighed down so low,
Couldst raise them up in love, and grace, and light,
Far, far above these spheres we mortals know,
And where the choirs rejoicing sing to thee ;
Couldst place us first and nearest 'neath thy gaze,
By angels crowned with immortality,
Clothed with transfigured glory's matchless blaze.
And thou couldst pierce us with youth's fiery glow,
Give back the withered hopes long earthward cast ;
But from our hearts the root of endless woe
Couldst thou pluck out—the memory of the past ?*

Tears would be in their eyes, bitter tears, tears without number. How, they protest, could they be called elect and happy, with that blinding veil ever before them ? Rather let them sleep an eternal slumber, forgetting they have ever been—

Dans un sommeil sans fin, ô puissance éternelle !
Laisse nous oublier que nous avons vécu.

It would have been marvellous had we found here anything approaching a true idea of the recompense of the just. How

Les sources de l'amour sous nos lèvres avides,
Comme une eau fugitive au printemps ont tari.
Dans nos sentiers brûlés pas une fleur ouverte.
Si, pour aider nos pas, quelque soutien chéri
Parfois s'offrait à nous sur la route déserte
Lorsque nous les touchions, nos appuis se brisaient ;
Tous devenait roseau quand nos cœurs s'y posaient.
Au gouffre que pour nous creusait la Destinée
Une invisible main nous poussait acharnée.
Comme un bourreau, craignant de nous voir échapper,
A nos côtés marchait le Malheur inflexible.
Nous portions une plaie à chaque endroit sensible,
Et l'aveugle Hasard savait où nous frapper.

- * Nous le savons, tu peux donner encore des ailes
Aux âmes qui ployaient sous un fardeau trop lourd ;
Tu peux, lorsqu'il te plaît, loin des sphères mortelles
Les élever à toi dans la grâce et l'amour ;
Tu peux, parmi les chœurs qui chantent tes louanges,
A tes pieds, sous tes yeux nous mettre au premier rang,
Nous faire couronner par la main de tes anges,
Nous revêtir de gloire en nous transfigurant.
Tu peux nous pénétrer d'une vigueur nouvelle
Nous rendre le désir que nous avions perdu . . .
Oui, mais le Souvenir, cette ronce immortelle
Attachée à nos cœurs, l'en arracheras-tu ?

could error be escaped in speaking of the rewards of God, when there is no true idea of Himself, of the difference between His nature and that of His creatures: when there is entire ignorance of His justice and of His mercy, a knowledge of what Christians believe regarding His Omnipotence, but no breath or suggestion regarding His Love, except in such passages as we shall notice later, where the depth of the humiliation of Calvary, or the awfulness of the sacrifice scares away the infidel's belief, while the sad tale itself is almost fascinating his sympathy, and so the cross becomes, as the Apostle foretold, a stumbling-block—a folly. If the God of the Christians is misunderstood, at one time shown veiled under the figure of Jupiter, at another as a harsh executioner, again as a vague unformed idea, it is no matter for surprise that a wandering fancy should find a flaw in heavenly bliss, and declare it unworthy of acceptance. The whole system of faith, sorrow, and recompense is here misapprehended, but it is only a new proof of the truth of those words, which declare, that the heart of man cannot conceive these things. Reason stumbled in the dark, and seized some vague imagination of its own, taking it for what others held, and deriding it as unreasonable. There is a grander poem than *Les Malheureux* that vouchsafes to give the answer to it, the unearthly poetry of the Revelation that shall live and be read even until the calling of the wretched from their graves. It speaks of a multitude more than man could number, of all nations and tribes, of all peoples and tongues, white-robed, and bearing palms. "These are they who are come out of great tribulations, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb . . . They shall neither hunger nor thirst, nor shall the sun fall on them nor any heat . . . and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

"Eternity of man," we have in *l'Amour et la Mort*, "illusion! chimera!—lie of love and human pride! He had no yesterday; he would have a to-morrow." And there follows much poetical raving against the Creator, who appears in these poems, not as a living being, but as the phantom deity of Christians; while a corresponding amount of praise is lavished on man, who can dare to love in the face of annihilation. Then we have *Le Positivisme*, a short poem, so remarkable that it may best be placed entire before our readers, and left to their own criticism:

Beyond all human knowledge lies
The vast abyss Faith calls her own,
Dreaming that thence the darkness flies,
When in the depth she takes her throne.

Despotic Queen ! thy hour is come,
 From thine anointed realm begone,
 Nor for thy phantoms find a home.
 So close we the Unknown.

But yet shall he that conquered pay,
 Distraught and sad, the triumph's cost :
 Man wrought his ruin on that day,
 Dethroning thee his all was lost.
 Hope, refuge, rest are ours no more,
 Desires we banished all in vain
 Persistent wander back again
 And haunt that gulf's forbidden shore.*

Next under the thin veil of the legend of Prometheus, and the railing of the bound Titan against Jupiter, infidelity raises its voice against the Creator of man, the Being who made him and his misery :

Cet être déplorable, infirme, désarmé,
 Pour qui tout est danger, épouvante, torture,
 Qui dans le cercle de ses jours enfermé,
 Etouffe et se débat, se blesse et se lamente.

Prometheus declares that his vitals are eternally gnawed by the vulture, of the bitter thought that "nothing can take away the germs of human anguish which heaven's hatred has sown in flesh and blood." Why are these evils in the world ? he asks, "*Celui qui pouvait tout a voulu la douleur.*" And thereupon he swears against the Creator, judgment, vengeance, rejection by men, who shall be "delivered from Faith as from an evil dream."

This is not an adaption, but an entire change and marring of one of the most beautiful, most majestic, and most heart-moving of the old legends. The Prometheus here has robbed

* Il s'ouvre par delà toute science humaine
 Un vide dont la Foi fut prompte à s'emparer.
 De cet abîme obscur elle a fait son domaine ;
 En s'y précipitant elle a cru l'éclairer.
 Eh bien, nous t'expulsions de tes divins royaumes,
 Dominatrice ardente, et l'instant est venu :
 Tu ne vas plus savoir où loger tes fantômes ;
 Nous fermons l'Inconnu.

Mais ton triomphateur expira ta défaite.
 L'homme déjà se trouble et, vainqueur éperdu,
 Il se sent ruiné par sa propre conquête ;
 En te dépossédant nous avons tous perdu.
 Nous restons sans espoir, sans recours, sans asile,
 Tandis qu'obstinément le Désir qu'on exile
 Revient errer autour du gouffre défendu.

the fire of thought from heaven; but if this interpretation be followed out, it is not the outraged Deity who avenges the act, but the fire itself, which becomes the bane and punishment of the aggressor. So ends all correspondence with the legend. If man is bound, as in this case, to suffer the anguish of beholding a world without a God, it is his own doing; he himself has chained his own limbs to the rock, and summoned the vulture to prey upon the heart that was meant for peace and love, for the highest enjoyment of spiritual things, which it condemns itself now to know no more. Instead of raving against Jupiter, this Prometheus should curse that human pride which has made him revolt from all yoke, demanding knowledge to see at a glance the reason of all things, an attribute which does not belong to his finite mind. It is this pride which is for him at once avenger, and merciless vulture, and inextricable chains and unyielding rock.

Now, having seen the Pessimist's view of life, we are given a glimpse of his thoughts regarding the future. In the *Paroles d'un Amant* every page is scathed with the wretched hopelessness of the pagan's religion of life—it is well to live and love, and be fearless of the annihilation that is to come, since come it must. It is in this poem that the idea occurs which we have before quoted—the dead go down to the grave. Before that cold ruin, before that dust, speak not, menace not with the word *eternity*! In any possible happiness of after-life, human feeling would not remain. Therefore the motto of life is Live, love, and be no more.

It is scarcely necessary in the face of this hopeless creed to raise the Christian vision of eternity, of love in reality stronger than death, of the shortness of this cold twilight, and the length of the day of the just, when human nature, attaining its perfection, shall lose no human tenderness, no sympathetic thought, no mutual joy of kindred souls that made it beautiful on earth, but shall have all these enlarged a hundred-fold, so that it will be human nature still, human even as now, though impassible, immortal, inexhaustible in the vigour of youth; and incapable of sin as of sorrow, not by reason of any change in its nature, but because of the Vision that is in itself the strength of the elect. There is no need to dwell upon the contrast when we confront the hideous skeleton that is the Pessimist's symbol of the end, with the immortal spirit-like radiance of this belief. One is the creed of life, and the other of death; and that of life will conquer, lingering about the mind of man, whether in Christian reality or shadowy hope, no matter how loudly it may be cried in his ears by the few that all of him will die. He will hold in his innermost

consciousness, in some form, the creed of immortality, no matter how philosophers may tell him it is the self-flattery of human love and pride. A Strauss may lie stoically upon his death-bed, and face nothingness with a firm front, because the world's eyes are upon him; but from creation's dawn to its end, from the savage to the sophist, the united voice of man is the same for ever, *Non omnis moriar*.

We do not reflect upon these things for the sake of the oft-told argument, that the universal belief has a divine origin, and that a vast multitude of unassociating minds cannot conceive the same desire if it be an actual impossibility; but we are loath to think of the world with a last weight of misery upon its burden. Whatever men have to bear, out in the darkness beyond our reach, and weary of the striving of life, taken as a race, the last drop never was and never will be poured into their bitterness. They will never believe that all ends here, and that there is no hereafter.

Nevertheless, this *non-credo* finds advocates, who pride themselves upon not fearing to embrace a belief because it is terrible. If all sceptics would go on to this and not shake it in men's faces, but hold it themselves in actual truth, they would all have worked out their theories to a legitimate conclusion, and those theories once accepted, they would have shown themselves to have, for the rest, logical minds. But the bulk of men, who are shipwrecked in all else, hold with despairing anguish to the last plank of shattered truth, the hope of immortality. It is well. If a godless world is dark for the unhappy beings that have conjured its shadows up around them, there is one depth of darkness, one self-inflicted suffering that human instinct escapes.

Nature's Address to Man, and Man's Answer to Nature contain the doctrine of the eternally reconstructive elements of matter, and a vision of Nature's work, in which man, as he is now, is but the forerunner of a greater being; and the reply of man that the perfect being of her aspirations shall never be attained. Nature declares that, inebriated with his own pride, man believes he is her final work. But why should she stop in the joy of her labour, with all time, all space, before her? Art thou, she asks, my last limit, the end of my long toil—human atom—epitome of all wretchedness? No, she is striving to bring forth something greater while she converts matter "into form, and even life and thought." There is yet to come a liberator, who will draw aside her veil—the free sovereign being soaring in his own light. The rest, the multitude are nothing; they are only in her hands formed and destroyed—the clay she is to knead again and again.

More than three years after these lines were written, inspired by more gloomy thoughts, the poet answered for Man. Take back, then, this slime that for a few moments breathes under thy hand. Break the human mould. But thy ideal shall never be. It is only imagination—a bright phantom. I am thy son, real, living; ages ago I came forth from thy arms: *I bear upon my heart and upon my brow the seal of a high destiny.* Do I not know thee, Nature? do I not prove thy power, count up thy treasures, and thou art reflected in my intelligence? But in return I have only danger, strife, while I wear myself out with no defence and no refuge. Were my strength equal to my madness, I would tear that dumb hard bosom, and drag forth its mysteries. When Nature cries, I aspire! I answer,—I suffer, weak and bleeding; and that cry is taken up by all that breathe. The human race is “born but to endure agony”; therefore is Nature accursed, and may it perish, since out of a magnificent and boundless universe it has made nothing but a grave.

If we read aright between the lines of these poems, and see into their inner thought, they seem to be a denial of the possibility of what the optimists would call the regeneration of the race. Both poems are long, but their meaning is here condensed, giving the leading ideas in the words of the original. Even in this epitome it can be seen that the being who is to come is the same thing as the enlightened free generation who are looked for by a large school of thought; while man’s denial of the possibility of progress to anything better, higher, or more peaceful, is an affirmation of the truth which we re-echo—You Nature-worshippers may dream of the Man of the Future, but he is the phantom of your own imagination, he will recede before you into eternity.

The poet declares that human misery is, and was, and ever will be, and desires the end of nature the creatrix, as Schopenhauer desired that the universe had never been. A remarkable depth of meaning attaches to one stanza of the reply. We cannot help feeling that the mind that conceived the two last lines thought them out truly, but misapprehended their full force, and that we and many more who read them interpret them aright. Speaking to Nature, Man protests—

Pourtant je suis ton fils aussi ; réel, vivace,
Je sortis de tes bras dès les siècles lointains ;
Je porte dans mon cœur, je porte sur ma face
Le signe empreint des hauts destins.

The three poems on War, which follow, were composed in memory of a nephew, Lieutenant Victor Fabrègue, who was

killed at Gravelotte. There is a grand personification of the Figure that rises in her anger with arm raised ; around her fire and blood, lines of flame, a moving mass of the living armed with death, and shaking at the sound of her voice. Then the metaphor is changed to a harvest, where Death cries out Well reaped ! The author can appreciate and praise the generous sacrifice of life, when it is spent in some great cause by "philosophers, men of learning, explorers, apostles, soldiers of the Ideal," but not when man becomes "the food of the cannon." Why, it is asked, should war be waged for a strip of territory, a shattered wall ? Why not wage war against ignorance and vice ? Without dying for the quarrels of nations, men can find plenty of opportunities for sacrificing life nobly. This is all very well—deserved execrations on "impious War," worthy sentiments, good human pity, wishes for universal peace, and battle with evil, which are shared by all men deserving to bear the name. But most men who have reflected are also convinced of the unhappy truth, that as long as man is man there will be national injustice, national greed, national wrong, revolt, and consequent self-defence. Therefore there will be war. What is the use of execrating what must be endured ? The days of treaties and councils for settling national affairs, in place of threats and hostilities, will never dawn on this world of rebellion and perversity. There is but one gate to peace laid open for the nations, and through that gate they will not pass. They refuse an arbitrator whose person is anointed, and whose voice rings from the eternal city above the clamour of men. And so long as men are so minded no central council, no wide-spread bond of republicanism, even if such a thing could be accomplished, would ever have authority to bend all to one yoke of international law, and to say that brief word Peace. Man is reaping the harvest of his sin. The same mind that rebels against faith and God rebels against his fellow-man. So it was, so it is, so it ever will be, till the trumpet-blast wakes the dead world after "wars and rumours of war." But from first to last man has himself to thank or condemn. It is the spirit of proud revolt that gradually in whole peoples broke up Christendom, where Rome was supreme arbitrator, and that in the individual rebels against faith, saying, I will not believe, I will know. My mind shall be ruled by its own reason ; no higher power shall speak.

The last words of Goethe, "*Mehr licht ! Mehr licht !*" appear at the head of some stanzas mourning over the hopeless darkness of "blind-born" man. Science, it is allowed,

has given a light, but religion none ; since to its invitation, "*J'éclairer ! Tu trouveras en moi le fin de tes tourments,*" the answer given is "*Tu mens !*" What can we say to those who stand in the face of that light, except that they have eyes and they do not see ?

The Sphinx, the Cross, the Unknown One, and a Last Word, are a series of reflections on Pascal. Here is a whole tribute of poetic praise and rank infidelity brought to the feet of that extraordinary man, whose life, enslaved by Jansenism, was an existence entangled in mystery, a tale of a great baffled mistaken soul, a mass of marvel and contradiction. There was asceticism inspired by Jansenism, but most rigorously pursued ; high intentions rushing wrong in the dark ; war with the right and with the vanguard of the Church, and war with self, unremitting and unsparing enough for the penance of a saint. Here was the soil of a mighty soul that might have raised a harvest of profound thought for our generations, had it been ruled by the light ; but instead it brought forth most bitter fruit with a golden rind. "The first book written in prose, the epitome of all eloquence,"—such was one opinion pronounced upon the "Provincial Letters," but the name of the man who gave it is enough to condemn both the eulogium and its object. It was Voltaire, the oracle of Ferney, who could not praise enough any strong blow aimed at the Church. It is no wonder that the infidel verses before us praise Pascal and blaspheme God ; for, if we look closely, there was a great resemblance in at least one point between Pascal's mind and that of the author of these poems. If there was anything specially remarkable in the youth and manhood of that great misguided man, it was the manner in which he was accustomed not to accept facts as he found them, but to demand why he found them so. He was more inclined to reason than to believe ; and doubtless the same bias ruled his mind in everything, from his experiments with quicksilver, and his reflections on science, up to his meditations on the dogmas of Christianity.

Pascal, in the first poem, is represented as believing that he can answer the riddle of the world, presented under the figure of the question of the Sphinx. But his confidence is a delusion, his answer a failure, and the monster falls upon him from the rock. He struggles, and allows himself to be torn in the strife, rather than lose "his treasure," Faith. Then comes "the Cross," the second part, where he takes refuge in religion. But where, asks the poet, is the brave athlete now ? We have here but a poor victim of hallucination. Would it not be better to have been devoured by the Sphinx than to

be crushed by the Cross? Next we have *'Inconnue*, an allusion to the unnamed object of Pascal's love, who attracted him even in his austere life, ere he entered at Port Royal. Then comes the *Dernier mot*—"a last word, Pascal! I am going to make thy noble dust shudder with horror, but at least I shall have said what lay on my heart." It is true, the poem goes on, the hand of Pascal has shown the depths of human misery, its torture, its doubts. He felt its sorrows, but he thought he had only to unveil Faith, "monstrous and barren," to induce men to turn to her. But, exclaims the poet, we cannot help being human—but Christians we shall not be. Then the audacity of the infidel reaches its utmost pitch, while the dim shadow of the crucifix shines pleading through it, only to be cast away:—

When from his Golgotha your Christ
Comes bleeding 'neath his aureole,
With outstretched hands and words divine
To heal the sick and wounded soul,
And gives us sparkling waters pure,
Bright springs of hope and waves of light,
And shows our thrones that shall endure
Through the long ages' endless flight—
Tempter of heaven, he fain would buy
Our reason for his blood's dark flow.
We turn away. No voice can cry
Too oft, too loud, our answer—No! *

No—to the Cross! it goes on; the Cross which, standing in the path of Progress, has barred the way to true freedom: No! to that instrument of infamous torture, whereon we see not only the innocent expire, but justice also: No! to our salvation bought with blood: No! to the Victim despite his devotion: No! above all, to Him who enforced the sacrifice. Then, with a wild flight of anger,—which we prefer to call ignorant raving rather than blasphemy—the immolation of the Son is styled merciless and impious. Why do these voices

* Quand de son Golgotha, saignant sous l'aurole,
Ton Christ viendrait à nous, tendant ses bras sacrés,
Et quand il laisserait sa divine parole
Tomber pour les guérir en nos cœurs ulcérés;
Quand il ferait jaillir devant notre âme avide
Des sources d'espérance et des flots de clarté,
Et qu'il nous montrerait dans son beau ciel splendide
Nos trônes préparés de toute éternité,
Nous nous détournerions du Tentateur céleste
Qui nous offre son sang, mais veut notre raison.
Pour repousser l'échange inégal et funeste
Notre bouche jamais n'aurait assez de Non.

of darkness speak of things they do not understand? They think of the Almighty as a being like to our own finite selves. Sin and its outrage, God and His greatness, all knowledge of the Infinite, is as far from these minds as we and our weak sight are from those glorious suns that science shows us as the faintest farthest glimmerings, all but lost in the immensity that we cannot measure. Verily this was a bitter cup that the Victim of Calvary drank in His divine foreknowledge, when He saw man's pride and persistent ignorance cast back into the Face of God His own agony of humiliation, and His all but incredible excess of love.

Then this impious outcry reaches its height. "Fear," the infidel declares, "is conquered by indignation. But we shall strive to excite His fury. Who knows? We may find some insult that will provoke Him to madness, so that He will snatch this poor planet out of the universe, and dash it to a thousand pieces. Then can we, at least, exult in the shout of deliverance—man shall be no more—we are the last!"

Qui sait ? nous trouverons peut-être quelque injure
Qui l'irrite à ce point que, d'un bras forcené,
Il arrache des cieux notre planète obscure,
Et brise en mille éclats ce globe infortuné.
Notre audace du moins vous sauverait de naître,
Vous qui dormez encore au fond de l'avenir,
Et nous triompherions d'avoir, en cessant d'être,
Avec l'Humanité forcé Dieu d'en finir.
Oh ! quelle immense joie après tant de souffrance !
A travers les débris, par-dessus les charniers,
Pouvoir enfin jeter ce cri de délivrance :
Plus d'hommes sous le ciel, nous sommes les derniers !

Thus ends the last of the four poems collected under the name of Pascal—a name which suggested to the mind of the author a man who attempted to explain the problem of the world by Faith, and whose attempt is, according to this school of thought, to be condemned as folly, while the man for his genius and high desires and human sympathy—but probably most of all for his opposition to the Holy See—is to be praised. It is entirely left out of account that this great thinker did not face the problem of human life, labour, and misery with the pure faith whose yoke is sweet and whose burden light; but that he would fain have dragged man upward through thorns and by a false path too narrow for his feet. The poet, in that praise of the man and in that raving against the Maker in whom he believed, is moved by admiration of the natural gifts of Pascal, and sorrow that he should have believed at all. We

share that sorrow, but in a far different sense. What is to be more regretted than that so great a soul should have believed as he did, according to its own light, what is more sad than to witness the slavery of a strong mind to its own errors, the frustration of the high designs of heaven by those very gifts of intellect which might have won the everlasting praise of the Church, instead of the passing plaudits of the Gallican, the Liberal, and the Infidel?

Now comes the epilogue of the "*Poésies Philosophiques*"—*Le Cri*. It opens with a description of a shipwreck where a drowning voice sends up to heaven a despairing, heart-rending cry, and the sea-birds shudder with horror, and the winds themselves for a moment stand still. Like that voyager, says the poet, I am about to disappear beneath the waves; but the sea is deeper than an earthly sea, and the wreck is greater and more disastrous. It is the human race that is sinking. It struggles in vain with the darkness. Fear is on the deck, and Despair and Woe; and Fate sits darkly at the helm, steering for the rocks. While the rest are silent, it goes on, my voice pours out anathemas against heaven. Let my wild cry be so strong that it shall startle those same deaf heavens. "Ah! it is a sacred voice, like all voices of agony. In the moment of death it accuses, it protests. So be it! I have cast upward this cry of anguish and of infinite horror—let me sink!" The same idea under the form of a universal deluge close at hand is carried out in the last poem of all, which is dedicated to Victor Hugo, and which only appears in the most recent edition. Such is the end of the "*Poésies Philosophiques*."

Some centuries ago there was a story told to an Eastern audience, some of whom heard, and some refused to hear. It was the history of a man who, plunged for ever, by his own deeds, into unendurable sufferings, asked that a messenger might go back to his brethren, "that he might testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torments." This, too, is a voice from the dead. It is a warning from the lowest deep of infidelity, from what might be fittingly called the hell of unbelief, for such it would be, only that it need not be eternal, for while there is life there is hope. We have heard the voice. While it meant to deny the truth, it became its advocate. Who can listen to it, and not be scared from the edge of the gulf? Who could fail to recognize in every outburst of impious anger or despairing grief the warning of the dead to the living?

We have listened. We know some of the secrets of the soul-consuming bitterness that is felt down there in the depths. What then are the paths to this abyss? Only one

broad path, which, at the beginning, is divided and scarcely marked, starting from many points, where all men pass—a path ill-defined that crosses and re-crosses the places beloved of proud intellects and self-dependent souls. It is doubt—doubt with its little beginnings, its wide freedom, its fascinating bravery striking out boldly to explore the lands where only strong wise feet may tread. And from doubt, the sceptic glides into the creed of matter and chance, and alluring optimism, and goes down, if at this point he is logical and not self-flattering, down with fearless steps into the bottomless pit, where all is darkness and despair. That abyss is the pessimism to which many great thinkers have arrived after they have discarded Faith; and thither the whole mass of infidelity would go as straight as a stone to the earth, if only every mind that believed in a godless world were clear enough to see what a godless world means.

The wonder is that a man who has become a free-thinker can enjoy any part of life, unless in the same inexplicable manner as that in which the condemned to death may enjoy their last food. The wonder above all is, that he can look upon the faces he loves, feeling that he may cherish them as he will, but their doom is nothingness. Would life, or human hope be worth having, or human energy be worth keeping, if the existence of the best, the bravest, the most beloved was that of a breaking bubble? Let any thinking man reflect for five minutes upon the world become a place where the pleasures of the hour were all that could be snatched from time; let him try to picture it universally in that state after even one century, and he will find in his imagination no blackness deep enough to represent the low level to which the bulk of this corrupt race would have fallen. Here are four lines of an English infidel poet, which, if men believed them and realized their state, might well make them declare life was not worth its striving and pain, and would render reasonable the wish that the world had never been:—

We are baffled and caught in the current, and bruised upon edges of shoals;
As weeds or as reeds in the torrent of things are the wind-shaken souls.
Spirit by spirit goes under, a foam-bell's bubble of breath;
That blows, and opens in sunder, and blurs not the mirror of death.

Against this dismal view of life, faith appeals to us through our reason and the innate instincts of the heart. There is a beautiful expression of the persuasiveness of the appeal in the famous poem, "In Memoriam," which may be taken as a popular description of the unconquerable yearnings of the soul for immortality. The voice of faith in the unseen world

to come runs through it all, now almost failing, hushed by doubt, then ringing out clear and strong, till in the end it closes like a psalm of joy. Let us oppose as the reply to the godless views of the writer of the lines given above, the heart's answer from "In Memoriam":—

My own dim life should teach me this,
 That life shall live for evermore,
 Else earth is darkness at the core,
 And dust and ashes all that is
 'Twere best at once to sink to peace,
 Like birds the charming serpent draws,
 To drop head-foremost in the jaws
 Of vacant darkness and to cease.

Were this all, says truly the poet of the heart's instinct, man would be a monster, a dream, a discord; the dragons of the primeval slime were "mellow music" matched with him.

But besides appealing to the heart and the inward consciousness, Faith appeals on other grounds to the reason. Unfortunately, what people are certain to consider proof enough to obtain their assent to a newly-discovered law of science, is not considered sufficient even to provoke further inquiry when the matter is religion. Yet there it stands, not a new law, but the old revelation. Because it is invisible it is denied, because of its very allurements it is suspected as a snare. There it stands confronting the sphinx of the world, the only one that knows the answer to the riddle of the mystery of life. That similitude was well chosen in the "Poésies Philosophiques." We may truly regard the hidden secret of our being as the question of the sphinx of these days. Whoever cannot answer it is torn to pieces, though he may put forward the most specious arguments for his own reply. To every one that passes along the way Faith can whisper the answer to the mystery; but how many in doubt and suspicion refuse it, preferring to make out an answer for themselves.

Assuredly there is something in this state of existence which baffles all merely human inquiry. There are a thousand discords everywhere; the fragments of countless broken lives; a vast weight of suffering indiscriminately dealt by chance and change, or heaped by men upon each other; an unknown force called life, which science fails to analyze, which can be blotted out in a moment but never restored; another bodiless thing called death, which is but the blotting out of life, and which, as far as mortal sight can penetrate, is the end of everything, the annihilation in a moment of beings that had been capable of thought, reason, the noblest deeds and

the highest aspirations. But then comes Faith and explains all as clearly as experience can tell to childhood the meaning and reason of the things that set its wide young eyes wondering. Faith comes, and the unceasing discord is changed into a sublime harmony, making "life, death, and the great forever one grand sweet song." Faith comes and gathers together the fragments of the broken lives, and shows that, had they been whole and seemly in our sight, they would have been less beautiful than these sorrow-shattered wrecks. Faith comes and lays bare the loving providence and the immutable wisdom that we called chance and change; and pointing to the burthen of human woe in all its dire diversity and varying degree, tells us that the one sorrow is sin, that these transitory fruits of bitterness are of men's own sowing, and that this is not the end—the day will come when the empty measures of the afflicted just will be filled up with good things shaken together and running over. Faith comes and whispers the word Immortality! "That which you called life is but transition; and that which you called death is life." And if we see suffering and evil at times preponderate over the good, and if we grow weary, judging, despite ourselves, with a human judgment, still Faith reminds us that it is in the other world, and not in this, that justice being accomplished, will be unveiled before all. Time is but the beginning of what we witness around us; eternity is yet to come. We are looking on an unfinished work. How can we expect to understand, how can we venture to judge all its minute detail, when the completion is yet to be given by the same Wisdom that began it.

Now there rises another question. Is life—life even on its surface—as black as some hands can paint it? We unhesitatingly answer, No. Doubtless an infidel world would be from pole to pole a very lazar-house of woe, but the world is not that; and those sceptics who, without descending to pessimism, represent it, as many do, to be full of misery and darkness, are describing falsely even from their own point of view. There is everywhere under the confused surface, thanks to man's tenacious hold of some good, and some portions of the truth, an under-stratum of happiness, and worth, and beauty, and goodness, and we see it every day when chance winds blow aside the troubled dust of that more noticeable surface. But it is the fashion to speak of the misery of the world, and in some quarters, if a poet wants to make his verses heard, he has only to cry out loud and be grief-stricken and despairing. To quote two examples from well-known names—did not the gloomy monologue in "*Childe Harold's*

Pilgrimage" make it doubly interesting to a thousand minds who could find nothing nearer home on which to spend their sympathy? And beside Shelley's musical verse and boldness of infidelity, when there was less of it flaunted abroad than now, did not his melancholy moods go far to win admiration, and to set him apart from other men? Few will deny that apt saying of his, that—

Sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought ;

but the sadness which is welcomed, because it softens the heart with a sympathy that sanctifies its pleasure, is very different from the morbid sadness that is far too often sung. What was gained by those two men, already named, filling their verse with lamentations centred in themselves, merely because sorrow, poetically expressed, is easy to write, and almost certain to win its way better than brighter strains? But still more, where is the sense or advantage that sanctions the publication of the unnamed grief, the self-dissatisfaction and the hatred of life that some poets of our own time never tire of mingling with their verse? If it was real sorrow, nobly and honestly expressed, it would be not only pardonable, but praiseworthy. Such was the tribute to friendship which was offered of late years on a grave, a veritable *in memoriam* wreath of immortelles marked with the cross of hope. But there is another kind of sorrow which has no cause but in some secret workings of a vitiated or restless mind. The name of chagrin fits it best, only that expresses its dissatisfied spirit, without its vastness or its blackness. Half—nine-tenths of the men, who pour out this melancholy madness in the ears of the public, do not feel it themselves. It is grandly poetic in their eyes, and, alas! in the eyes of their admirers, to be an outraged gifted being, torn by the sight of a world of anguish. The poet himself revels in it, and perhaps his readers know, after a while, that they need not waste much sympathy on him, despite all his continued wailing out in print with rebellious accents. Such verse-writing, no matter whose it may be, is not worth the paper it is on. It is the provoking of others to feel and revolt against woes the writer himself does not feel, and knows to be exaggeration and poetic capital. It is deception, and should be condemned as a fraud in art, a manifest injustice to those who are ensnared by bold words and melodious rhythm. For the reader can gain no good and may receive much harm from these pictures of a rebellious, crushed mind, and a miserable world; the latter, perhaps, enjoyed by the poet himself only too well.

We have drawn a broad distinction here between truth and

deception, between real grief which forces itself out upon man's noblest highway of thought—poetry; and morbid repining, which is cherished only because it looks well in verse. The same difference lies between an honest pessimist's despairing description of the world, and a similar description from men who live at their ease, but would be glad to raise man against his Maker by persuading him that there is nothing but evil and tears from the cradle to the grave. For untruth and malice the latter school of poetry cannot be sufficiently hated. As for the utterances of the pessimists, we can condemn them for the falseness of their views, but not for deliberate fraud on the unthinking, if we give them credit for holding to the full the opinions they set forth. But there is another ground upon which we would question the right of this poetry to see the light of day. What is its use? Even supposing for a moment that the world was plunged in that abyss of wretchedness, would anything in these dismal death-chants go towards making one heart lighter, or one life better? Those who have no belief in the possible improvement of man's condition cannot hope to do the most trifling good by such publications as the "*Poésies Philosophiques*." Are the unhappy better for being exasperated? Is not all this wild verse-writing only done for the pleasure of fame, perhaps dearly bought, and not in accordance with the much-vaunted love of humanity? Even weighing this deep-dyed infidelity according to its effect on prosperity and order, it is too clear for argument that it can further neither. What then is the *raison d'être* of pessimistic poetry? More probably self-satisfaction than sympathy with the rest of mankind.

Before opening the volume of the "*Poésies Philosophiques*" we foretold that allowance would have to be made for some of its contents, because it was written under the pressure of grief. With that grief we sympathize, as with all sorrow that is human, and, closing the book, we would have it made clear that our condemnation of morbid sadness is not meant for this, of which we know nothing, but is dealt at a wide weedy growth of poetry much nearer home, some of it bearing well-known names, and the rest practically anonymous—for the little follow the great in the fashion of melancholy raving as in all others.

Lastly, let us give a word of praise to that true poetry of sorrow which is also the poetry of Faith. It is abundant, it must always be, for tears are man's heritage during this his sowing-time; it is only at the hour of the heavenward harvest that they are dried. And as the poet finds relief for his thoughts in moulding them into that form of language that comes naturally to him with his strongest feelings, the sincere

outpouring of man's secrets of woe must till the end be told again and again in verse. If it be spontaneous, it will not be unworthy of his grief, however sacred that may be. But this is a grief far different from that which makes the mind of the infidel see nothing but universal blackness in his hour of bereavement and frustrated hope. It is the grief of those that mourn, not for the dead in eternal death, but for the parted who, beyond the thin veil of the unseen world, still live and love. Such poetry is a grand protest against the unbeliever's thankless despair, since it is the voice of the soul fresh from the touch of Death that passed by, and feeling therefrom more than ever the undying strength of its own immortality. Under the pressure of the sorrow that no human life escapes, the verse of the infidel is the raising of a weak but angry arm against the God in whom it believes not, and whom it names but to blaspheme: the poetry of the soul that rests in Faith, is the uplifting of prayerful hands and the setting heavenward of a face that has known tears, but knows better far the joy of thanksgiving and the peace of assured hope.

ART. IV.—CHRISTIAN CHARITY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.—PART I.

De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes. Par CHARLES PERIN. 2^e éd. 1868.

La Réforme Sociale en France. Par F. LE PLAY. 5^e éd. 1864.

La Charité Chrétienne et ses Œuvres. Par l'ÉVÊQUE D'ORLÉANS. 3^e éd. 1864.

The Proletariat on a False Scent. By W. R. GREG. Reprinted in *Mistaken Aims of the Artisan Class.* 1876.

FUTURE historians of science will have to record a long list of false and mischievous doctrines which have sheltered themselves under the imposing name of Political Economy. One group of these errors, those namely regarding the relief of the poor, we now propose to examine, and to show how, if by Christian Charity is meant charity according to the principles of the Catholic Church, and if by Political Economy is meant a body, not of assumptions, but of demonstrated truths as to man in his relation to material goods, then there is not,

as alleged, any opposition between Christian Charity and Political Economy. We shall try also to show the evils of poor relief carried on in defiance of Christian principles. But before entering upon the task of criticism and refutation, it will be well, if indeed it is not rather necessary, to set forth what seems the true theory of charity, in order that, having once gained light as to what really can cause and really can remedy the misery of the lower classes, we may see clearly those false causes and false remedies which can only mislead those who are in the dark. We will therefore begin with some account of the true causes of misery and the fitting action of charity, and afterwards examine the errors as to charity, notably the not unfrequent charge that almsgiving promotes idleness and improvidence, ruins the sense of duty between parents and children, and is the cause of the misery it professes to relieve. One more preliminary remark should be made,—an explanation, namely, of certain terms. Poverty may be taken to express the condition of those whose revenue will not suffice to enable them, though they be frugal and industrious, to obtain more than what is necessary for decent existence in the lowest class of society. The term indigence or destitution implies a revenue falling below this point, and the term misery may be taken to mean the physical and moral results of this deficiency. When misery is the normal and hereditary condition of a considerable portion of the population, it can be called pauperism.*

Now we will try to give in outline the causes of misery, which we will arrange under numbered heads for convenience of reference, asking at the same time indulgence if our list be defective both in completeness and logical arrangement, for which faults the complication of the subject must plead excuse. In this list of heads we follow M. Périn (*"De la Richesse,"* book vi. ch. iv. v. vi. vii.), though with considerable modifications, and we have borrowed also from M. Le Play's chapter on Pauperism (*"La Réforme Sociale,"* ch. xlix.), and from the interesting excursus on casual labour in Mr. Henry Mayhew's *"London Labour and London Poor"* (vol. ii. p. 279, sq., edition of 1861).

The *first* head comprises all accidents affecting masses; such as pestilence, murrain, drought, flood, earthquake, hurricane, conflagration, invasion of locusts, blight, and so forth; and needs no further explanation. Let the Indian famine serve here as an obvious example!

* Cf. Corbière, *"Economie Sociale,"* ii. p. 325, sq.; Périn, *"De la Richesse,"* book vi. ch. i.

The *second* head comprises all injuries affecting masses, such as the depredations of pirates, or of those engaged in the slave-trade, and above all, of hostile armies. The condition of France during the English wars in the later Middle Ages is a classical instance of misery due to this head.

The *third* head comprises the accidents affecting individuals; such as illness, insanity, old age, or death; for example, when the bread-winners of a large family are cut off, and the very young or very old left helpless; or when some of the disasters named under the first head fall only upon one or a few individuals, as when all the live stock of a peasant farmer perish.

The *fourth* head comprises injuries affecting individuals; as unjust lawsuits, betrayal of trust, bankruptcy of debtors, desertion of helpless children by parents, neglect of aged parents by children, desertion of wives by husbands, and the widespread class of injuries that fall under fraud and usury, taking advantage of the distress or ignorance or folly or passion of others, as French usurers trade on the passion of the peasants for land, and, receiving more annual interest than the annual produce of the land, lead their victims to certain ruin.*

The *fifth* and *sixth* heads are political, and are respectively oppressive taxation and oppressive military service. Examples of the effect of the one may be seen in the later Roman empire, in France under Louis XIV., and in modern Turkey; of the other, in the Roman republic from the time of the second Punic war, where the frequent military service was one of the main causes of the ruin of the smaller Roman farmers.

The *seventh* head requires more explanation, and could not exist where the means of production were so equally distributed that no one possessed more than could be conveniently worked by himself and his family. But when a single individual owns more than this, and the view prevails that a man may do what he likes with his own, an opposition may arise between public and private interest. An illustration will make this clear. Let us imagine a district belonging to 100 small owners, supporting themselves from their land and employing no hired labourers. Let their annual revenue, deducting expenses, be £50 each. In this district the State can show 100 families gaining an aggregate net revenue of £5,000. Next let us suppose one of these small farmers is made the absolute owner of the whole district, and the others become his tenants or labourers or slaves. Now as long as the 99 families, thus brought into subjection to him, live on the land, he can only

* For details on this and similar modes of usury see Le Play, "*Ouvriers Européens*," p. 265.

get from them for himself the difference between the amount they produce and the share of it needed for their support, let us say £10 in each case. Here £990 is taken from their aggregate revenue and added to his, making it £1,040; but though the distribution of revenue among the inhabitants of the district has been changed, the aggregate revenue and the number of inhabitants remain the same. The owner however may be tempted in two ways to lessen both. He may prefer pleasure and hunting-grounds to revenue, and may clear a large portion of the district to make room for gardens and lakes, for deer or wildfowl. Or he may prefer a larger revenue, though ill-gotten, to a smaller revenue, though well-gotten, and may adopt a mode of production (as rearing live stock instead of raising corn) which may indeed yield from a given area a smaller return, but requires the employment of a more than proportionately smaller number of workmen. In the case we have supposed above, the owner may turn away 50 of the families, and by substituting pasture for tillage, may get from the labour of the remaining 49 more than he got before from the labour of the 99,—let us say £30 from each family instead of £10. His revenue will rise from £1,040 to £1,520 (an addition of £480), but the aggregate revenue of the tenants or labourers sinks from £3,960 to £1,960 (a diminution of £2,000). Thus the total revenue raised from the district sinks from £5,000 to £3,480, and the number of families from 100 to 50; and the State has to lament a decline of both wealth and population. This theoretical possibility, well enough recognized by Mr. Mill in his “Political Economy” (bk. i. ch. vi. § 2, p. 118-119; ch. ix. § 1, p. 168, sixth edition), has many times been mournfully illustrated in practice; witness ancient Greece and Italy, and England under the Tudors, and the Roman Campagna since the Middle Ages, and the Scottish highlands in the early years of this century, and Ireland (who can count this perhaps as the last and greatest of her wrongs) since the famine 30 years ago. We need not dilate on the misery of the superseded peasantry, but have here only to mark how fruitful a cause of misery such a supersession may be, and to suggest to our good countrymen who indignantly ask why the English gaols and workhouses are filled with a degraded and drunken set of Irish, that perhaps the race and religion of these Irish do not afford an entirely adequate or satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon.

Let this much suffice as to the seventh head of the causes of misery. The *eighth* is over-population, or rather, considering the present condition of the world, congestion of population. An exaggerated importance has, as M. Péron notices

("Richesse," vol. ii. pp. 137-138), been attached to simple increase of numbers, and existing misery has been attributed mainly to the pressure of population on subsistence. Now it is perfectly true and demonstrable that any *given area* will only support a certain number of inhabitants, and that *after a certain point* all extra produce will, *if no improvement occurs in the mode of production*, be obtained with more than proportionate extra toil, so that at last each fresh pair of hands will not win enough to satisfy each fresh mouth. But this abstract and well-guarded proposition is very different from such a statement as that the existing misery of—say England and France—is due to over-population. An accurate comparison the relative progression of population, wealth, and misery during the hundred years from 1750 to 1850 would we think in both countries show the untenableness of such a view; and in our opinion few statements could be more false or mischievous than that of a great legal officer in a recent trial, when he said: "Mr. Malthus started a theory . . . now an irrefragable truth, that population has a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence, and that, consequently, there must be a vast number of persons upon whom poverty presses sadly and heavily" ("Times" Report, 22nd June, 1877). True enough in certain cases there is undoubted suffering from congestion of population, notably among peasantry where hereditary customs, or joint ownership, or the nature of the district (as a mountain valley) hinder improvements in the mode of cultivation. In Russia the evil is promptly met by the grant of crown lands for colonization,* but in Würtemberg and Flanders, and in parts of France and Switzerland, the land, with the increase of population or rather of landowners, has been disastrously subdivided.† But the remedy for such congestion is not to be sought in limitations to population, which imply immorality, such as the odious limitation of births which is the disgrace and political weakness of modern France, but in better laws of succession to property and of the ownership of land; in the introduction of agricultural improvements, and, if needful, in the fit organization of home or foreign colonization. There can also no doubt be a temporary disproportion between subsistence and population due to those wide-spreading accidents or injuries, such as drought or war, already spoken of (under the first and second heads of the causes of misery); or, again, due to those

* See "Report on Poor Laws in Foreign Countries. Accounts and Papers, 1875," vol. lxx. p. 35, sq.

† See Roscher, "Ackerbau," § 142, especially notes 9 and 10; § 143, especially notes 2 and 4.

industrial crises, of which we are soon going to speak (as the ninth head). But in such cases it is not the increase of population, but the decrease of the means of subsistence, that causes the evil, which can occur in a thinly as well as in a thickly-peopled land. Also, as we shall see when we notice the special calamities or technical changes that may befall a special trade (tenth and eleventh heads), there can be too many workmen in a given trade in a given locality. But here again we cannot say that over-population is the cause, as though the evil had been brought on by "reckless multiplication." We must say rather that other causes at work have resulted in the previous members of a given trade in a given locality being no longer able to find support. Lastly, as we shall see, there can be terrible misery and creation of "surplus hands" by overwork and by the employment of women and children (twelfth and thirteenth heads). But this evil is due to a shameful oppression of the weak by the strong, and not to the members of the lower classes being redundant; and here the remedy is mainly in the rich doing their duty, and not any more than in the other cases in artificial limitations to population, which, if they were a remedy, would be worse than the disease; and in reality are no remedy, since (*inter alia*) they would foster two of the most potent causes of misery (to be discussed as the fourteenth and sixteenth heads), namely neglect or oppression by employers and landlords, and vice among the lower classes themselves.

Let us now look at the *ninth* head, namely those wide-spread crises which are so disastrous a characteristic of modern industry, and on which a few words of explanation are needed because of the common, though mistaken, notion that they are caused by lack of currency, and are to be cured by the importation of gold or issues of paper. It will, perhaps, be enough to explain that the main feature of such crises as those of 1857 and 1866 in England and of 1873 in Germany and the United States, is the settling who is to bear the loss of a vast *previous* diminution of wealth. This diminution has two immediate causes. First, the destruction of wealth in useless undertakings, as barren mines sunk, railways made in deserts or backwoods, bridges built where there is no traffic, factories with costly machinery where there is no trade, vast stores of materials collected that are not wanted, and so forth, the result of wild speculation and feverish eagerness for wealth. So in Prussia, whereas in some 80 years up to 1870 only 300 joint-stock companies had been established, no less than 780 were established in the two years 1871 and 1872, of which the greater part perished in the crisis of 1873 ("Fraser's Magazine,"

Jan., 1877). So in the United States, according to a calculation in the "*Times*" (3rd Feb., 1876) there had been up to about that time some £97,000,000 invested by the Americans themselves and £46,000,000 borrowed from abroad for railways that could not pay their way, or had to be reconstructed at a heavy sacrifice. The second cause of the diminution of wealth is the reckless consumption by the speculating communities during the period preceding the crash. So in America, before the great crisis of 1873, it is related that at one entertainment £800 was spent on the pastry alone. Nor is the extravagance confined to the rich, but extends to the lower classes, who are tempted to excess by the sudden rise of wages. Professor Bonamy Price, in his work on *Currency and Banking* (p. 185, seq.), has justly emphasized the diminution of wealth before the crisis comes,* and he marks the delusive character of the apparent prosperity in that previous time, and how, if a nation eat and drink up all its property in one year, there would seem to be gigantic well-being for that one year; but in the next, starvation! The results of these crises on the poor are well known and terrible, and can be compared to the periodical famines that desolate certain ruder communities. Thousands are thrown out of work through no fault of their own, and the savings of years may have to be sacrificed to secure not comfort but bare existence. Mr. Horace White, in the "*Fortnightly Review*," June, 1876, p. 810, speaks of the extreme suffering through periodical crises falling on those who are least responsible, the labouring poor; and of England in 1816 and 1825, and America in 1837 and 1857 he says: "All that man could do had been done to turn them shelterless and penniless into the street." In the United States since the crisis of 1873 the sharpest suffering has prevailed among the working classes, and many of our readers will remember the pitiable distress in the East end of London after the crisis of 1866, and the more pitiable apology for it by the "*Times*" in a passage which Mr. Matthew Arnold has held up to deserved ridicule:† "*The East End is the most commercial, the most industrial, the most fluctuating region of the metropolis. It is always the first to suffer; for it is the creature of prosperity, and falls to the ground the instant there is no wind to bear it up. The whole of that region is covered with huge docks, shipyards, manufactories, and a wilderness of small houses, all full of life and happiness [?] in brisk times, but in dull times withered and*

* How in agriculture there can be crises from similar causes, see Roscher, "*Ackerbau*," § 137.

† "*Culture and Anarchy*," p. 237 (2nd edit., p. 212). The italics and note of interrogation are our own.

lifeless, like the deserts we read of in the East. Now their brief spring is over. There is *no one to blame* for this ; it is the result of Nature's simplest laws." Similarly, when the assassin shoots his victim, there is no one to blame ; it is the result of Nature's simplest laws that a bullet impelled with a certain force in a certain direction will penetrate the vital organs and cause death. Let us not, however, lose further time over such folly, but rather point out, first, how the sufferings of the time of collapse are intensified by the working classes having grown accustomed during the time of inflation to comforts they could really ill afford ; and secondly, how, besides their directly disastrous effect, these periodical crises, by making the future uncertain, so that no industry and no parsimony can secure a peaceful old age, have a like effect to periodical earthquakes or pestilence, and encourage reckless improvidence.

As the *tenth* head of causes of misery we place the crises which occur in some special industry, whether from rash speculations confined to the particular trade, or to other causes, such as the change of fashion or stoppage of supply (as in the cotton famine in 1861), or supplanting of one district or country by another, as of the clothiers of the West of England by those of Yorkshire, or of the Indian weavers by Lancashire factories. In a special crisis due to this last-named cause the rest of the community may gain the advantage of better or cheaper goods, but this does not remove the misery of the sufferers.

The *eleventh* head can be called technical transformation, which in an age of great advance in the physical sciences, may be a constant source of misery. New mechanical or chemical processes may enable the same produce to be obtained not merely with less labour but with unskilled instead of skilled labour, and may not merely throw numbers out of employment but render useless the skill and knowledge acquired by a long and expensive apprenticeship. A classical instance of the effects of machinery may be found in the evidence of a Mr. Nasmith before the Trades Unions Commission (cited by Mr. Brassey, "Work and Wages," p. 130) : "The great feature of our modern mechanical improvements has been the introduction of self-acting tools. All that a mechanic has to do, and which any lad is able to do, is, not to labour, but to watch the beautiful functions of the machine. All that class of men who depended upon mere dexterity are set aside altogether. I had four boys to one mechanic. By these mechanical contrivances I reduced the number of men in my employ, 1,500 hands, fully one half. The result was that *my profits were much increased.*" A magnificent result indeed,

but—but how fared it with the 750 hands who were set aside altogether? Many are the instances of misery due to such technical transformation, as of the hand-loom weavers gradually ruined by the introduction of the power-loom; or the Nottingham hosiers ruined by the introduction of labour-saving frames, and whose misery became widely known through the infamous Act against them, making it death to break these frames, and by Lord Byron's noble speech in their defence.* Even those economists who most strongly urge the ultimate compensation to the workmen through the increased wealth resulting from the technical improvement, can hardly deny the evident misery of the period of transition. We think it can be shown that this compensation, though likely, is by no means certain; and at any rate the perpetual succession of technical changes prolongs indefinitely the unhappy period of transition.

The *twelfth* head is overwork, whether the excess be in duration or intensity, or both. Overwork is injurious to the workman in different ways. The work may be too much absolutely, that is, either exceeding what is good for health, and thus inducing disease and premature old age, or exceeding what is good for morality, by leaving no time for culture, religion, and rational amusements, and thus driving the workmen to make the most of their brief respite from toil by plunging into sensual indulgence. Or the work may be too much relatively, that is, in regard to the state of the market for the given product, and may consequently throw out of work a corresponding number of other workmen. Our own country has afforded many terrible examples of "surplus workmen" being thus generated by the overwork of others, notably among the so-called slop-workers of the East End of London. By reductions of wages men have been induced to work harder or longer in order to gain the same income as before; and by the consequent increase of (what is called) the supply of labour have caused a further decline in wages, till the mournful limits of the minimum subsistence and maximum toil allowed by nature have been reached, and multitudes are at the same time without any work or wages at all.

Analogous effects are produced by the employment of women and children, which we will make a *thirteenth* head. The same melancholy circle has been witnessed of the father of the family compelled to employ his wife and children to supplement his reduced earnings, and by the very increase of working power enabling a further reduction of the worker's earnings, till at

* See Brentano, "*Arbeitergilden*," vol. ii. p. 189.

last the whole family gain no more than what the father once gained alone.

For the *fourteenth* head, which we should say was for modern Europe the most important of all, we can think of no title more accurate or compendious than the neglect or oppression of their dependents by employers and landowners. On this point there are current notions based on so grave a disregard of reason and facts, that we must speak somewhat at length. Instead of landowners and employers looking on themselves as responsible for the physical and moral well-being of their tenants and workmen, and filling an office of the gravest importance and dignity both from the religious and political point of view; instead of remembering that the accumulation of the means of production—lands, factories, mines, ships—in the hands of a few owners is only justifiable and tolerable on the understanding that such owners, or at least the great mass of them, act as fathers and guardians to the multitudes under them, without whose labour those lands and factories would be useless; instead of these views, they held that their obligations ended with paying or doing what they had legally contracted to pay or do; that the property was their own to do with as they liked; that their farms should be let to those tenants who would pay the highest rent; that those workmen should be employed who would work most for least wages; that they were no more bound to look after the sick or aged who had worked for them in health and youth, than to build an asylum for their worn-out machinery; that they were not their brother's keeper, nor bound, nay, not entitled to pry into the moral life of their fellow-citizens; that civilization had made an end of feudal tyranny; that all men were free and equal, their tenants not bound to the soil, their workmen at liberty to quit their service and work for any other master, or set up for themselves; that, in short, it was a free country, and that they were sincerely thankful for this happy freedom, which enabled them to grow rich so quickly and enjoy their riches so securely. The concrete application of this theory can be seen written in dreadful characters upon the face of Western Europe. To this theory is due in great part that overwork and that employment of women and children already mentioned as causes of misery; also the employment of women and children without protection against cruelty or immorality, disregard of the health of the workers in unhealthy employments and of their safety in dangerous employments. The record of these evils in England may be found in the Reports of Royal Commissions and of Factory Inspectors; and the Factory Laws themselves, so lengthy and detailed, tell how

employers have neglected their duty. But there are other results of the application of this theory which the law has not checked and has in some cases fostered; undue increase of apprentices, employing, e.g., fresh apprentices when many grown men in the trade are out of work; importation of workmen from distant parts, with or without deceit or violence, as of the Irish once to London, and of Hindoos and Polyne-sians to certain colonies; employment of middlemen, so as to save trouble and the personal odium of oppression, as the "sweater" employed by the cheap outfitting shops in London, or the notorious intermediaries between landlord and tenants in Ireland; rack-renting tenants, of which practice Ireland again can give a multitude of examples; reductions of wages in some cases, in others fluctuations more disastrous perhaps than permanent low wages; above all, neglect to secure that wages shall be well spent. And to this list of modes in which misery has been caused by the neglect or oppression of dependents, two more of great importance have yet to be added. One is the substitution of short for long periods of service, as of weeks, days, or even hours, instead of years and half-years; as well as the reckless engagement and dismissal of workmen according to fluctuations in the market, instead of permanently employing the same number of men; so that instead of being sure of a post for life if well-behaved, the mass of the workmen are without security for the future. The other is the agglomeration of workmen in great towns, and the consequent terrible condition of the dwellings of whole multitudes, for whom decent home-life is impossible.

Our limits only permit the barest outline of how this has come about, and how neglect and oppression in town and country have mutually fostered the evil. The rack-rented or evicted tenant, or the ill-paid agricultural labourer have been attracted by the higher wages in the towns, though often the apparent increase is delusive, through the higher prices and new and necessary sources of expense. The young especially have been attracted by the undue employment of youthful rather than of mature workmen, and by the allurements of the independence and pleasures of the town. And for the masses thus attracted and in such particular need of guidance and protection against the multiplied temptations, not only has protection been absent, but they have been driven headlong into vice by the neglect to provide even decent habitations. M. Le Play notices* the unparalleled state of things that arose in the great towns and manufacturing centres of Western

* "Réforme Sociale," ch. xlix. § 3.

Europe: "vast populations separated from their families, unknown to their new masters, without decent dwellings, without schools and churches, deprived, in a word, of the physical and moral conditions which till then had been judged indispensable to the existence of a civilized people." And if some of these evils have been remedied, the worst remains,—the utter want of decent dwellings for the great multitude. This want is both a cause and an expression of misery, and in no point is the inferiority of modern England and France to former times and (so-called) backward countries more plain than here. M. Le Play tells us that the tranquil life existing in the East of Europe, even in the poorest families, through the permanent possession of the domestic hearth, first opened his eyes to the untruth of certain Western doctrines on the organization of society.* And to those who, amid the vice and misery that surround us, console themselves with the thought that at any rate we have at last secured the equality of all citizens and the independence of the lower classes, we recommend the study of the 48th chapter of the same author's "*Réforme Sociale*," whence the remarks that follow are mainly drawn. Vain and disastrous are the efforts to replace the principle of brotherly love by that of equality. Mistaken is the notion that social forces tended formerly to inequality and now, in "advanced" countries, the other way. In reality the feudal distinctions of rank and class have been accompanied by institutions helping to secure equality among the masses of the population. This has been done most completely in the North and East of Europe by a triple precaution against individual weakness and folly: by the lord being obliged to aid from the feudal manor the families falling below a certain point of well-being; by the communistic periodical redistribution of land or restitution of what had been alienated; and by the patriarchal organization, whereby even the married sons remained at home working for the common profit, and subject to the head of the family. The trade guilds acted in a similar direction, averting the inequality which would have arisen, had individuals been able to turn to full account their individual advantages. "The more a man studies the ancient régime in the documents time has left us or in the institutions still flourishing, the more he will grow convinced that while it gave privileges to a few families, it tended above all to secure equality to the mass of the nation. Modern societies tend less to suppress privileged situations than to destroy the influences which formerly maintained among the people a sort of forced equality."† The

* "*L'Organisation du Travail*," § 24.† "*Réforme Sociale*," ch. xlviii. § 2, 3.

barrier of community of property and of subjection to patriarchal, communal, or seignorial authority being removed, the individual could fall or rise. In France since the Revolution custom sets a distinction between classes each day more conspicuous, and the nominal and boasted equality is especially burdensome to the lower classes, since those above, as their authority is unrecognized and their superiority envied and hated, trample on those below them instead of seeking to gain their affection and promote their success. So, for example, the former affectionate familiarity between the master and his domestic servants is seen no more. In another chapter of the same book * M. Le Play well marks the folly of making the workmen believe they can raise themselves (as a class, he means) without the help of the upper classes, and how misleading to make them stand to these as the French bourgeoisie stood to the noblesse before the Revolution—we may add perhaps also as the English middle class stood to the aristocracy before the first Reform bill, or the wealthy Roman plebeians to the patricians before the Licinio-Sextian Laws. For the bourgeoisie were excluded from honours and influence to which they were entitled by their wealth and talents, and these remained to be used in the service of their order. But the talented or wealthy workman can, and almost always does, quit his class and pass into the ranks of the bourgeoisie, leaving his former class with so much less capacity and means; nor, as a rule, is he a lover or protector of his former equals, but rather *eo immitior quia toleraverat*.

The length to which we have gone as to this fourteenth head must be justified by the common and extravagant delusions as to equality; as though without a return to the communistic organization of what are called early societies, you could level the greatest and most lasting and most galling of all inequalities, that of riches and poverty; as though, by refusing to recognize this inequality and the consequent mutual duties of rich and poor, you did not, like a sick man denying his sickness, make matters worse; and as though the rich could not and would not make the poor feel very plainly that the liberty and equality proffered to them were words, their subjection and inferiority a reality.†

The *fifteenth* head of misery is constituted by the improvidence, the *sixteenth* by the vices of the lower classes themselves; and these two are of all perhaps the most potent for

* "Réforme Sociale" ch. xlvi. § 6.

† On the connection between wealth and nobility, see some suggestive remarks of Sir H. Maine in the fifth lecture of his "Early Institutions," especially pp. 133, 134.

the immediate and direct spread of misery. Many examples, we suppose, could be adduced of how high wages can exist together with wide-spread pauperism, and conversely, how in places where wages are low, the steadiness and frugality of the workmen can keep misery at bay. So we might compare the steady and low-paid workmen of Holland and the Hartz Mountains with the relatively highly-paid but vicious and improvident workmen too common in Paris or in the Black Country. In England, as is well known, intemperance is a fruitful cause of misery. Mr. Thomas Whittaker (in "Macmillan's Magazine," Dec., 1875) gives some startling figures and calculations. He tells us how £140,000,000 was uselessly spent on intoxicating drinks in 1873; how the poverty caused by drink costs £10,000,000 a year and the crime £9,000,000; how there is an increase of insanity, and a loss annually of 70,000 lives, and a waste of time during drinking, and serious injury to employers through interruption of their works; and he makes up the total wealth directly or indirectly wasted by the drinking system to some £270,000,000 yearly. Although this and kindred calculations must indeed be taken *cum grano salis*, still there is no doubt of the vast amount and terrible effects of drunkenness. But what we here wish to emphasize is the need not merely of giving the fact but also the *reason* for the fact that the people are drunken; and in general, the *reason* why in any given country the lower orders are vicious and improvident. And after what has been set forth at such length under the fourteenth head of the causes of misery, can we deny that in Western Europe the main reason has been the neglect or oppression of the lower classes by the upper? It follows that it is misleading to say the lower classes have the remedy for their misery in their own hands, and could soon be well off if they saved what they now spend in drink. In some cases of misery it is simply false; in others, though verbally true, it implies the falsehood that the upper classes are not to blame—are not the prime causes of the misery.*

* Mr. William Rathbone Greg seems to countenance the statement objected to in the text. We say "seems," for his remarks are somewhat obscure. We learn that the "great central truth" as to the sufferings of the proletariat is that these mischiefs "lie at their own door, and are remediable by and through themselves, and themselves alone" ("The Proletariat on a False Scent," reprinted in "Mistaken Aims of the Artisan Class," p. 258). But then he immediately adds, "not indeed without the co-operation of others"; and if this is so, then the said mischiefs are *not* remediable by themselves *alone*. On the next page he says: "How far their rulers and their betters are, even more than themselves—directly or indirectly, in the past or in the present—responsible for this ignorance, insobriety, improvidence, and unthrift, is a painful question which each man ought to ask him-

We have now completed our list of heads of causes of misery ; and whoever looks them over will see that of the sixteen mentioned some are universal and permanent, some the peculiarity of certain times, places, and circumstances ; so that in any given case of misery there must be a special examination to tell its causes. It is plain also that for the prevention or the remedy of misery, an accurate knowledge of the causes is most needful, and the assumption of a wrong cause capable of producing immense mischief. And this is the reason we have gone into this subject at such length.

From the list of causes of misery we can gather the possible field for charity. But the possible field may be much wider than the actual field. For many of the causes of misery, as a little consideration will show, can be averted or made less potent for evil by the three great social forces of association, of Christian patronage, and of Christian legislation. As to association, a good organization of the family is a great preventive of misery due to accidents affecting individuals, or to the improvidence or vice of the lower classes (3rd, 15th, and 16th heads) ; whether the organization be in the form of the patriarchal family such as exists, or till recently existed, in

self" (ib. p. 259). But then he quietly declines to discuss the answer, as not relevant to his immediate argument, which is confined to practical conclusions. The only meaning we can gather from this strange statement is, that the rich either never can or never will leave off demoralizing the poor ; so that, for practical purposes, it is waste of time to discuss this process of demoralization. Later on, after making a calculation of what might be done by the working classes with the money they now spend in drink, he takes the occasion to asperse the moral character of socialist reformers, and triumphantly exclaims : "Were we not warranted in saying that the fate and future of the working classes, their salvation or their ruin, lie in their own hands—and in no others?" (ib. p. 271). But then, only four pages further on, we are told that "the condition of the agricultural labourer in many districts is an opprobrium and a calamity to the nation. He ought not to be suffered to remain in it ; and he cannot (unassisted) raise himself out of it" (p. 275). We fully agree ; but then, at least as to this great section of the working classes, their salvation or their ruin does *not* lie in their own hands. And as to drink itself, he says further on : "They [the best and most thoughtful of the artisan class] long to be protected against the temptations to drink which beset them on every side, and against which the weaker and perhaps more numerous brethren have not moral strength to protect themselves" (p. 294). Again he says : "The want of such [decent and healthy] dwellings lies at the root of much of their [the artisans'] wretchedness. The absence, or rather the unattainability, of them constitutes a most legitimate and crying grievance." And he notes the essential character of a home in which an existence not wholly unworthy shall be possible. "To the want of it . . . may be traced much of the vice and squalor and much of the destitution of our population—bad health, impure living, craving for drink, frequentation of public-houses and gin-shops," &c. (p. 296). Most excellent ; but then it is as false of the urban as of the rural population to say that their sufferings lie at their own door, and are remediable by themselves alone.

Russia, or in the form which M. Le Play has well named the stem-family (*famille-souche*), such as was formerly common in Western Europe, and still prevails there in certain districts, and of which the leading feature is the permanence in time and fixity in place opposed to the shifting and dissolving families of England, France, and America. Other associations, such as the mediæval trade-guilds, the subsequent associations of journeymen, and the modern religious confraternities among the working classes act in the same way. The English trades unions have also been active in averting misery due to accidents affecting individuals, or to general or special crises, or to overwork and the employment of women and children (3rd, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th heads); and by teaching fellow-feeling, mutual help in a common cause, and individual sacrifice for the general weal, they have helped to stem vice and improvidence. But the much-boasted, much-patronized simple benefit societies and savings banks, based on a mere monetary calculation, though excellent means for the already prudent to secure themselves against disaster, create no link between man and man—are quite incapable of generating virtue or foresight, and are therefore of no avail to check the misery of the inferior types of the population.* As to Christian patronage, by which term is to be understood the care and protection of the lower classes by the upper, notably of workmen by their employers, and of peasant farmers by their landlords, its presence is the negation of the terrible fourteenth head of the causes of misery; it would be an effective bar to the clearing away of the peasantry, and to most cases of overwork, or undue employment of women and children (7th, 12th, 13th heads); it would greatly reduce the extent and intensity of vice and improvidence among the lower classes (15th and 16th heads); it would partially avert, partially mitigate, the misery due to general or special crises, to technical transformations, or to the accidents affecting individuals (9th, 10th, 11th, and 3rd heads). As to Christian legislation, it can act negatively and indirectly by removing the obstacles to a good organization of the family—importance here of good laws as to inheritance and the status of women, and also by removing the temptations to drunkenness, excess in the use of narcotics, and gambling. And it can directly act against injuries affecting

* This view, which we can now only thus cursorily state, and which to some may be displeasing, is based on the teaching of M. Périn and M. Le Play, both of such weight, and so distinct from each other, that their agreement on any important point of social science is no small presumption of its truth. See Périn, "*Richesses*," book vi. ch. viii.; Le Play, "*La Réforme Sociale*," ch. xlv. § vi.

individuals (4th head) by usury laws ; against evictions of the peasantry (7th head) by laws on tenant right ; against congestion of population (8th head) by facilitating emigration, as in Russia ; against overwork, and the employment of women and children, and some of the extreme manifestations of neglect or oppression of dependents (12th, 13th, and 14th heads), by factory laws, regulation of mines, acts on artisans' dwellings, and the execution of strict measures of sanitary police.

In these ways the three great forces, association, patronage, and legislation, can check the causes of misery, and consequently limit the field for the action of charity. The term charity is here used in the narrow and strict sense. In the wide sense it would include all dealings with others based at all upon the principle of friendliness or benevolence, as opposed to the principle of indifference (upon which purely commercial dealings rest), and to the principle of hostility or malevolence ; and in this wide sense would include family life, many forms of association, care of workpeople by the master, and gratuitous labour in the service of the State. But in the narrow sense, with which in this present discussion we are concerned, charity is the (total or partial) surrender of our person, or goods, or both, to the service of the poor, especially those in misery. Now for charity, even in this narrow sense, there is a permanent field ; for with external nature and man's internal condition as they are, we must admit as permanent sources of misery the accidents and injuries affecting masses (1st and 2nd heads), to a certain extent even those only affecting individuals (3rd and 4th heads), and the improvidence and vice of the lower classes. *Semper pauperes habetis vobiscum*. And in any given case, as modern England, there may be bad laws and absence of patronage, and insufficiency or abuse of association, opening a boundless field for the spread of misery and the action of charity.

And now, before considering the conditions for charity to be efficacious, we must say a word on the grave obligation imposed on Christians of giving relief to the destitute. It is not necessary here to enter into the details of moral theology, such as the different degrees of necessity and of goods, or the order in which persons have a claim on our charitable aid, or the proportion of our revenue to be given up. It is enough to say that even moral theologians treating not of Christian perfection, but of the very minimum which is absolutely required from all, have to admit a tremendous obligation. And the fathers of the Church, mingling precept and counsel, have set forth the duties of the rich in such forcible terms as to give plausibility to the calumny that they attacked the

rights of ownership.* Above all in the Gospels, not merely is the duty of almsgiving repeatedly enjoined, but the awful results of neglecting it are set forth in two passages, which may well fill the rich with terror: the history, namely, of Dives and Lazarus in the 16th chapter of S. Luke; and, above all, the description of the last judgment in the 25th chapter of S. Matthew, where the fulfilment or neglect of the corporal works of mercy is made the distinguishing mark between the elect and the reprobate.† Let this be enough on the teachings of Christianity, which, indeed, are quite unmistakable, and have been cast in its teeth by the enemies of God's Church and God's poor.

It is, however, not sufficient to know the duty, but also the fit method of giving, lest by giving wrongly we injure rather than help. This knowledge we can gain from Christian principles and practice, and guided by these, we will now set forth the conditions for the efficacy of charity, the violation of which, as injuring the receiver or others, must be condemned by the very principle of fraternal charity on which almsgiving itself rests. And as with the causes of misery, so here, we will make heads for convenience of reference, rather than a formal and logical classification, not seeking greater precision than the nature of the subject permits. And here also, with certain deviations, we follow M. Périn, who has treated the subject in the 2nd and 5th chapters of the 7th book of his "*Richesses*."

The *first* condition to be observed in the exercise of charity is, that whenever there is wanting anything as to faith and morals, or as to common knowledge and common sense, the help given must aim at remedying the vice, the folly, or the ignorance—must aim at the moral and intellectual reform of the poor. The material gift is only a part of charity,—often the least; and if without moral action, often more injurious than useful. "What constitutes charity," says M. Périn, "is the gift of the man himself, with all his superiorities, moral and intellectual." These superiorities are to be put at the service of the poor; and part of the importance of the material gift is to be a means of winning influence to be used for the purposes of moral guidance. "The gift of oneself, the word of consolation or encouragement, a glance of compassion, a tear

* See Périn, "*Richesse*," vol. ii. pp. 361—363; Champagny, "*La Charité Chrétienne dans les Premiers Siècles de l'Eglise*," pp. 36—44, 291, 392.

† The significance of these two passages is noted by Mgr. Dupanloup, "*Charité Chrétienne*," p. 103.

in the eye, are more to the poor than the material help."* As S. Chrysostom well says, the word is more powerful than the gift.† So, then, it should be laid down as a leading principle, that there should be no relief given to the corporal wants of the poor without relief also to their spiritual wants.‡ And when we remember the inseparable connection of religion and morality, we come to the further conclusion that all relief should be of a religious character, and given in the name of God.

The *second* condition is, that the relief be looked on neither by giver or receiver as any disgrace to the poor; and this implies that poverty itself be not considered as a disgrace, and that relief be so given as not to dishonour or humiliate. In striking contrast to the views of paganism, the Christian doctrine exalts the poor and poverty, and tells us how God Himself came on earth as a poor man; how gifts to the poor are gifts to our Lord; how the poor are higher in the spiritual order than the rich, and have a quicker and clearer insight into the truths of religion; how they hold the first place in the Church, and the rich are admitted in order to serve them; how poverty in spirit is needful for all; and how voluntary poverty is a counsel of perfection. Such doctrines teach the rich man to reverence the poor, to be eager for their prayers, to be glad of their presence, knowing that by serving them he becomes rather their debtor than their creditor; and they look on him as the minister of the bounty of God, in whose name the alms are given; they see in him one whom they are bound to love and to follow with gratitude, and whom they can requite with their prayers. And thus there is mutual benefit and mutual gratitude, according to the providential harmony of riches and poverty: *Dives et pauper obviaverunt sibi; utriusque operator est Deus.*

The *third* condition, following as a natural consequence of the two first, is that those who personally relieve the poor must be lovers of the poor, and lovers not merely of such as are attractive, but of those physically and morally repulsive, the filthy, drunken, complaining, ungrateful poor. For to effect the moral reform there must arise true intimacy based on love, persistent untiring love, that will at last inspire confidence and touch the heart of the poor. How the fulfilment of this third condition is helped forward by the Christian view of almsgiving and poverty is evident. Not merely is even

* Ratzinger, "Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege," p. 116.

† *Κρείττον γὰρ λόγος ἢ δόσις.* Apud Ratzinger, l. c.

‡ This may be taken as a translation of Ratzinger's principle: "*Keine Armenpflege ohne Seelsorge,*" l. c. p. 414.

the most degraded and repulsive of the poor our brother, and one for whom Christ has died, but he represents our Lord in a special way, which is not done by the rich and cultivated. And this truth has been beautifully illustrated by many recorded apparitions of our Lord and his Blessed Mother disguised in rags and poverty as some unhappy mendicant. The view of the service of the poor being a benefit to the giver, is another great means of instilling love. This has been so well put by a great friend of the poor, Frederic Ozanam, that we give a rough translation of his words: "Think not, besides, that to look on charity as a means of preserving the faith, is to lower the idea of this lofty virtue, but rather to raise it and to teach us that in visiting the poor we gain more than they. For by witnessing their sufferings we become better ourselves, and in our heart arises such a sense of thankfulness towards these poor sufferers that we come to feel we indeed love them. Oh, how often have I myself, cast down by some internal trouble, and sometimes by anxiety as to my uncertain health, entered in sorrow the house of the poor family entrusted to my care; and there, seeing how many there were more unfortunate than myself, I have grown ashamed of my own depression, and have felt fresh strength to bear up; and thus I have had to thank those unfortunate poor for having helped me to bear my sufferings by the sight of theirs; and how then could I help loving them the more?"* And to show the intimate connection of this third condition with the spirit of Christian self-sacrifice, we must be allowed to give another citation, this time from M. Périn: "It is again the respect for and love of the poor, which have created such diversified orders for the alleviation of all kinds of misery. All classes of self-sacrifice are linked together. Those who consecrate their life to God by a vow of virginity consecrate it by the same act to their brethren, and become the most active ministers of charity. By the celibacy of the clergy and of the religious orders, the Church has created servants of the poor, such as societies, for whom this sacrifice has been too much, have never been able to obtain. It is a constant experience, that in order to love and serve the poor, it is necessary to be poor, if not in reality, at least in heart. It is the poor who give to the poor. Those priests and religious who make themselves poor for the love of Christ, love the poor and are loved by them, understand the poor and are understood by them, as men living in the world never can be, howsoever detached in

* Ozanam, "Parole alla Conferenza fiorentina."—Œuvres, vol. viii. pp 46-48.

spirit they be from temporal goods. Those know how to draw from their poverty inexhaustible treasures of almsgiving. They have often been denounced as idlers by economic materialism; yet they accomplish in society, by the works of charity, the most toilsome of labours, while of all labourers they are the least rewarded. They place at the disposal of the poor a life free from all the cares of family and all the anxieties of wealth. Recruited from both the higher and lower ranks of society, equally honoured by all on account of their character, they are the natural intermediaries between the rich and the poor.* In conclusion we may notice how this third condition for the efficacy of charity is plainly violated by the employment of hired agents to seek out, examine, and relieve the poor.

The *fourth* condition is the exercise of circumspect generosity. If the duty of almsgiving is inculcated by the Church, so also is the duty of labour. And she gives a rational ground for her teaching and rational inducements for its observance, unlike those economists who denounce the idleness of the poor without giving them any convincing reason why they should not rather enjoy themselves than work. The principle of Christian poor-relief is not to give to the false poor the substance of Christ, which belongs to the true poor (S. Jerome),† not to help idle vagabonds, since "if any one will not work, let him not eat" (2 Thess. iii. 10). The modest poor rather than the importunate are to be helped; and when other means fail to bring about a moral reform, recourse may be had to severity, and material help be refused. Yet we must remember, as to the application of this severity, that its object is not to inflict punishment, but to cause amendment. Therefore, in first giving help, we should avoid laying too much stress upon the former life of the sufferer, nor should we expose him to an insulting and indelicate inquisition. "Charity," says S. Ambrose, weighs not merit so severely, but rather, above all, comes to the help of distress. "Let a poor man," says S. John Chrysostom, "come to your door in want of bread, and you reproach him with his idleness, without thinking that you also are idle, and yet God gives you abundance of wealth. . . . If we scrutinize so inquisitively the claims of our fellow-servants, God will do the same with us, as He will judge us according as we have judged."‡ Only where the recipient makes himself subsequently unworthy, and the efforts to reform

* Périn, "De la Richesse," vol. ii. p. 436.

† Apud Périn, l. c. p. 429.

‡ See the two citations, Périn, "Richesse," ii. pp. 429, 430.

him are fruitless, should relief be withdrawn ; and even then the door should be left open to amendment, and mercy should ever sit waiting to receive back and welcome any who seriously try to live in soberness and industry. And under the term generosity should, we think, be included that magnificence which S. Thomas reckons among the virtues, that lavish expenditure which corresponds to the nobleness and dignity of the work. Better indeed is a church or a hospital with mud walls and straw roof than no church or hospital at all. But where possible, there it is well that, just as the service of God should be conducted with external splendour, so too in fit proportion the service of the poor. Thus where means are available, it seems well that charitable buildings should be beautiful and richly adorned ; and, if on occasions of public or private rejoicing, as a wedding or the anniversary of some national deliverance, a grand banquet is considered a right use of wealth, it seems fit that from time to time in the very food and drink of the lowest poor, some splendour should be shown. Thus we should approve the grand distribution on one day to a multitude of poor described by Montalembert, in his *Life of S. Elizabeth*, while for the impotent, who remained behind for the night, fires were kindled, fresh distributions made, and their feet washed and perfumed, so that they began to sing for joy.* And let us be glad that in our own country, where the true principles of charity have been for long more set at naught than, perhaps, anywhere else, at least there is a touching effort made, that on the day when God was born in extreme poverty, no poor family should be in want of a good meal.†

* “*Vie de Ste. Elizabeth*,” ii. pp. 131–135, 12^e éd.

† The following passage from Mgr. Dupanloup’s “*Charité Chrétienne*,” p. 134, illustrates what we have called circumspect generosity : “*La charité qui aime à voir les pauvres de près, et à entrer dans le secret et dans le détail de leurs misères, et qui ne leur jette pas administrativement ses profusions, de loin, avec dédain et sans choix ; la charité qui est délicate, qui est ingénieuse, qui est confiante, qui ne s’épuise pas en chiffres et ne répand pas son zèle en calculs et en statistiques, mais qui prodigue ses bienfaits sans mesure et se prodigue elle-même après avoir tout donné.*” And to those who think mediæval theologians were lost in abstractions and unfit for practical questions, we commend the following passage from S. Thomas. He has to meet the objection against abundant almsgiving drawn from 2 Cor. iii. 13 : “*Non ut aliis sit remissio, id est ut alii de vestris otiose vivant, vobis autem sit tribulatio, id est paupertas.*” He answers with simplicity and precision : “*Loquitur de abundantia eleemosynæ, quæ superexcedit necessitatem recipientis ; cui non est danda eleemosyna, ut inde luxurietur, sed ut inde sustentetur. Circa quod tamen est discretio adhibenda, propter diversas conditiones hominum, quorum quidam delicatius nutriti indigent magis delicatis cibis aut vestibus. Unde Ambrosius dicit (“De Offic.,” lib. i.*

The *fifth* condition for charity to do its work is that it have a wide and lasting organization. There is need of association, so that by mutual concert the distribution of alms be regular, the unreflecting preferences and unavoidable mistakes of individuals be rectified by mutual control, and charity reach the maximum of usefulness through mutual counsel and experience. We have seen how there is need of special qualities in one who would act as the distributor of alms to the poor; and in many states of society a man of the world, unacquainted with the life of the poor, if he took upon himself personally to distribute, would give rather to the most importunate than the most needy, and perhaps to imposters in no need at all. Not as though there was no permanent and universal field for individual or isolated as opposed to collective charity. There is such a field, for example, in cases where friends or personal acquaintances are in danger of falling from a higher rank into poverty, or in the touching cases where the poor themselves are the givers of relief to those in still greater poverty. But as regards the charitable relief of the poor by the rich, it can be laid down, we think, as the general rule, that such relief should be collective not isolated, and that the charitable bodies should be in connection with each other. How the unrivalled organization of the Catholic Church and the unity of her teaching and practice, give great facilities for the organization of charity, is too plain to need illustration.* It is also easy to see how the difficulties of good organization are incalculably increased by the presence of many religions mixed up together. We may notice two special dangers that ensue. First, relief may be used as a bribe to the poor to pass from one religion to another; secondly, by want of communication and concert between the charitable workers of different religions, the attempt at the moral reform of the degraded poor may in a

cap. xxx. ad fin.): 'Consideranda est in largiendo ætas atque debilitas; nonnunquam etiam verecundia, quæ ingenuos prodit natales; aut si quis ex divitiis in egestatem accidit sine vitio suo' (2a 2æ qu. 33, a. 10).

* But we do not see that this justifies the very strong statement of M. Périn ("Richesse," ii. p. 437): "The Church alone can organize charity without enslaving it (sans l'asservir)." What is the use of saying this, though it be true, if its truth cannot be *proved*? The ground of the statement seems to be that the State cannot organize charity without enslaving it. This can indeed be shown to be the case; but then this is no *proof* that religious bodies other than the Church, or even private lay associations, share the incapacity of the State. We quite recognize that (as M. Périn notices, *ib.* 439) the Church is unrivalled for works of charity, and, what is here to the point, can be *shown* to be such; and that a very convincing argument in favour of her divine mission can be drawn from the history of her charity. But this is all the more reason for not giving our enemies the appearance of a victory, by making statements which we may have to modify or withdraw.

great measure be frustrated. For the idle and profligate, when relief is withdrawn from them by those of their own religion, or accompanied with advice and rebuke that are unwelcome, may be able to set this salutary discipline at naught by obtaining relief from other sources. We may add that a fresh and vast increase is made in the difficulty of organization when the Government joins in the office of giving relief. In London the disorganization has (or till recently had) perhaps reached the furthest point possible, and has been one among several other causes for the growth of that detestable race of charity-hunters and thief-beggars so graphically described by observers like Mr. Thomas Wright and Mr. Greenwood.*

In a paper like the present on general principles, it would be out of place to discuss the practical remedies for such evils, in other words, the concrete application of the general principles for the efficacy of charity. We will only make three observations; one, that as regards such applications we think little can be laid down in general, but the local circumstances, not so much of each country as of each district, village, town, or even quarter of a large town, must be separately considered. So, for example, the conduct of the guardians in two English Poor Law Unions may so differ as to cause a different action of private charity to be fitting in the two cases. Our second observation is, that for those to whom we are primarily addressing ourselves, namely, the Catholics of England, the question is of less practical importance; and none of them need be in any difficulty as to the concrete way in which they can fulfil the precept of charity. If, as is to be wished, they can give personal service, there are open to them Catholic associations (such as the Society of S. Vincent of Paul) in which this service may be easily and fruitfully performed. If they can only give alms, there are abundant Catholic good works and institutions which these alms can forward; and there is one simple rule to be observed, which is, never to give to beggars in the street (still less at the church-doors)† nor to any applicants who are not personally and thoroughly known to them. And if they would rationally imitate those examples so beautiful and so fit in other times and places, of saintly benefactors of the poor from whom no one ever asked an alms in vain, let them, as we have heard suggested, open as it were a current account with the poor, and whenever asked for an

* Thomas Wright, "Our New Masters," last chapter. Greenwood, "Seven Curses of London," ch. xiii. to xv.

† Let it be well remembered that we are speaking of *modern England*, and are saying nothing against giving alms at the church-doors in *other countries or in other times*.

alms, refuse indeed the beggar, but place to the credit of their charitable fund a corresponding amount, which otherwise they would have given perhaps to a drunkard or a thief.* Our third and last observation is addressed to our Protestant countrymen, who indeed are concerned to reform the fearful abuse, both by the paid officials and by the depraved poor, of the vast sums spent in charity. And we say plainly that to us there seems little hope of their success, unless, indeed, they change very much their views and methods of action. As long as relief is given without being accompanied by an attempt at the moral reform of the poor; as long as it is given by hired agents instead of by the loving hands of a voluntary servant of the poor; as long as poverty is not exalted as a higher state, and the giver does not recognize that he is rather indebted to the poor than they to him; as long as the workhouse remains as a last resource, whose terrors are precisely least for those, namely the lowest strata of the population, whom it is most needful to terrify, we question whether any serious reform is possible, and whether the co-operation between the different charities, and between these and the Poor Law, and elaborate investigation of claims for help, and repression of mendicity (points aimed at in particular by the London Charity Organization Society), can do more than check a few of the most flagrant cases of imposture: a work that might better, perhaps, be undertaken by the police, and helped on by making the punishment for receiving money under false pretences more rigorous or more rigorously enforced.†

* We may refer to some practical remarks for English Catholics in our number for July, 1874, pp. 48-53, where there is a similar caution against London beggars. We are glad to say that a very important work there urged, namely, some organization for "the apprenticeship, protection, and safe emigration" of children coming out of our orphanages and industrial schools, has been begun by the Patronage Committee of the Society of S. Vincent of Paul, with which all Catholic employers should be in communication. We may notice as another practical point, that in those Unions where the guardians do *not* send the Catholic children to Catholic schools, that is, where entering the workhouse means the forced apostasy of the unhappy children, almost all other works of mercy should give precedence to that of rescuing these victims from this cruel persecution.

† Lest we be misunderstood, we wish here at once to express our warmest admiration for the zeal and self-sacrifice shown by many members of the Charity Organization Society, and only wish that such examples would stir up many Catholics to give not merely alms, but personal service, to the poor in Catholic confraternities and associations. Still, we think it may be questioned whether as a body the Charity Organization Society, by the employment of hired agents and by the wounds which its rigorous inquiries inflict upon the feelings of honour of the lower classes, does not neutralise the gain arising from its exposure of impostures, and from the frequent material help which it gives to cases of distress.

The *sixth* and last condition for the efficacy of charity is, that it be free; that no one be compelled to give, and no one hindered from giving; and only a few natural and simple restrictions be put upon the manner of giving. We hope in a subsequent article to express our full meaning on this head, and give reasons for our opinion. At present we prefer to say nothing further, rather than expose ourselves to possible misinterpretation by a discussion which would have to be hurried and imperfect.

We have now completed our account of the six principles of poor relief, or conditions for the efficacy of charity. They may, perhaps, be illustrated by recording one notable case of their non-observance. If we rightly remember the time and the place, in Lewisham, early in this year 1877, was posted up publicly, in two places at least, a list of paupers receiving outdoor relief; and this was done with the intention of reducing their number by the disgrace of publication. This incident reveals a violation of five out of the six afore-given conditions. No moral reform could be attempted within or without the workhouse by the poor-law officers; the gift was made a disgrace; the poor-law officers were certainly not lovers of the poor in the sense we have explained above; there was neither circumspection nor generosity; and lastly, the rate-payers were forced to give to the support of the poor under circumstances which by no means justified such compulsion.

Let us add one final remark upon the principles of charity. It is that, although these principles are always the same, the application of them may be, as we have already noticed, very different, according to times and circumstances. Consequently we are likely to fall into error if we raise up some particular application into a general principle. Thus the rule of giving no alms to any beggar in the street, though, as we have urged, it may be excellent for modern London, would have been a very bad rule in Rome in the last century, where there existed an organized confraternity of beggars whose excellence and beauty, especially in the features of mutual charity among the beggars, and union in religious exercises, can be seen even through the unfavourable medium of Sir A. Paget's report,* from which we give the following account:—

During the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there existed a regularly authorized beggars' society, designated by the name of the Company of S. Elizabeth. It had between 400 and 500 members, each of whom contributed two *bajocchi* and a half (about 2½d.) a month towards

* "Report on Poor-laws in Foreign Countries. Accounts and Papers," 1875, vol. lxx.

the expenses of religious ceremonies, of which there were many. Once a year the blind, led by the lame, went in penitential procession with a military escort to visit four churches. Penalties were inflicted on members of the company who failed to pay their subscriptions, or were wanting in due respect to their superior officers. No one was allowed to beg in the streets who was not a member. Children, able-bodied men and women, and foreigners, were excluded. Strangers, however, were sometimes allowed to beg in the winter on payment of the ordinary subscription. All the members of the company were furnished with licences. They practised begging among themselves, certain of the brethren being charged with the duty of soliciting alms from the rest for those who were ill. On Sundays one of the officers of the company, called *Camerlengo*, who was lame, accompanied by two who were blind, called the *Signore* and the *Guardiano*, went about the town with fiddles and a *poet* to collect offerings for the feast of the patroness of the society, S. Elizabeth. The custom was to carry a silver basin for contributions, with ten crowns and a silver snuff-box in it; and every one who put money into the former was asked to take a pinch of snuff from the latter. This grotesque trade union, which was founded in 1613, and lasted until the Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, was placed under the protection of a cardinal. Its last protector was Cardinal York (pp. 456, 457).

Let this example suffice against rash generalizations and unhistorical narrowmindedness. And now, having completed the first part of our subject, and set forth what seems to us the truth as to almsgiving, there remains the second task of criticising views on almsgiving that differ from our own. But this we must reserve for a subsequent article.

ART. V.—TURKEY AND RUSSIA.

The East and the West: our Dealings with our Neighbours. Essays by different hands. Edited by the Hon. HENRY STANLEY. London: Hatchard & Co. 1865.

Le Patriarche Hassoun. Le Schisme Arménien dans ses Rapports avec le Concile Œcuménique. Londres et Genève. 1872.

Foreign Policy: England and the Eastern Question. By the Right Hon. Lord MONTAGU, M.P. Second Edition. London: Chapman & Hall. 1877.

Turkey, Nos. 25 and 26, 1877. Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey, presented to both Houses of Parliament.

EARLY in the present year, Captain Burnaby, who was then amongst the Turks on the Armenian frontier, wrote home to a friend that, so far as he could judge, they were full of fight and eager for the coming struggle with the Russians, notwithstanding that the army assembling in Armenia was a small one. "Poor fellows!" he added, "they do not know that the God of Battles is the God of big battalions." The struggle has come, we are now in the sixth month of the war, and it can hardly be said that hitherto the God of Battles has been on the side of the big battalions.

At noon on April 24, after having been reviewed by the Czar in person, three strong Russian columns crossed the European frontier of the Ottoman empire in the midst of a storm of driving rain, which so swelled the rivers that the passage of the Pruth was a slow, tedious operation. At early dawn upon the same day, *six hours before the declaration of war*,* between 10,000 and 15,000 Russians had entered Armenia between Alexandropol and Batoum, and disarmed the Turkish posts on the frontier. Later in the day three more columns invaded Armenia. On the Asiatic frontier the Grand Duke Michael and General Melikoff put in motion on that April morning no less than 110,000 men, the "army of the Caucasus," after the Imperial Guard, the best troops of the Russian empire. The most northern column of the four marched by the sea-coast against Batoum, a fortified port, the possession of which has long been coveted by Russia. The next column was destined for the capture of Ardahan, a town with ruined walls, which had never been repaired since they were breached by the Russian

* Blue Book on Turkey, XXV. of 1877, p. 86.

artillery in 1828. The third column, under the command of Melikoff, was to march direct upon Kars; the fourth, which marched from Erivan, was to occupy Bayazid, a town with a strong castle, almost at the foot of Mount Ararat. The four columns were to unite to the westward of Kars, after that great fortress had been invested by portions of the two central columns. The united army was then to occupy Erzeroum and Trebizond. To oppose the forces set in motion against him, Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, the Turkish commander in Asia, had about 30,000 men a few miles to the west of Kars. There were less than 10,000 men in Batoum; about 20,000 garrisoned Kars; and there were weak columns of Turkish troops at Ardahan and Bayazid. At Bagdad there were fully 35,000 men, who were destined not to fire a shot in the first campaign. They had been assembled in the Euphrates valley to watch the action of Persia, whom rumour already spoke of as the ally of Russia. No sooner had war been declared than Persia gave proof that she was still unenslaved to the Russian cause, by breaking up her camps on the Turkish frontier and withdrawing the troops into the interior. But the army of Bagdad was too far removed from the field of active operations to take any part in the war this year. So long as the event of the conflict in Armenia was doubtful, it remained in the Euphrates valley. It was not until September that it received orders to descend the great river into the Persian Gulf and proceed by sea to Europe.

Sixty thousand Russians had entered Roumania on the first day of the war, 15,000 crossing the frontier at Unghemi, 10,000 at Leova, and 35,000 at Bolgrad. From Unghemi a railway line runs to Jassy, and thence down the valley of the Sereth. It crosses that river a few miles above its confluence with the Danube by the important railway bridge of Barboschi; thence it runs on to Bucharest and Giurgevo (opposite Rustchuk). On the 25th a Russian division occupied Galatz and secured the Barboschi bridge. On the same day the ministers of Prince Charles of Roumania issued a proclamation which we must here denounce as an act of lying hypocrisy. This proclamation* informed the Roumanian people that on the 23rd (11th O.S.) the Grand Vizier had requested the ministry at Bucharest to confer with Abdul Kerim in order to concert measures for resisting a Russian invasion of the Ottoman empire which appeared to be imminent; that next day came news that the Russians had crossed the Pruth; that in view of these two events Roumania would remain neutral

* Turkey, XXV. of 1877, pp. 167, 168.

until the Chambers had decided what should be its policy; and that the Roumanian army was therefore ordered to retire from the frontier in order to avoid all conflict with the invaders. A week before, the Russian representative at Bucharest had signed a convention with Roumania which placed the roads, railways, and resources of the country at the disposal of the Russian Government.* The proclamation issued by M. Bratiano and his colleagues on the 25th was a public lie. Had the ministry performed their duties as the Government of a feudatory of the Turkish empire,—at least, if they could not resist the crossing of the Pruth, they would have done nothing to facilitate it. But they openly violated the law, which, to their honour be it said, the Turks studiously observed. It was not until May 3rd that, the Roumanian Government having published its convention with Russia, the Turkish Government broke off relations with Roumania, and bombarded Kalafat, Giurgevo, and Ibrail. The Turks indeed carried forbearance too far; they might easily have destroyed the Barboschi bridge on the 24th, and on the next day, when the Roumanians in a kind of panic evacuated Kalafat, Osman Pasha might have crossed from Widin and occupied the place without firing a shot. But the Turks kept to their own bank of the Danube; for a few days at least the fiction that Roumania was neutral was observed; meanwhile the Russians crossed the Sereth and began to occupy Moldavia, advancing chiefly by the roads, the railway being used for the most part for the transport of stores and matériel. The advance of the army was slow, for during the first weeks of the war continual rain made the roads deep and heavy, swelled the rivers, and in some places destroyed the railway line and the bridges by floods. However, by the 24th of May it seems that the Russians had upwards of 200,000 men in Roumania. They occupied the line of the Danube from the Aluta to Galatz, the headquarters were at Ploesti, to the north of Bucharest, and the Roumanian army held Kalafat and the adjoining district. Several attempts had been made to cross the Danube, but none of them were serious, and probably their real object was to ascertain something of the position and force of the Turkish corps of observation on the opposite bank.

If the Turks did nothing else during the first weeks of the war in Europe they most effectually concealed both their numbers and their position. All we know is that the grand total of the Turkish forces in Bulgaria was under 200,000 men. Osman Pasha had about 40,000 at Widin, Abdul Kerim was

* Turkey, XXVI. of 1877, pp. 181, &c.

with the main body in the great intrenched camp of Shumla, perhaps the strongest fortress in the world. There were garrisons in the Danube fortresses and at Varna, and small detached corps in the Balkan passes. At Nish 10,000 or 15,000 men observed the Servian camp of Alexinatx. Those of course could take no part in the Danube campaign. Further west 50,000 splendid troops, under the command of Ali Saib, Mehemet Ali, and Suleiman Pashas were engaged in a useless warfare with the Montenegrins. They stormed the Duga Pass; they revictualled for the twentieth time the wretched hill fort of Nicksics, which should have been abandoned and blown up months before by the Turks; they penetrated into the heart of Montenegro, and proved (as Omar Pasha had proved in 1862) that, *pace* the Laureate and Mr. Gladstone, "unconquered Tsernagora" is not invincible. But all this was a barren result to buy with the lives of 10,000 men.

Until the middle of June the Russians were concentrating in Roumania; the batteries of Widin and Kalafat, Nikopol and Turnu, Rustchuk and Giurgevo, Turtukai and Oltenitza, were exchanging fire across the broad stream; there were reports of attempts to cross, but none of them succeeded, and it seemed doubtful if the operation would be successfully accomplished at all, so that at times there were rumours of a coming attempt to turn the formidable line of the Danube, by a march through Servia. Meanwhile events of the greatest importance had occurred in Asia. Of the four columns that had invaded Armenia, the first was stopped by the resistance of Batoum, suffering on the second day of the war a disastrous defeat among the hills to the east of the town. The second occupied Ardahan after a brief struggle, which was brought to a close by the cowardice, or, what is more probable, the treachery, of the Pasha in command, who suddenly abandoned the town after repelling two assaults. Leaving a garrison there, the main body continued its advance. Melikoff's column, the third and strongest of the four, drove in the various detachments between Kars and the Russian frontier, and invested the great fortress. The fourth column occupied Bayazid without any resistance, and then, turning to the north-westward, sought to communicate with the central column of Melikoff. Kars being invested, Melikoff began his advance towards Erzeroum. Ahmed Mouktar Pasha steadily retired before him, and on June 7th the Russian advanced guard was at Olti, almost in sight of Erzeroum. The correspondents of the English press were unanimous in predicting

a Russian victory, and denouncing the incapacity of Mouktar.* In Erzeroum itself the agents of Russia were openly planning a capitulation; the wretched administration of the War Office, then in the hands of Redif Pasha, gave Mouktar the most insufficient means of action; yet, in the face of all this, this brave man fell back upon Erzeroum, and bided his time. If no one else trusted him, he could depend upon the 30,000 men who formed his little army, and the time for action soon came.

The base of the Russian army of Armenia was Georgia or Transcaucasia, and all supplies, in order to reach Georgia, have to come through the Caucasus. This mountain chain extends from the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea to the shores of the Caspian, a great rampart, the summits of which rise above the snow-line, and which is pierced by only two gateways, one a pass of little importance, the other the great pass of the Vladikaukas, a defile traversed by a good military road, which formed the line by which the army of Melikoff drew its supplies and its reinforcements from Russia. Till within the last fifteen years, the valleys and the lofty plateaux of the Caucasus were the home of what we in Europe call the Circassian tribes,—men who for eighty years had successfully resisted the arms and the intrigues of Russia. It was only by a cruel war of extermination that Russia completed, in 1864, the conquest of the Caucasus, the greater portion of the Circassian tribes being either foully massacred or driven into exile. If some of the Circassians have done deeds of blood in Turkey, they have only “bettered the instruction” which Russia gave them, and revenged upon the allies of Russia the terrible wrongs they suffered at her hands.† When the war began, the Russians had no fear of a Circassian rising; the Caucasus was disarmed and all but depopulated, for the best of the men had gone into exile in 1864. On May 14th a

* During the Servian war Mouktar had the misfortune to be left in command of a corps of 5,000 very poor troops in the Herzegovina, and was defeated by the Montenegrins. If he had been anything else but a good general, his little force would have been annihilated. *Messieurs les stratèges* of the press, having heard of this defeat, denounced Mouktar until he had freed Armenia, and practically proved that they were mistaken.

† The Circassian chiefs, in their petition to the Queen of England, presented through the English ambassador at Constantinople in April, 1864, declared that “the Russian army slaughters like sheep the children, helpless women, and old men that fall into its hands. It rolls about their heads with the bayonet like melons, and there is no act of oppression and cruelty which is beyond the pale of civilization and humanity, and which defies description, which it has not committed” (Blue Book on Circassia, 1864, p. 2). On March 17th, 1864, Consul Dickson reported from Soukhoum

Turkish squadron bombarded and captured the port of Soukhoun Kaleh, which is situated on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, at the point where the Caucasian chain begins to recede from the sea and trend to the eastward. Here several thousand Turkish and Circassian regulars were landed, as well as a supply of arms for the insurgent bands that had already appeared in the coast districts. From Soukhoun the insurrection spread rapidly into the interior. A Russian corps had to be withdrawn from the field army, in order to cover Tiflis and act against the insurgents. The Vladikaukas was seized, and the mountain road destroyed. The only means left for supplying the Russian army in Asia was by the Caspian Sea, stores being embarked at Astrakhan, landed at Baku, and carried over the hills to Tiflis and Erivan. But this line of communication was almost a useless one. In the upper part of the Caspian the navigation is difficult; ships go aground out of sight of land; the whole northern part of the great lake is little better than shoal water; goods have to be embarked at Astrakhan in lighters and towed out to sea some miles before they are shipped. When they are landed at Baku, the transport by the hill-roads is very slow and difficult, for the roads are very bad, and even a little rain makes them impassable. When, therefore, the Circassian insurgents seized the Vladikaukas, the Russians in Asia found themselves cut off from their only *good* line of communication, and to the end of the campaign they had to suffer from shortness of supplies,* and while they could expect few reinforcements, they had to divert some of their best troops from Armenia to the Caucasus. The advance upon Erzeroum suddenly came to a stop. On June 8th the Russian advanced guard evacuated Olti, which Mouktar occupied, after a sharp skirmish with the retiring troops. For a week the two armies faced each other, the Turkish left being at Olti, the right at the pass of Delibaba, with a division, commanded by Mehemet Pasha, thrown forward into the plain of Zeidikhan. On the 17th the Rus-

Kaleh :—"A Russian detachment, having captured the village of Toobeh, inhabited by about 100 Abadzekh, after they had surrendered themselves prisoners, they were all massacred by the Russian troops. Amongst the victims were two women in an advanced state of pregnancy, and five children" (Blue Book, 1864, p. 3).

* A Tiflis correspondent of the *Golos*, writing early in September, says that up to that time Melikoff had been reinforced with only one of the three divisions promised to him; but he added that, on the whole, it was better the two other divisions had not come, for they would have probably been starved, as the roads of the Caucasus were impracticable, and the transport from Baku most difficult, and provisions of all kinds were therefore scarce in the Russian camps.

sians in great force attacked Zeidikhan, Mehemet was killed by a bursting shell, and his army, in utter confusion, fell back upon the pass. The Russophile press announced that the whole Turkish army of Asia was compromised, and on the verge of destruction. But the success of the Russians was purely a local one. They did not venture to attack Delibaba. Under the pressure of the rising in the Caucasus, their Armenian campaign had broken down, and, despite their superior numbers, they no longer acted on the offensive. Now came the time for the Turks to strike. The Russians, repulsed in another attack upon Batoum, were in their turn assailed by the garrison, and driven from their positions on the banks of the Tchuruk Sou. Ismail Pasha, with a few Turkish battalions, and clouds of Kurdish horsemen, fell upon Bayazid, retook the town, and shut up the Russian garrison in the old citadel. Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, rapidly concentrating to his right, advanced from Delibaba into the plain of Zeidikhan, and drove back the Russian left, and then, in a series of battles which followed this first success, he forced Melikoff back upon Kars. On July 2nd the defeated Russian army passed to the eastward of the fortress, abandoning the trenches, and withdrawing the siege guns on the western side. Next day Ahmed Mouktar entered the city in triumph. The siege was over. The key of Armenia was safe, for there had been no traitors in 1877 to hold back the delivering force, and so the catastrophe of 1855 was not repeated. The middle of July saw the "big battalions" that had marched into Armenia ten weeks before, standing upon the defensive upon their own frontier.

But before the siege of Kars was raised, the Danube had been crossed, and it was confidently predicted that the success of the main army in Europe would more than counterbalance the disasters which the Russian arms had suffered in Asia. Various attempts, more or less serious, had been made to cross the Danube; but a wide river, where every practicable point is watched by a fortress, is a most formidable barrier. At Tchernavoda the Danube, after a course of nearly three hundred miles from Widin, is within thirty-five miles of the sea. Here it suddenly bends to the northward, bending again to the westward at Galatz, and flowing into the delta at Tultscha. The Danube, in its course below Tchernavoda, is divided into several branches, with low, flat islands between them; its banks are marshy, and the district between it and the sea is a malarious tract of low hills, marshy plains, and shallow lakes, containing a number of small villages connected by narrow cart-tracks rather than roads. This is the

district of the Dobrudja, which extends from the delta of the Danube along the coast of the Black Sea as far as Baltjik, a little to the north of Varna. It was into this district that the army of Paskievitch marched in 1828 ; it was there the disease began in the Russian camps which destroyed three-fourths of the men. The Turks this summer had wisely placed only a small corps of observation in the Dobrudja, and when on June 23rd the Russians, under the command of Zimmermann, bridged the Danube near Galatz, constructed a causeway across the marshes, and occupied Matchin, they met with only a trifling resistance from the Turkish irregulars. The small Turkish army fell back to Tchernavoda, and 60,000 Russians were poured into the malarious fever-land of the Dobrudja.

In 1828 the Russians marched through the Dobrudja because, in consequence of the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, they had the command of the sea, and were supplied by their Black Sea fleet. This year the Russians had no such reason for the invasion of the Dobrudja. Probably their real objects were (1) to have at least the semblance of a success in Europe as a set-off to Mouktar's victories in Asia ; (2) to divert the attention of the Turkish commanders from renewed attempts to be made on the main line of the Danube ; (3) they may have hoped to advance rapidly against Silistria or Varna, and to find a feeble or treacherous commandant ready to surrender one of these fortresses, as Yussuf Pasha had surrendered Varna in 1828. If the advance into the Dobrudja was meant for a feint, the very slowness and inactivity of Abdul Kerim prevented him from falling into the snare and diverting any considerable portion of his forces to the eastward. If it was meant for a serious attack, it was an utter failure. Zimmermann has spent four months in the Dobrudja without being able to seriously menace either Silistria or Varna. There was no traitor to open their gates to him, and, in the face of the Turkish army at Shumla, he did not feel himself strong enough to invest either fortress. How many men he has lost by disease in these four months we shall know later on. Up to the present the terrible secrets of the Russian hospitals have been well kept.

On June 27th, four days after the invasion of the Dobrudja, the Russians succeeded in forcing a point on the main line of the Danube. That morning simultaneous attempts to cross were made at Turnu, opposite Nikopol, and at Petroceni, near Sistof, or Sistova. The attempt at Turnu, the more serious of the two, failed ; the attempt at Petroceni succeeded. Four thousand men, crossing in large boats, established themselves on the southern bank, repelled an attack from Sistova, and

being continually reinforced from the Roumanian bank, succeeded in occupying the town. In the course of the day a pontoon bridge was established between Simnitzer and Sistova, and the regular passage of the river began. There was undoubtedly carelessness (if not worse) on the part of the commandant of Sistova. He ought to have observed more carefully all movements on the other bank, and prevented even a single battalion from obtaining a footing at Petroceni.

The long narrow bridge at Sistova, with its difficult approaches, was not a rapid means of transit for the Russian armies. On July 1st not more than 60,000 Russians had crossed. On that day the first action was fought in Bulgaria. The Russian advanced guard was pushed forward to the south-east to occupy Biela, a town and bridge on the main road from Rustchuk to Tirnova. The town is covered by the river Jantra and stands on a plateau, which rises steeply from the bank of the stream. It was held by a small Turkish force under Ahmed Eyoub, who successfully kept the Russians at bay till the 3rd, when, finding that they had crossed the river higher up and turned the position, he withdrew from the town. In the course of the next week the Russian force in Bulgaria was more than doubled. On crossing the Danube the Czar had issued a proclamation to the Bulgarians, telling them that he came as a deliverer, and inviting them to rally to the standard of Russia. Almost his first act was to appoint as governor of Bulgaria, Prince Tcherkaski, who had made himself notorious by his sanguinary "reorganization" of Poland, after the rising of 1863-64. Tirnova, the old capital of Bulgaria, which was named as Tcherkaski's residence, was still in Turkish hands. The Czar had yet to conquer the territories he had so summarily assigned to his viceroy. In order to accomplish this conquest he had three courses open to him—(1) to make an attack upon the Turkish quadrilateral; (2) to march to the south-west, force the Etropol Balkan, and turn the main line of the Balkan by marching down the Maritza valley to Adrianople; (3) to make a direct attack on the main chain of the Balkans. If he adopted either the second or the third course, at least half the Russian army would have to remain in Bulgaria to hold Abdul Kerim in check and protect the Russian communications. The first plan, on the other hand, would bring the whole available force into direct collision with the Turkish army, and in the event of success the reduction of the Danube fortresses would afford a secure basis for the further prosecution of the war next year. Had the Czar been actuated solely by military reasons, he would undoubtedly have chosen this plan. Its success was doubtful enough, but at

least it was sound ; there might be failure, there could hardly be anything like utter disaster. But the campaign was to be a political one. The Czar knew perfectly well that before all things it was his interest to finish the war in a single season ; for how could Russia, already on the way to bankruptcy before the war began, stand the strain of a war extending over two years ? Would his own throne be safe if the pressure upon the Russian people continued for so long a time, while the greater portion of the army was abroad ? Circassia had already risen—Would Poland remain quiet ? Afghanistan threatened to become the leader of a sacred war in Asia—Might not the wave of Russian conquest be rolled back to the Ural ? Russia, in fact, was not strong enough for a prolonged conflict, and the Czar and his advisers so despised their enemies that they supposed the war could be finished by September, and that they could safely leave the Danube fortresses untaken, the army of Shumla intact, and make a rush for Adrianople in the hope of producing a panic in the capital, diplomatic intervention, and a peace like that of 1829. The flank march by Sofia would be a long one, would completely divide the Russian army into two portions, separated by a hundred miles of difficult roads, and would give Abdul Kerim the choice of falling upon the covering force in Bulgaria and cutting off the Russians from their communications, or of retiring through the Balkans and interposing himself between Adrianople and the Russian advance. The third plan was therefore adopted, and all was staked upon a bold advance by the Balkan passes to Adrianople. It is possible that the Russian generals had further reason for adopting this plan. The inaction of Abdul Kerim in July was remarkable. His friends urged with some show of reason that his policy of delay was a sound one ; that if he did not risk a general engagement the position of the Russians would be found to become worse from day to day, and that he could choose his own time for acting. But the Sultan and the people alike became tired of this Fabian policy. Alleged proof was laid before the Sultan of treachery on the part of Redif, the war minister, in which Abdul Kerim was implicated. When Redif and Abdul Kerim are brought to trial after the war, we shall learn something of its secret history. Meanwhile we must be content to leave in obscurity the motives which prompted the inaction of the main Turkish army for some weeks after the Danube was crossed.

On the 8th the Russians occupied Tirnova, and the Cossacks were at the foot of the Balkans. On the 16th the Russians improved their position on the Danube by capturing Nikopolis. Two days later their advanced guard occupied the Schipka

Pass. The defence of a mountain-chain is always difficult when the mountaineers do not act as the partisans of the defenders. In this instance General Gourko's vanguard was guided by a number of Bulgarian insurgents over a mountain-path to the eastward of the Schipka, and the pass being attacked at both ends, fell into the hands of the Russians on the 16th. The pass is one of the highest and best in the Balkans—an elevated valley 4,300 feet above the sea, traversed by a good road, which is commanded by two redoubts placed upon lofty spurs of the mountain. From this pass Gourko's corps descended into the valley of Kezanlik, one of the most beautiful regions in Turkey, where roses are grown in millions for the manufacture of perfumes. Reouf Pasha, who commanded a small force in the valley, struggled manfully to check the Russian advance. He was beaten at Yeni Saghra, but refused to retire to Adrianople, and his determination probably saved Turkey, for he gained a few days, during which Suleiman Pasha's army, which had been withdrawn from Montenegro, was landed at Enos, and began to arrive by railway at Adrianople. Suleiman's arrival allayed the panic which was beginning to manifest itself at Constantinople. For the moment, however, throughout Europe, there were few who did not speak of the Ottoman empire as doomed. The general opinion was really an unreasonable one. The Turkish armies were still intact, the military position was sound, and the Russian plan of the campaign extremely rash and tempting disaster. In fact, no sooner had Gourko passed the Balkans than the Turkish position began daily to improve. On the 19th Abdul Kerim was dismissed, and Mehemet Ali appointed to take his place. On the 21st came the first great Turkish victory in Europe, the first battle of Plevna.

As early as July 9th, Osman Pasha had led a Turkish *corps* from Widin and seized Plevna, close in to the right of the Russian line of operations, driving out the few Cossacks that occupied the town. At the time little notice was taken of this move of Osman's, although, later on, it proved to be the act that decided the course of the war in Europe. At Plevna the roads of Western Bulgaria run into a kind of knot, and an army placed there can communicate with both Widin and Sophia on the one hand, and menace Sistova and Nikopolis, or Tirnova, on the other. Attacked there on the 21st by the Russian division of Schilder Schuldner, Osman repulsed the enemy with a loss of 2,000 men, a loss acknowledged in Russian despatches. A week after his victory (on July 28th) Osman attacked and captured Loftcha, a town to the south of Plevna, on the Tirnova road. The Russian staff saw that

every effort should be made to retake Plevna. It was attacked next day by 60,000 men under Krudener and Skobeleff; the battle raged till the evening of the 30th. The two outer lines of intrenchments were carried by the Russians, but the Turks retook them, and by nightfall the Russians were retreating in hopeless confusion to Bulgareni, having lost at least 15,000 men in the two days' fighting. On the same day Suleiman attacked and defeated the Russians at Yeni Saghra; the Osmanlis were victorious both north and south of the Balkans. Adrianople was safe. The whole Russian army was in serious peril.

The Czar had refused the co-operation of the Roumanian army at the outset of the campaign. He now asked them to garrison Nikopolis, in order that the Russians there might reinforce Krudener. The Guards were ordered to leave St. Petersburg for Bulgaria, the landwehr were called out throughout all Russia, depriving the farmers of labour in the midst of the harvest, and inflicting a serious loss upon the country. It was anticipated that Osman would attack Bulgareni, but he hardly knew the real extent of his success until the Russians had recovered from the first shock of their defeat. He remained within his works at Plevna, receiving reinforcements from Sophia and bringing down heavy guns from Widin. Meanwhile, Suleiman was steadily recovering the ground occupied by the Russians south of the Balkans, and Mehemet Ali was receiving reinforcements through Varna, new levies from Stamboul, Egyptians from Alexandria, and all Fazli Pasha's corps from Soukhoun Kaleh. On the 11th of August Mehemet fought a serious battle with the Russians near Eski Djuma, and defeated them, taking five guns; on the same day, far away in Transcaucasia, Ismail Pasha crossed the Russian frontier and defeated Tergukasoff at Zaryagla.

By the end of August there was not a Russian south of the Balkans; Suleiman had captured the Schipka village on the 20th, and next day he had begun an attack on the pass, which the Russians have held for week after week, the firing hardly ceasing for a day. Here at least the Russians have shown an admirable pertinacity and the most desperate courage, while Suleiman has wrecked his reputation as a general by continuing the useless carnage instead of leaving a strong detachment to bar the outlet of the pass, and marching into Bulgaria by any of the other mountain roads; thus at once turning the Schipka, and combining his operations with those of his colleagues. Mehemet Ali on the 21st had begun an advance against the Russian left upon the Lom, and driven them from their positions about Popskeui. Finally, on the

last day of the month, Osman had come out of Plevna and defeated a Russian corps at Petichel.

The first week of September saw the Russians driven by Mehemet Ali from all their positions on the Lom, and the Turks were almost in sight of Biela. But the Russians had taken Loftcha on the 5th, and on the 7th, having assembled a Russo-Roumanian army of 110,000 men and 280 guns around Plevna, they began the bombardment which was the prelude of a new attack; on the 11th the attack came, and, after two days' of desperate fighting, the Russians were driven back with a loss of 20,000 men, the heaviest loss they had yet suffered on a single battle-field. The single redoubt of Grivitza, an outwork of Plevna, was all that remained in their hands at the end of the battle. It was now evident that Plevna had been converted into a strong fortress, that could not be carried by a coup-de-main. The defeated army began a regular siege, without, however, being able to really invest the place, for a reinforcement of 15,000 men and more than one convoy of ammunition and provisions were successfully conveyed from Sophia to Plevna by Chefket Pasha. Before these pages are in the hands of our readers, it is probable the Russians will have made another attempt to overpower Osman. It is impossible to predict the result, but the Turks ought to be able to hold their ground. In Asia the Russians having massed 60,000 men at Alexandropol, succeeded, on the 15th, in driving Mouktar from his position on the Aladja Dag. Two months ago this victory would have been of use to Russia. Now it comes too late. Kars cannot be successfully besieged with the terrible Armenian winter so close at hand. Mouktar's defeat is the result of his over-confidence in remaining with his weak force too long upon the frontier in presence of an enemy superior in numbers. His victories had led him into the dangerous error of despising his antagonists.

Such is a brief sketch of the history of the war up to the present day, and of the state of affairs upon the Danube. What does it prove? It shows in the first place that the Turkish soldier is more than equal to the Russian; that he can hold intrenchments against superior numbers, as Osman did at Plevna; that he can storm Russian intrenchments, as Mehemet Ali did at Kishlivour and Karahassankoi. It shows that the Russian army of 1,500,000 men, that we have heard of for the last five years, is a myth, and Russia's military power a sham. Russia, with a population of 80,000,000, has never had more than 400,000 men in the field, if she has ever had as many, while Germany, with a population of 39,000,000, was able to pour more than 800,000 men into France in 1870.

The details of the battles show that the Russian soldiers still fight huddled together in masses, as they did in the Crimea; hence the terrible slaughter at Plevna. The details of their defeats show that they are eminently liable to sudden panic. The war has proved that Turkey is neither dead nor dying. The "sick man" was but another Russian myth. Russia has failed in the first campaign. She has the winter before her. What prospect has she of successfully renewing the conflict in the spring?

The roads of Roumania and Bulgaria will soon be impassable. The rains of autumn will increase tenfold the sickness in the Russian camps. If the invaders remain in Bulgaria, how are they to be fed? How many of them will survive? Von Moltke says of the winter of 1828: "The fall of Varna was most fortunate for the Russians. With Varna and Silistria in their rear, and cut off from the sea, it would have been impossible for them to winter in Bulgaria."* Is not this the position of affairs at this moment? Even if the Russians were upon the sea-coast, they have no fleet to supply them, and they are cut off from the sea by the whole Quadrilateral; they have a Turkish army on either hand, and for every pound of bread, for every truss of fodder, for every box of cartridges, they must depend upon two floating bridges which the storms of autumn will break up again and again. When winter comes, the Danube will be bridged effectually from Widin to the sea by one sheet of ice, but the snow-drifts will make transport as difficult as ever upon the roads, and the Russian army will find that severe cold is as terrible, if not a more terrible, enemy to it than to any other European army. The Russian, accustomed to his small hut at home, which the stove converts into a highly-heated oven, feels the cold of a campaign most acutely. According to Sir Robert Wilson,† no less than 90,000 Russians perished in the winter of 1812, while pursuing the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow. The small English army in the Crimea, only four miles from its base at Balaclava, was more than decimated by the winter of 1854-55, and barely existed through it. How will the immense Russian army in Bulgaria fare, several hundred miles from its base in Russia, and totally unprepared for a winter campaign? Perhaps it will retire into Roumania; but if it does this, it will effect its retreat across the Danube, only with heavy loss, and will have next year to recommence the campaign against a victorious enemy at the precise point where it began this

* Moltke's "The Russians in Bulgaria and Roumania in 1828-29."

† "Diary of Campaign of 1812," &c.

year. In any case the hospitals and the graveyards will receive a host of Russian sick and dead. The Russian soldier is not clean in his habits, and neglects the simplest sanitary precautions. Russian camps are always the homes of pestilence. Russian armies lose more men by disease than by the bullet. In 1828, 200,000 Russians entered Turkey; in 1829, at most 15,000 recrossed the Pruth.* Neither the climate of Bulgaria nor the sanitary condition of the Russian soldier has improved much since 1828-29.

We see then no reason to suppose that Russia can have any prospect of renewing the campaign after a winter spent in Bulgaria or in Roumania. To our minds the failure of Russia is practically complete—that is, supposing the question remains entirely a question of Russia's power of attack, against Turkey's power of resistance. Now there arise two important questions which we shall endeavour to answer.

1. Has Russia deserved to fail?

2. Have we reason to rejoice at her failure?

The first question is not difficult to answer, if we approach it in a proper spirit, for the real question that underlies it is this, "Is Russia's war against Turkey a just one?" Now this is purely a judicial question, a question of evidence, on which our judgment must be given in accordance with that Divine law of justice that binds nations as well as men. In a matter like this, feeling or sentiment is the worst of guides, it is a question that we must decide purely as our reason and conscience direct us, putting aside all partisan sympathy for Czar or Sultan, Slav or Turk. It is peculiarly our duty as Catholics when we make our voices heard amongst our countrymen on matters belonging to the region of international politics, to plainly assert the sanctity of the law of nations, and the gravity of the crime committed by him who violates it; for the law of nations is the guarantee of right between peoples, and the practical application to their affairs of the ever-binding commands, "Thou shalt not kill—thou shalt not steal—thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

No war is just that does not vindicate a right belonging to him who wages it, which he cannot otherwise effectively assert, or seek to repair a wrong for which he has demanded, and been refused, legitimate satisfaction. Only on these serious grounds can he carry fire and sword into a neighbour's territories, enforcing his demands by slaying with the sword, and destroying or seizing his enemy's property. If then a war is unjust—that is waged without just cause—the aggressor

* Von Moltke's Appendix.

bears false witness against his neighbour by falsely asserting that he has subjected himself to the penalties of war, and commits, upon the widest scale, robbery and murder during the prosecution of the war. The important matter, therefore, to consider is, had Russia just cause for declaring war against Turkey? And in order to decide this matter, we must briefly examine the events that immediately preceded the war. It is now an established fact that Russia has had for years throughout Turkey in Europe a network of secret societies and committees that enabled her, whenever she willed it, to excite serious troubles in the Ottoman empire.* She had further, in the little independent state of Montenegro, the chief revenue of whose Prince avowedly consists of a subvention from St. Petersburg, a natural fortress garrisoned by a warlike race, and placed in the midst of Ottoman territory. Moreover, she had in the governments, if not in the people of Roumania and Servia, secret allies, whose ambition made them her tools, whenever she chose to transmit her orders to them. Finally, under the weak rule of the last years of Abdul Aziz, her ambassador at Constantinople obtained such an influence over Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, the Grand Vizier, that, according to Mr. Gallenga (a Russophile writer, if there is one in all Europe), during this, the worst and weakest period of Turkish rule, General Ignatieff had more weight in the direction of affairs than any man in Turkey.† With these means of action in her hands, Russia had at any moment the power of exciting civil war in the Turkish empire.

The Russian army was mobilized in November, 1876, on the eve of the Conference. Up to that time every armed attack on Turkey had failed. A peaceful and legal revolution in the capital had swept away Abdul Aziz and Mahmoud Nedim, the tool of Ignatieff, and after Mourad VII., the next in legal succession, had been found hopelessly imbecile, his brother, Abdul Hamid II., the son of Abdul Medjid, was placed upon the throne. The insurrection in the Herzegovina had never spread beyond the frontier districts adjacent to Montenegro, and the rising in Bulgaria had been trampled out, the irregulars who suppressed it exacting fearful reprisals for the deeds of outrage and bloodshed with which the rebels, led by the Pan Slavist agitators, had begun the insurrection.‡ Montenegro had declared

* See Mr. Baring's report on the events in Bulgaria, and the documentary evidence collected by Lord R. Montagu in his seventh chapter.

† "Two Years of the Eastern Question." By A. Gallenga. London: 1877.

‡ Apart from the documentary evidence in Mr. Baring's report that the atrocities were begun by the Bulgars, we have indirect testimony as to the

war, with the object of annexing a portion of the Herzegovina, but the operations of the Montenegrin army had been almost entirely confined to the district of Nicksics. Serbia had declared war against her suzerain, although for fifty years she had enjoyed complete independence of Turkey, and for three years the Turkish garrisons had been withdrawn from her fortresses on the distinct pledge that these fortresses should not be used as a base of operations against Turkey. Russia, without a declaration of war, sent her soldiers into Serbia to fight against the Turks, with whom she was professedly at peace. But even this most flagrant outrage against the law of nations availed her nothing. The Russo-Servian army was defeated in the field. On October 30th the camp of Alexinatz was stormed by the Turkish army, and Serbia was granted an armistice.

Her war in disguise, her war of insurrection, having failed, Russia prepared for a more serious and open conflict by mobilizing her army, and concentrating 400,000 men on the Turkish frontiers; at the same time expressing her hope that the Conference, which was to assemble at Constantinople, would find a peaceful solution for the Eastern Question. In his famous speech at Moscow on the 10th of November the Czar said:—

In a few days negotiations will commence in Constantinople, between the representatives of the Great Powers, to settle the conditions of peace. My most ardent wish is, that we may arrive at a general agreement. Should this, however, not be achieved, and should I see that we cannot obtain such guarantees as are necessary for carrying out what we have a right to demand of the Porte, I am firmly determined to act independently, and I am convinced that in this case the whole of Russia will respond to my summons should I consider it necessary, and should the honour of Russia require it. May God help us to carry out our sacred mission!

To the menaces of Russia the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, and his ministers replied by quietly and unostentatiously completing the defences of Turkey, whilst, in order to more than anticipate every just demand, they opened negotiations for peace with Montenegro and Serbia, elaborated a form of representative government for the empire, and a constitution which declared Moslem and Christian, Turk, Greek, and Slav, equal before the law, under the common name of Ottomans. On the

character of these people, and the probability of their insurrections being accompanied with massacre and outrage, in the detailed narratives of the atrocities committed by them during the summer campaign,—narratives written by independent witnesses of different nationalities, and of various shades of political opinion.

28rd of November the Conference met at Constantinople, and while the ambassadors and envoys were exchanging their credentials, the windows of the palace in which they met were shaken by the roar of a hundred guns which saluted the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution. The demands of Russia, as formulated by the Conference, were of a nature to destroy once and for ever the authority of the Sultan, his ministers, and his Parliament. They included the institution of a permanent International Commission to supervise the affairs of Turkey; the occupation of whole territories by foreign troops, or foreign gendarmerie; the withdrawal of the Turkish troops to the fortresses; the removal to Asia of the Circassians whom Russia had driven from their homes in the Caucasus, and now sought to drive from their new homes in Europe; the placing of certain districts under the administration of Servia and Montenegro; finally, interference on the part of foreign powers in the appointment of governors of provinces, in the administration of the finances, and in the judicial system of the country. The Turkish ministers might well have refused to listen for a moment to such proposals, backed as they were by the menace of the camp at Kischeneff. But they discussed them with the other plenipotentiaries, pointed out how far reforms, already effected by Abdul Hamid, had gone to remedy evils that might have existed under Abdul Aziz, reforms which were only a portion of those to be carried into effect in every department when the Parliament met; and sought to find a basis upon which an agreement as to the future might be framed, which would not be fatal at once to the honour and independence of the State. No such basis was found. On January 18th the demands of the Conference were laid before the Grand Council of Turkey, an assembly of 240 notables, in which were represented not only the Moslems, but the Christian communities of every nationality. The Council was unanimous in rejecting the Russian demands. It was the first time it had met since the Crimean war. It proved that Turkey was united in its loyalty to its sovereign, and that so far as their representatives could speak for them, the Christian communities neither asked nor desired the protection of Russia.*

* Last April, a deputy from Kurdistan, speaking in the Ottoman Parliament, expressed the spirit which animated the people of the Empire in a few words, to which their simple, earnest truth gave the grace of the highest eloquence. "I myself," he said, "like most of the people of my province, go about in rags, and it was only by a great effort and sacrifice that I have been able to get this coat to appear decently among you; and still I am ready to give up this coat and resume my old rags in order to fight for the

On the eve of the failure of the Conference Lord Derby had telegraphed to Lord Salisbury that it was desirable that no "identical note or protocol" embodying the demands of the Conference should be signed, and that he should avoid any language "that could be construed as pledging Her Majesty's Government to enforce the proposals of the Conference."* The day after the rejection of these proposals, Prince Gortchakoff sent a circular to the Powers,† in which he said: "It is necessary for us to know what the cabinets with whom we have hitherto acted in common propose to do with a view of meeting this refusal, and insuring the execution of their wishes." The final outcome of this circular was the London Protocol of March 31st. The question we have before us is simply, was Russia's proclamation of war a just one? The history of the London Protocol answers it, and that history, based on the English Blue Books, is to be found set forth at length in Lord Robert Montagu's fourteenth chapter.‡ We can only give it in outline here.

On February 29th our ambassador at St. Petersburg communicated to Prince Gortchakoff the resolution of the English Government to defer any reply to his circular of January 19th. "Prince Gortchakoff," says Lord A. Loftus, "appeared to view the postponement of an answer to his circular with regret. He said that the present position of affairs was extremely prejudicial to Russia; that the mobilization of the army cost 13,000,000 monthly; and that a prolonged delay in ascertaining the decision of the European Powers imposed on Russia a costly sacrifice." Lord A. Loftus then, in accordance with his instructions, pointed out that "the greater portion of the reforms recommended by the Conference had been accepted by the Porte, and harmonized with the Constitution which had been proclaimed. It was reasonable, therefore, for Europe to grant a certain respite to the Porte to enable it to prove its sincerity in the assurances given. A period of twelve months would enable the Porte to give evidence of its determination to carry out the proposed reforms. Prince Gortchakoff replied that Russia could not wait for twelve or even six months with the military cost she was now incurring.

existence and honour of my country. No one has a right to interfere with our own domestic affairs, and we Ottomans protest solemnly against such interference by any foreign power." These words were addressed to a mixed assembly of Christians and Moslems, and they hailed them with enthusiastic cheers.

* Blue Book II. of 1877, No. 147, Jan. 3, and No. 133, Jan. 13.

† Blue Book VIII. of 1877, No. 1.

‡ "England and the Eastern Question," pp. 321, &c.

The reforms, he observed, could be perfectly inaugurated within two months."* Lord R. Montagu calls attention to the fact that Russia waited just two months after this important conversation before she began the war.

Next day Lord Derby writes to Lord A. Loftus, that Count Schouvaloff had called upon him and said that :—

The Russian Government were in a position of considerable difficulty. The expense and inconvenience of keeping up their armaments on the present footing was very great, and could not be continued indefinitely. On the other hand, unless public opinion could be satisfied by the announcement of some specific advantage that had been gained by the armament, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to proceed to demobilize the forces which had been placed on a war footing.†

In a second despatch of the same date‡ Lord Derby informs Lord A. Loftus—

That it is understood by Her Majesty's Government that the object of the Russian Government is to secure an honourable retreat from their present position.

Then came the proposal (says Lord R. Montagu) to sign an identic note—a Protocol of the joint demands on Turkey (which Lord Derby and the British Cabinet had said "was to be by all means avoided"). It was an ultimatum to be presented to Turkey by "United Europe"; and, of course, it was an admission by all Europe of the justice of Russia's demands. It was, therefore, an annihilation of the treaty of March, 1856, and of the tripartite treaty of April, 1856. It is General Ignatieff who is told off to do this duty. How admirably he does it! The most refined insinuations! the most natural conclusions from the principle which Gortchakoff had established.

It was, of course (said General Ignatieff), impossible for Russia to disarm unless the Government could show the people that something had been obtained as a return for the expense of the mobilization of the army; in fact, that Russia and the rest of Europe had not been actually set at nought by the Porte, and that some security had been obtained for the improvement of the condition of the Christians in Turkey. The Conference had separated at Constantinople without drawing up a final Protocol. But this omission might be remedied. A Protocol might now be signed embodying the reforms ultimately recommended by the Conference, and requiring the Porte to execute them. . . . General Ignatieff's language implied that, on the signature of such a Protocol, Russia would place her army on a peace footing again, but he did not say this in so many words.‡

The principle of the Protocol was agreed to by a cabinet council on March 13th. This principle was that the European

* Blue Book XVI. of 1877, No. 236.

† Id. XV. of 1877, No. 167.

§ XV. of 1877, No. 168.

‡ Id. XV. of 1877, No. 247, Lord Lyons, March 9.

powers were as a united body to lay down a programme of reforms to be put into effect by Turkey; to watch the progressive execution of these reforms, and to take common action in the event of Turkey failing to execute them. The bait which Russia held out to the English cabinet in order to secure its signature was disarmament. Yet when, on March 31st the Protocol was actually signed which called upon the Porte to make peace with Montenegro, disarm in the presence of a Russian army on its frontiers, and, under the penalty of war, carry into effect a programme of reform drawn up for it by foreign governments, Russia gave no distinct pledge that she would demobilize her army. The note appended by Count Schouvaloff to the Protocol only declared that if Turkey would make peace with Montenegro, and take the advice of Europe, showing itself ready to replace its army on a peace footing, and to carry out the reforms named in the Protocol, it should "send to St. Petersburg a special envoy to treat of disarmament," to which the Emperor would consent; but it was added that if any more atrocities occurred in Turkey, the demobilization would necessarily not be carried out. Now Russia could prevent, and did prevent, Montenegro making peace with Turkey; therefore, she had the diplomatic game in her own hands,* and Count Schouvaloff's note was really a demand that Turkey should either suffer a Russian invasion, or by disarming place herself at the mercy of the Russian army. What was the attitude assumed by Turkey in reference to these high-handed demands?

While the negotiations for the signature of the Protocol were in progress at London, and the Porte having already granted a most generous peace to Servia, was endeavouring to come to terms with Montenegro, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs had an interview with the English *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople on March 14. The Minister said:—

That he was fully alive to the danger of war with Russia arising from a renewal of hostilities with the Principality [Montenegro], and to the fearful consequences which such a conflict might involve, and he expressed a hope that, in the interests of all, the Powers would impose their will on the Prince

* On April 4th Lord A. Loftus, according to instructions from Lord Derby, told Prince Gortchakoff that the British Government had learned that the decision of the Prince of Montenegro depended upon the message he might receive from St. Petersburg (XV. of 1877, No. 517). On the same day Lord Derby telegraphed to our minister at Vienna and to Lord A. Loftus, that the Prince of Montenegro would not give way, "as he would wait until the 5th to learn from Russia," &c., and that "the Prince's decision appears to depend upon Russia" (XV. of 1877, Nos. 457 and 459).

of Montenegro to dissuade him from demanding concessions which could not be granted. That in any case Turkey, while maintaining a sufficient force to keep Montenegro in check, was willing to offer most solemn assurances of her readiness to execute all the reforms which had been accepted by her in the Conference, and that if she could obtain from any of the great Powers a reasonable security against attack from Russia, she would not hesitate to disarm immediately.*

On the receipt of the Protocol the Porte sent to its diplomatic agents abroad a circular in which it expressed its regret that Turkey had been allowed no voice in the negotiation at London, and protested against the proceedings as a dangerous precedent to introduce into the relations of nations with each other. It pointed to the reforms already effected or in progress as evidence of its desire to afford every just satisfaction to the Powers. It denied, however, that they could have any claim to place Turkey under international supervision. As to the peace with Montenegro, it asserted that Turkey had offered to Prince Nikita a liberal rectification of frontiers, and that it was only his exorbitant claims that delayed an agreement. As for disarmament, Turkey was ready to follow the example of Russia if the Czar would order a demobilization. It was Count Schouvaloff's declaration annexed to the Protocol that provoked the greatest resistance on the part of the Porte. On the 5th of April our *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople telegraphed to Lord Derby:—

The Minister for Foreign Affairs stated to me this morning, in the presence of the Grand Vizier, as the expression of his personal opinion, that should Russia consent to withdraw the Declaration, and to leave the question of territorial cession to Montenegro open till later, when he hoped for an amicable arrangement, *he would undertake not only that the required reforms should be seriously carried out, but that the refugees should be re-established to the satisfaction of Prince Nicholas, and that an envoy should be sent to St. Petersburg to treat of reciprocal disarmament.*†

The Turks were thus ready to make any reasonable concession. The real difficulty in the way of peace was upon the other side. The next morning (April 6th) at St. Petersburg, Prince Gortchakoff plainly told our ambassador that Russia could no longer bear the strain of keeping the army mobilized and idle; that the question of peace and war had reached its eleventh hour, and that the Emperor would not recede from the position he had taken up.‡ Prince Gortchakoff might have added that Russia was at that very moment arranging

* Id., XV. of 1877, No. 286.

† Id., XV. of 1877, No. 518.

‡ Id., XV. of 1877, No. 471.

with Roumania the treaty which was to make the principality her base of operations against its suzerain.

On the 13th the armistice with Montenegro expired; on the 24th, after a few days of hesitation, Russia began the war. In his manifesto the Czar proclaimed that the non-acceptance of the Protocol was the cause of the war. In their circular to the Great Powers on the declaration of war, the ministers of the Sultan asked what injuries Russia had received from Turkey—plainly none, for she alleged none—the only pretext for war was that the Porte refused to accept Count Schouvaloff's declaration, and to give those guarantees enumerated in the Protocol, which would have destroyed its independence by placing it under the tutelage of foreign Governments.

As she agrees with the Great Powers, they said, as to the most essential parts of the reforms, the Sublime Porte asks whether Russia is justified in declaring war against the Ottoman empire in the name of a document which, according to the declaration made at the time of its signature, was to be of value only so long as war should not break out; in having recourse to arms alone, of all the signatories of the Protocol; in attributing to the declaration of Count Schouvaloff a character binding on all the signatories of the Protocol; in making war in the name of the general peace; in letting loose upon all the people, Mussulman and Christian, of the Ottoman empire, frightful calamities to better ensure their welfare; finally, in endangering the integrity and independence of the empire in search of the conditions of its prosperity?"*

From this series of facts and documents it appears that Russia, having failed to break up Turkey by the Servian war, mobilized her army on the eve of the Conference; that she refused to recognize the reforms actually in progress in Turkey, and endeavoured to force upon the Porte a programme drawn up without its concurrence and consent; that she alleged that she could not disarm unless the Protocol were signed, and then used it as a pretext for war; that she insisted on Turkey making peace with Montenegro, as a preliminary to disarmament, and then refused to exert her influence to make Prince Nicholas accept the concessions offered to him; that when it was suggested she should wait a year or six months to witness the execution of the reforms in Turkey, she refused to wait, and did not wait more than two months, alleging the expense of the mobilization as a motive for precipitating the war; that from the outset she was resolved on war, and prolonged the negotiations only in the hope of either obtaining the submission of the Porte without having recourse to arms, or making

* *Id.*, XXV. of 1877, No. 140, pp. 89, 90.

the other Powers her accomplices. Finally, it is clear that Turkey has made, or was prepared to make, the largest concessions compatible with her existence as an independent Power. We have given evidence on all these points: still further evidence is to be found in abundance in the long series of documents collected and analyzed by Lord Robert Montagu.

On these facts only one judgment is possible: Russia's war against Turkey is in the highest degree unnecessary and unjust. She deserved to fail. She has failed. Her armies had hardly crossed the Pruth when Pius IX. told the pilgrims of Savoy that God's hand would be heavy on Russia. His words, read in the light of the last five months, seem like a prophecy.

Apart, then, from all questions of interest, we have good cause to rejoice at the failure of Russia, because it is the failure of an unjust, and therefore a most wicked enterprise. But, having said this much, we may ask ourselves if, from the point of view of interest, we have not also good cause to rejoice at the heavy blow which has been dealt to the power of Russia? To this question we must reply in the affirmative, and chiefly upon two grounds:—(1) Russia is an aggressive Power, and a danger to Europe, whilst Turkey is non-aggressive, and a safeguard to Europe; (2) Russia is a persecuting Power, while Turkey is essentially tolerant, and the protector of our brethren in the East. We must enlarge a little upon these two points.

There is a document in existence which every student of diplomatic history knows, or ought to know, well—the so-called will of Peter the Great. Its authenticity has been disputed, and much can be said for and against it, but it really matters very little whether the Czar Peter wrote it or not. It is certainly a century old, and it sets forth the policy which has been consistently followed by the cabinet of St. Petersburg from the times of Peter the Great to our own. This is its chief value, and it is a value that is independent of its authorship. The policy of Russia, as set forth in that document, is a policy of aggression, the history of Russia since the days of Peter the Great is a history of conquest. But Russian aggression is not a mere brutal force hurled against its victim to win its way by fire and steel. Invariably diplomacy has gone before it to prepare the road. The public opinion of other nations has been conciliated by alleging high motives, and the support of foreign cabinets has been secured by playing upon their self-interest, their ignorance, or their fears. Why did Russia partition Poland? To put an end to

a reign of anarchy. Why has she overrun Central Asia, and massacred the Turkomans? To promote the interests of science and civilization. Why has she invaded Turkey? To protect the Christians. All these are most disinterested acts—enterprises undertaken in the interest of Europe, and of the world. How was she able to conquer Poland? Through having for her open accomplices and fellow-robbers Prussia and Austria. How did she extort from Turkey an ignominious peace in 1829? Through the ignorance, the timidity, or the treachery of the ambassadors of the powers at Constantinople, who induced the Porte to sue for peace at the very moment when Diebitch's army was utterly exhausted and helpless.* How has she established herself in Central Asia? Through the apathy and ignorance of Europe, which allowed her to secure a base of operations on the Caspian by the conquest of the Caucasus.† How did she hope to succeed in the present war upon Turkey? By taking advantage of the divisions which we know from undoubted evidence that her diplomatists and her agents had brought about within the Ottoman Empire. What barrier has Russia ever allowed to stand in her way? Has she respected the law of nations? Let her secret war in Servia, carried on by her own troops, while she claimed to be at peace with Turkey, be the answer. Has she respected treaties? If so, where are the treaties of 1856? Has she ever been bound by the pledged word of her sovereign? If so, it is strange that she holds Khiva. And what has been the result of this policy of aggression? In 1700, Russia was the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, a half-Slav half-Tartar State, with its capital Moscow, and an ill-defined territory, which, to the south and east, was shut in by the steppes of the Cos-

* Von Moltke estimates Diebitch's effective force at Adrianople at between 4,000 and 5,000 men. "Such," he says, "was the army which was to make head against 30,000 Arnauts, to keep in subjection a town of 80,000 inhabitants, and to conquer another city of 500,000. On the 14th of September peace was signed. It is certain that it released Diebitch from a position as anxious as could well be conceived, and which, if prolonged for a few days more, might have caused him to be hurled from the summit of victory and success to the lowest depths of ruin and destruction" (Von Moltke, chap. v.).

† The *Moscow Gazette* of September 3rd, 1864, in announcing the completion of the conquest of Circassia, said:—"The establishment of foreign dominion in the Caucasus would have settled once for all the Asiatic question, and settled it against us. The complete and definite establishment of Russian dominion in the Caucasus has not only prevented such dangers, but has decided the future in our favour. By that final conquest of these mountains, the army of the Caucasus has become free, and the limits of Russian ambition now depend on the will of Russia alone. The possession of them shelters Central Asia not only from the action, but from the irreverent gaze of Europeans."

sacks and the Turkomans, and, to the northward, had on the White Sea the single port of Archangel, that was frozen for half the year. Nowhere else but on the Arctic Ocean had it a single mile of seaboard. What is Russia now? It is a gigantic empire that extends from the islands of Japan, and the valley of the Chinese Amur, to the frontiers of Afghanistan, the southern shores of the Caspian, the plain of the Vistula, the coasts of the Baltic. A glance at a map of the world is enough to show what mighty strides this half-barbarous State has made in less than two centuries. She has set no limit to her progress. Popular writers in Russia tell their countrymen that "*youthful Russia is destined to regenerate the world*"; that "*if Europe, the decrepit old man, will not die, young Russia must strangle him.*" We may call this wild folly, utter madness, but this madman, Russia, has strangled Poland, and only just failed to strangle the Ottoman Empire.

Now let us look at Turkey. What has her history been for the last one hundred and fifty years? Has she attempted a single conquest? Has she so much as wished for any? Has she ever drawn the sword except in self-defence? To these three questions the answer must be "*no.*" Whatever the Turks were three hundred years ago, they are to-day eminently peaceful and unaggressive. The wish for war, for military glory, for foreign conquest, is quite alien to the spirit of the people. They ask only to be let alone. They have sufficient confidence in the prowess of their armies, they know enough of their own military history, to be quite impervious to the temptation that has more than once driven the French, Austrians, and Germans into war. Their fundamental laws make a war of aggression all but impossible. No war can be declared until the *Sheik-ul-Islam*—the supreme head of the Turkish law—has examined into its causes, and by a *fetva*, or solemn decree, declared it just. Even when the country is invaded, no Turkish troops can march against the enemy, and not a shot can be fired unless in direct reply to hostile fire, until the *Sheik-ul-Islam* has been consulted, and his *fetva* has declared the war a just one.* It is as if with us no war could be declared without the solemn judgment of the Lord Chief

* "Sitting with some soldiers at a bivouac fire, one of them was recounting how, at the opening of the campaign of 1828, the perfidious Muscovites had established themselves on the Turkish territory, and were pushing their works up to a small fort where he was in garrison. On which, I asked how they could be such fools as not to attack, and drive them back. He answered 'War had not been declared.' I laughed. Upon this, he leaped up, and ran for his musket. I thought he was going to use it against me, but he kissed the stock, and said—'God puts this in my hand, and I will not use it save with His blessing.'"—*The East and the West*, p. 201.

Justice of England. The Turk, according to the popular idea, is a terrible man with a yataghan, with which he is anxious to have a chance of cutting off some one's head. The real Turk is a man whose military history for a century and a half is the history of none but defensive wars, and whose laws are specially framed to prevent aggression. But while Turkey threatens no one, the valour of her people makes her a terrible barrier to the progress of Russia.

Turkey holds in Constantinople, the waters of the Sea of Marmora, and the straits which give access to them on either side, a military and maritime position which, in the hands of an aggressive power, would be an impregnable fortress and a secure base of operations against both Europe and Asia. The great highways of the world, the Euphrates valley, the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean, the Danube valley, lie close around it. Its possession by Turkey cuts off Russia from the Mediterranean, and from Western Asia. So long as she keeps the Dardanelles, the naval power of Russia is but a name. Standing sword in hand on the hills of Armenia and the shores of the Danube, and holding with their fleets the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the Turks keep back from Europe and Asia the aggression of Russia. Themselves eminently peaceful and unaggressive, they are guarding all Europe against a Power that for two hundred years by her soldiers and her diplomatists has been unceasingly busy removing her neighbours' landmarks and absorbing their territories. We have good cause then to rejoice at the defeat of Russia, because it is the defeat of the aggressor, the violator of treaties, the despiser of international law, because it is the first great blow that has checked, and that, if Europe is not lost for ever by its own folly, will finally stop a lawless career of conquest.

So much for the first point ; let us now turn to the second. Russia is a persecutor, the only nation in Europe that in our day still persecutes the Church of God by slaying its sons with the sword and torturing them with the lash. The whole theory of Government and internal policy in Russia is based upon the principle that the Czar is the oracle of God, and no man can be in the full sense of the word a loyal subject of Russia unless he accepts this theory. "The will of the Emperor," says Count Gurowski, "is the most literal expression of Divine Order transmitted to the earth, his Imperial person is recognized as the living head of the State and of the Church, and his decision no written word of the past can bind."* No man can be in the fullest sense of the word a

* "Russia and Civilization." St. Petersburg, 1840.

Russian unless he is a member of the Orthodox Church, it is, therefore, the interest of the Government to enforce orthodoxy in so far as this can be safely done by a policy of persecution, and this theory has been reduced to practice in many parts of the Russian dominions. Poland has felt the full brunt of the sword of persecution. By the sixth article of the treaty of partition of 1773, Russia bound herself to "leave the Catholics of both rites* in *statu quo*, that is, in the free exercise of their worship (*culte*) and discipline, and never to avail itself of its rights of supremacy to the prejudice of the *status in quo* of the Roman Catholic Church." Despite this solemn engagement, Catherine, Nicholas, and the present Czar Alexander II. used the bayonet, the whip, exile to Siberia, deprivation of food, exposure to the winter cold, as so many engines for forcing the Catholics of Poland and chiefly those of the Uniat rite into conformity with the State Church. Till the day when the iniquities of all time are unveiled in the last great judgment, the true story of the Polish persecution will not be known. At times the veil that hides it is lifted for a moment, and we have a passing glimpse of Russia's "good deeds" in the diffusion of Czarodoxy among her subjects. Such a glimpse was given to Europe when the abbess Makrina escaped from her Russian prison and told the terrible story of the nuns of Minsk. We have another glimpse in Colonel Mansfield's official despatches from Warsaw which describe the persecution as it was carried on within the last three years.† Nor has the policy of persecution been confined to Poland or exercised only upon Catholics. Mr. Tracy Turnerelli, in one of his works on Russia, tells how he himself saw in the province of Kazan several hundred of the people of the Steppe collected together and baptized under the gentle persuasion of the Cossack whips, these military missionaries being supported by a column of troops with light field guns, which were kept ready to open fire on the peasants in the

* Viz., the Latin and the Greek Uniat rites—both in communion with the Holy See.

† "Blue Book." Russia. No. 1, of 1877. A single extract from this "Blue Book" will suffice to show the character of the persecution. On January 29th, 1874, Colonel Mansfield writes from Warsaw:—"In the district of Minciewicz the peasants surrounded the Church, and defied the military to introduce the (Russian) priest. The former, with their wives and children, were finally mastered and surrounded, and were given the option of signing a declaration accepting the priest; on their refusal fifty blows with the *nagaika* (Cossack whip) were given to every adult man, twenty-five to every woman, and ten to every child irrespective of age or sex; one woman who was more vehement than the rest receiving as much as one hundred."

event of their resisting the wholesale baptism offered them by the agents of the Czar.

While in Russia we see the orthodox religion thus enforced upon Catholic Poles and Pagan nomads alike with the sword, in Turkey we witness a universal toleration, while Catholicity receives more than toleration—the highest marks of respect from the State. Last Corpus Christi the procession of the Blessed Sacrament was escorted through the streets of Constantinople by Turkish troops. A priest, or a sister of charity, is invariably saluted by the sentinel on passing a Turkish post. The patriarchs and bishops are supported by the State, not only in the spiritual, but to a certain extent in the civil, government of their flocks, which is largely in their hands. One solitary episode has marred this universal toleration—the so-called Armenian persecution. The acts of persecution committed by the Ottoman Government consisted of the exile of the patriarch, and the handing over of some of the churches to the schismatic Armenians. The pamphlet, which we have named at the head of this article, "*Le Schisme Arménien*," gives proofs and documents which show plainly that on this occasion the Porte departed from its traditional policy of toleration under foreign influence; partly that of the French ambassador and a knot of Liberal Catholics, who were anxious to see a species of Dollingerism raising its head amongst the Armenians; partly that of Russia, who had good reason to fear Mgr. Hassoun, and part of whose policy it is to withdraw the Armenians from their allegiance to Rome, and to make them look to her own synod as the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. For details on these matters we must refer to the work we have cited. We cannot go more fully into the matter here; another time we may return to it. Meanwhile, we need only remark that, compared to Russia's persecutions in Poland, the Armenian persecution was slight indeed; and, such as it was, it is now at an end; Mgr. Hassoun is again at Constantinople, the centre of the Armenian rite, and we have the best authority for stating that he has expressed himself as being "very well satisfied with the situation of affairs." Everywhere the Catholics have shown by their loyalty, in the most trying circumstances, that they are contented with rule of the Porte. They have not given any aid to the insurrections organized by Russia in Bosnia or the Herzegovina and Bulgaria,* and the "Blue Books" show that, though legally

* The following is the text of the manifesto issued by the Catholics of Bosnia on the outbreak of the Servian war:—"The announcement that Serbia has demanded from the Sublime Porte the annexation of Bosnia, our dear country, has surprised us as much as a flash of lightning in a clear sky.

exempt from military service, they have freely given volunteers and money to aid in the defence of the empire. They know perfectly well that the Turkish sword is all that stands between them and the fate that has overtaken the Catholics of Poland. It is easy enough to say that Russia wished to place the cross on the dome of S. Sophia. We reply, the cross must not be placed there by hands that dishonour it—the hands of the persecutor red with the blood of the sons of the cross. In the interest of our brethren living in the Turkish empire, we rejoice at the defeat of Russia, and we are glad that at least a few Christian swords have flashed in the gallant ranks that have inflicted defeat and dishonour upon the arch-persecutor of the Church of God.

We do not sympathize with those who long to see the Turk driven out of Europe. He holds his present position in Europe in virtue of treaty rights and solemn obligations. That these should be violated at all is bad enough, but it is a fearful evil that they should be violated under pretext of promoting Christianity. The venerable Las Casas, the first bishop who ever ruled a Christian flock in the New World, in a disputation with Sepulveda, a theologian, of Valladolid, who attempted to justify the Spanish wars in America, urged, as one of many reasons against these wars, “that by them the faith was brought into ill-repute with the unbelievers, and made odious to them, which was a very great evil.” There is only too much reason to fear that the unjust aggression of Russia, made in the outraged name of Christianity, will have this effect in the East, and will put back the cause of Christianity in Turkey for a hundred years. Of all the mad cries which this miserable war has called forth, what we may call the “crusading cry” seems to us the most insane. The only possible effect of driving out the Turks would be to place the Greek Church and the Bulgarian Church under the headship of Russia; to give power and *prestige* to the schisms of the East, and to bring in a few years a fierce persecution down upon the heads of the Catholic Latin and Oriental rites.

The war has destroyed many illusions, and brought many facts to light. It has proved that, on a fair field, the Turk

We Catholics of Bosnia, to the number of 200,000 souls, having remained loyal to our legitimate government (the Porte) during the whole of the insurrectionary movement, feel ourselves obliged by the conduct of Serbia to formally declare that we protest absolutely against our annexation to Serbia; and this not for reasons drawn from the interests of civilization, but on religious grounds, for the name of Serbia is identical with that of Greek schismatic, and although there is in Serbia a sufficiently numerous body of Catholics, yet, with the exception of one consular chapel and chaplain, there does not exist in Serbia a Catholic church or a Catholic priest.”

can defeat the Russian. It has proved that the Bulgar lives in a state of prosperity that the Russian mujik might envy.* Finally it has proved that, excepting those sects which Russia has made her dupes and allies, the Christians are loyal to the Porte, and this is eminently true of our own brethren in Turkey. We have heard much of Turkish misrule, but we have learned by the evidence of facts that the rule of the Porte is not unpopular with the great mass of its subjects. We do not assert that it is a model government; but what we do assert is, that the abuses of Turkish rule pressed as heavily and often more heavily upon the Moslem than upon the Christian, and now Moslem and Christian are uniting in an earnest effort to lessen abuses, and to place the affairs of the country upon a secure basis; and the war, though it has retarded, has not stopped the prosecution of their endeavours to attain this end. It is in the midst of these efforts that they have had to draw the sword in order to defend their existence as a nation against a lawless brigandage, to which, if men judged of the acts of nations as they do of those of individuals, they would not venture to give the name of war.

* We have this on the authority of Russian journalists, and of the correspondents of our own press of all shades of opinion.

ART. VI.—CATHOLICITY AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

Protestantism and Catholicity in their Bearing upon the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations. A study in Social Economy, by ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE, with an introductory letter by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. London : Murray. 1875.

De l'Avenir des Peuples Catholiques, par le Baron de HAULLEVILLE. 2me édition. Paris : Ch. Blieriot. 1876.

Essays and Reviews, by the Right Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. New York : Catholic Publication Society. 1877.*

WHEN Macaulay in his famous essay on the Popes confessed that Protestantism had not given "any proofs of that expansive power which had been attributed to it," that it had actually lost many of its first conquests in Europe, that for two hundred and fifty years, "as far as there had been a change, that change had upon the whole been in favour of the Church of Rome," he endeavoured to offer some consolation to his Protestant readers, by asserting that Protestantism had been practically proved to be more conducive to a nation's prosperity than Catholicism. "It cannot be doubted," he said, "that since the sixteenth century the Protestant nations have made decidedly greater progress than their neighbours. The progress made by those nations in which Protestantism, though not finally successful, yet maintained a long struggle, and left permanent traces, has generally been considerable. But, when we come to the Catholic Land, to the part of Europe in which the first spark of Reformation was trodden out as soon as it appeared, and from which proceeded the impulse that drove Protestantism back, we find at best a very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression." And he added :—"Our firm belief is that the North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effect of the Protestant Reformation, and that the decay of the Southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival."

Such as it is, this consolation is but a poor one. Want

* Since this article was written our attention has been called to Bishop Spalding's admirable reply to Mr. de Laveleye, reprinted in his *Essays and Reviews*. We have occasionally referred to it, or taken extracts from it in the notes to our article.

of expansive power and inability to make new conquests are not the marks of the true Church. *Veritas prævalebit* is an adage which has been thoroughly falsified by facts, if Protestantism has truth upon its side. But, says Lord Macaulay, the truth is prevailing in another fashion. The people of Protestant countries are rich, progressive, intelligent, and this mainly on account of the Reformation, while Catholicity has a contrary tendency, and leads to "at best very slow progress, and on the whole a retrogression." This idea has always been a favourite one with Protestant writers, and of late years it has been adopted by the Liberals and freethinkers of the Continent as a thesis which they suppose they can maintain with good results to their cause. Here they say we have proof that Catholic nations can only be prosperous in spite of their Catholicity, and if you are a good Catholic you are at the same time a bad patriot. In support of this thesis they compare Protestant and Catholic nations always to the disadvantage of the latter; not that they have any particular affection for Protestantism, but they remember Edgar Quinet's advice, that in the war with Catholicity they should ally themselves with all that is not Catholic.

M. Emile de Laveleye, professor of political economy in the Liberal University of Liège, and known to English readers by an occasional contribution to the "Fortnightly" edits an ultra-Liberal periodical, the "Revue de Belgique." This review has made itself a power among the *gueux*, the "anti-Clerical" party in Belgium, by its persistent attacks upon the Catholic Church. Not long ago one of the youngest of its contributors, M. Perganani, ventured to assert that force was the source of right, and that as argument produced no effect upon the Catholics, and it was impossible to contend with them on equal terms, the Liberals of Belgium ought to make up their minds to begin a policy of repression and persecution. The teaching of the article was disavowed by the moderate Liberal press, and M. de Laveleye wrote to the "Journal de Gand" declaring that he did not share the views of his *collaborateur*, but that he had published the article, because it represented an important phase of the anti-Clerical movement, a policy which had many supporters throughout Europe, and to which still more would rally, "according as the extravagant pretensions of the clergy called forth a more ardent opposition." This is enough to show the spirit of the man. He thoroughly hates the Catholic Church, and in one form or another his hatred for it finds frequent expression. Withal he affects to speak with scientific and judicial impartiality, and it

was thus he assumed to treat his subject, when he wrote and published in his review an extremely prejudiced and one-sided article on Protestantism and Catholicism in their relation to popular liberty and national prosperity. It was immediately republished as a pamphlet at Paris, and translated into Dutch, German, and English by M. de Laveleye's admirers in Amsterdam, Berlin, and London, the English edition having for a preface a letter to the author written by Mr. Gladstone, from which it appears that the pamphlet has been translated into English at the special desire of the member for Greenwich, although he does not in all points concur with the views expressed in it. The original article called forth an able reply from a Belgian Catholic journalist, the Baron de Haulleville, a reply the best eulogy of which is expressed in the opinion Cardinal Deschamps, that "it deserves to be read even after the great works of Balmez" on the same subject. M. de Laveleye's theory has its supporters in England, and is to be met with from time to time in the press, on the platform, and even in conversation. We may therefore profitably consider what answer can be made to it from the Catholic point of view. In framing this reply, we shall develop in its main outlines M. de Haulleville's argument, adding, however, a few facts and considerations from other sources, and occasionally availing ourselves of more recent statistics than those which appear in his pamphlet.

M. de Laveleye's theory is briefly that which was lately set forth by an Italian journalist in the laconic phrase, "The peoples of the Papal religion are either dead or dying."* This Belgian Liberal holds that the future of Europe will be in the hands of Protestant Germans and schismatic Slavs. The Latin race is doomed, and this because it is Catholic. This is the summary of his teaching; let us endeavour to find out upon what grounds he would have us accept it.

First, he tells us that "when in one and the same country, and one and the same group, identical in language, and identical in origin, it can be affirmed that Protestants advance more rapidly and steadily than Catholics, it is difficult not to attribute the superiority of the one over the other to the religions they profess" (p. 11). He cites Ireland and Scotland as cases in point. We shall examine the truth of his conclusions presently. Meanwhile we proceed to select further propositions from his pamphlet.

Secondly, he tells us that "wherever the two religions exist

* "I popoli di religione papale o sono già morti o vanno morire."—*Il Diritto*, the organ of the Depretis-Melegari cabinet.

together in the same country, the Protestants are more active, more industrious, more economical, and consequently richer than the Catholics" (p. 14).

Thirdly, that "throughout Germany at the present day the trade in intellectual works—such as books, reviews, maps, newspapers,—is almost entirely in the hands of Jews and Protestants, to the exclusion of the Catholics" (p. 16).

Fourthly, that "the nations subject to Rome seem stricken with barrenness; they no longer colonize, they have no power of expansion. . . . Their past is brilliant, but their present is gloomy, and their future disquieting" (p. 18).

Fifthly, that "the Catholic countries on both sides of the Atlantic are a prey to internal struggles which consume their strength, or at least prevent them from advancing as steadily and rapidly as Protestant nations" (p. 21).

Sixthly, he attributes to defective popular education a portion of this alleged inferiority.

Lastly, he makes a statement the boldness of which, we venture to say, exceeds that of anything else in his pamphlet, a work which certainly does not err in the matter of over-caution. "It is agreed on all sides," he says, "that the power of nations depends on their morality. . . . Now, it appears to be an established fact that the moral level is higher among Protestants than among Catholic populations" (p. 25).

These seven propositions, we believe, fairly represent M. de Laveleye's position on the question. We shall now proceed to examine them by the light of facts and figures. But before doing so we must make a few observations on the subject as a whole. In the first place, then, we might refuse at the outset to accept the issue which M. de Laveleye has raised, for it is in the main a radically false one. He deals, for the most part, with the comparative prosperity of Catholics and Protestants in mere material things, in wealth, comfort, "progress." He gives his verdict against Catholicity on all these points, and expresses a regret that his own country, and all the other Latin people, did not become Protestants long ago, when the chance was offered them, and so take their due share in the good things of this world. Now, Catholicity never yet claimed to be a wealth-producing agency; it is a religion which counts voluntary poverty among its counsels, doubtless, a very absurd and mischievous proceeding in the eyes of our Belgian professor of political economy. But there stands the fact; the Church does not profess to make of Catholic nations conquering peoples, wealthy peoples, colonizing peoples, or even educated peoples in the ordinary

sense of the word. She does, indeed, tell them to be conquerors, but they are to conquer themselves under her guidance; they are to be rich, but their commerce is to be of that kind which lays up treasures not on earth, but in Heaven; the only enterprises of colonization which the Church demands from them will be the sending forth of missionaries to win new lands to the empire of the Cross; and the highest learning, the best education, and the only one which she regards as *necessary*, will be the knowledge of the way of eternal life. In a word, the Church looks to the after-life for the final result of her labours here. M. de Laveleye would have us sum up the account here, and see which way the balance lies. We tell him plainly he must wait for the hereafter if he is to give any really sound judgment upon the results of Catholicism. A "religion of prosperity" is, of course, quite conceivable. Its precepts would be of a very different character from those of the Church. If any nation could possibly adopt it and follow it, it would perhaps make it more prosperous, in a worldly sense, than any Catholic nation has ever been; but he would be a poor reasoner who would condemn Catholicity for failing in a comparison with the worship of the gods of wealth and ease made by one of the worshippers.

We do not, for a moment, mean to deny that indirectly the religion of a people *may* affect its material prosperity. A religious people who, as a body, are chaste, sober, honest, orderly, and to a greater or less extent industrious, will *probably*, in the long run, find themselves in a better position than an irreligious people, placed in fairly similar circumstances. But unless the conditions are precisely similar in every respect we cannot say more than this, we cannot say *certainly*, instead of *probably*. And the conditions are never more than approximately alike, and the approximation is generally a very rough one. Hence the difficulty of finding a practical test for our theory. We have said, too, that they will probably find themselves "in a better position" materially; we cannot say more than this; we cannot be more definite; we cannot say they will be a wealthy people, a race of conquerors, merchants, or colonists; we only know that they will, if the conditions are alike, be healthier, less liable to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, less troubled by vice and pauperism, the two scourges of modern communities.

If, therefore, we add to the material factors of prosperity those belonging to the moral order, we should expect to see a higher standard reached by Catholic than the non-Catholic nations. The fault, the radical error of M. de Laveleye's estimate of the relative position of Catholic and non-Catholic

lands is, that too often he judges by a purely material criterion. That a nation is successful in war or in commerce by no means proves the superiority of the religion it professes. In commerce the scattered nation of the Jews have certainly surpassed the Christians, but no Jew would ever think of alleging this as an argument against the Gentiles. The nation which has made the most rapid, the most astounding "progress" in our own days, if we use the word progress as M. de Laveleye would use it, is Japan; yet this hardly tends to prove even the material advantages of the modified form of Buddhism which is professed at Yeddo and Yokohama. Nor would any sensible man urge the rapid conquest of the Mahometans, their progress in science and learning, and the culture of the old courts of Bagdad and Granada, as proofs of the superiority of Islamism over the religion of Europe in the ninth century. The argument derived from purely material prosperity is an essentially fallacious one in the mouth of all except materialists. They may consistently urge it, and make the most of it. But we believe M. de Laveleye professes to be a Christian, as certainly does Mr. Gladstone, who has introduced the work to the English public. We are therefore not a little surprised at the method of proof which it attempts, the theory it brings forward. If M. de Laveleye would throughout argue that Protestantism makes men better and holier than Catholicity, he would be consistent; but he insists far more strongly that it makes them wealthier, freer, and more powerful, or at least, that, whatever may be the reason, Protestants enjoy all these advantages in a higher degree than Catholics, and that it is hard to resist the conclusion that the reason of it lies in their Protestantism. But wealth, political freedom, and military power are hardly religious questions, and we repeat, M. de Laveleye cannot, from his point of view, make a fair comparison. He is closing the account and striking the balance before the proper time. True national prosperity consists in a nation's living so that it may have many representatives in Heaven hereafter, and no one can prove to us that Catholicity is not better calculated than Protestantism to produce this result.

There is, however, another difficulty in making a fair comparison. We may speak of a country as being Catholic which contains a large non-Catholic, or even anti-Catholic, element; and how are we to know to what extent this factor in the problem tends to lower the standard of prosperity on the one hand, or morality on the other? M. de Laveleye cites France and Italy as Catholic countries, and he is right; but only with an important reservation. No one will deny that in France

there is an anti-Catholic party, the literature of which is to a great extent irreligious and immoral; yet the misdeeds of this party, which every Catholic reprobates, are coolly urged by M. de Laveleye to turn the scale against Catholic France in a comparison with Germany or England. Again, in the case of a Protestant nation there is often an important Catholic section of the population left wholly out of account; this is especially the case with regard to Germany. In South Germany there are five millions of Catholics out of a total population of eight millions. Bavaria and Baden are in fact Catholic countries. Yet M. de Laveleye takes no account whatever of the German Catholics, except to depreciate them. He refers incidentally to the German conquest of France as a proof of Protestant superiority; perhaps he has forgotten the story of the war. Prince Bismarck's and Von Moltke's victories were more than once bought with Catholic blood. At Woerth, at Sedan, and on the battle-fields of the Loire, the valour of Bavarian Catholics went far to turn the tide of success against France. M. de Laveleye's argument is really a very loosely-constructed one, and prejudice plays a large part in it, making him forget at the same time that Germany owes much to her Catholic subjects, and that in much that he lays to the charge of France, Catholic France has had no part. He makes a great pretence of impartiality—a pretence which has deceived many of his readers, as, perhaps, it deceived himself. "Sectarian passions," he says, "or anti-religious prejudice, have been too often imported into the study of these questions. It is time that we should apply to it the method of observation, and the scientific impartiality of the physiologist and the naturalist. When the facts are once established, irrefragable conclusions will follow." He does not, however, fulfil his promise; he treats his subject in a most unscientific, a most illogical, manner, and therefore arrives at conclusions which are simply worthless. This is evident from the outset.

In proof of his first point, that "in one and the same country, and in one and the same group, identical in language and identical in origin, Protestants advance more rapidly and steadily than Catholics," he compares the Scotch and the Irish. Early in the Middle Ages, he tells us, Ireland was "a focus of civilization, while Scotland was a den of barbarians"; but, he says, since the Reformation Scotland has surpassed even England itself, and while Ireland is poor and miserable, Scotland is peaceful and prosperous; and, more than this, in the very same country, Protestant Ulster is wealthy, while Catholic Connaught is wretchedly poor. The comparison is not a new one, it has been often made; but it is a most unfair one.

In the first place, the Scotch are not "of the same language and of the same origin" as the Irish. This is true only of a small portion of the Scottish race,—the Highlanders and the Islesmen; and we doubt if the Highlands can be called "prosperous," for their "progress" has consisted chiefly in the substitution of sheep and black cattle, grouse and deer, for men.* Again, the races differ equally in Ulster and Connaught. In Connaught we have descendants of an early Celtic race, in Ulster a colony of English and Lowland Scotch. But the question of race is a minor one, and we only allude to it here in order to show how hollow is M. de Laveleye's parade of scientific method. The comparison he has made errs in matters of far greater moment. The causes of the prosperity of Scotland, and the want of prosperity in Ireland, are to be sought in the history of the two countries. Scotland has been eminently fortunate. She was united with England on equal terms; she preserved her own laws, her own courts, her own local institutions. Her manufacturers competed on equal terms with the English trader; the capital of the richer country was placed freely at her disposal; under her own free laws her educational system was steadily developed; finally, there were no wholesale confiscations of land; there was no alien colony, no laws passed in the interest of a minority; no State Church established in the interest of the few. On the other hand, all the miseries that Scotland escaped were inflicted on Ireland; of all the advantages that Scotland possessed, Ireland was deliberately and systematically deprived. The English rule was firmly established in Ireland by the wars of the Tudors, and from the outset she was governed in the interest of the English colony. Repeated confiscations ruined the native proprietors, and placed the land of the country in the hands of men who were really foreigners, who spoke not a word of the Irish language, who professed a strange religion, who, in a word, were an armed garrison holding Ireland in their own interest. The faith of the Irish was proscribed, and those who held that faith were systematically plundered and persecuted. More than once they took up arms against the intolerable tyranny, only to be defeated and placed more completely in the power of their Protestant rulers. Their schools were destroyed, the laws were directed as much against the Catholic schoolmaster as the Catholic priest. Their trade was destroyed

* Sutherlandshire may be cited as an example of rapid progress; but the Duke of Sutherland is descended from a wealthy English family, whose capital has been employed in reclaiming the waste lands of this northern shire, with the help of steam and machinery. The progress of Scotland in this instance is really the result of English enterprise.

by laws for the protection of English commerce and English manufactures.* An Irishman and a Catholic could not have his children educated in his own country; could only practise his religion by stealth; could not aspire to any civil or military dignity; could not even have a horse worth more than five pounds in his possession. It is only in our own day that this iniquitous system has been entirely broken up.† The downfall of the Irish Church Establishment is an event not ten years old. Catholic emancipation is a work of less than fifty years ago. If then Ireland, as compared with Scotland, is so "poor and wretched," the fault must be laid at the doors of Protestant tyranny and intolerance. It is not the fault of Catholicism, unless perhaps in one sense. Had the people abandoned their religion, they might have freed themselves from all their disabilities; but they preferred their faith to earthly goods and earthly prosperity, and they chose to suffer as Catholics, rather than share the good things of this world with their all-powerful Protestant rulers. This, too, explains the difference between Ulster and Connaught; but in that case we must also remember that Connaught is naturally a wilderness of bog and mountain, when compared to Ulster. Place the most industrious race on earth in Connaught and a far inferior people in Ulster, and the Ulster men would in the course of a few years be wealthier and more prosperous in every respect. The comparison between Ulster and Connaught is most misleading, so far as the question of wealth is concerned. We shall, however, have to compare them in another and more important respect later on, and we shall find that then the advantage is with poor Catholic Connaught. A few years ago M. Roussel, a French Protestant *pasteur*, travelled in Ireland and published a pamphlet in which he adopted the same fallacious line of argument as that of M. de Laveleye. The work was severely criticised by a clever writer, who is neither a Catholic nor a friend to Catholicism, M. John Lemoinne, of the "*Débats*." We must quote at second-hand from M. de Haulleville some of his remarks:—

"When M. Roussel travelled in Ireland," asks M. John

* The wool trade is a case in point. Even such a work as Mr. Froude's "*English in Ireland*" gives evidence enough incidentally to convince any one that the worst forms of protection were used to destroy Irish, to the advantage of English trade.

† "The Irish Catholics," says Bishop Spalding, "are taunted with their misery when, for two centuries they lived under a code which placed them outside the pale of humanity, of which Lord Brougham said that it was so ingeniously contrived that an Irish Catholic could not lift up his hand without breaking it, and which Edmund Burke denounced as the most proper machine ever invented by the wit of man to disgrace a realm and degrade a people."—*Essays*, Reply to M. de Laveleye, p. 100.

Lemoinne, "did he never feel any remorse of conscience? Did he never ask himself whether the Protestants had not something to do with the misery of this Catholic land? If the Protestants only form one tenth part of the population of Ireland, by what right have they laid violent hands on all the property and revenues of the Catholic Church? And when M. Roussel, in order to prove that the Catholics are no longer oppressed in Ireland, tells us that they have four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, 2,500 churches, and more than 2,000 priests, how is it that he expresses no admiration for this race of poor men, who, despite their misery, find the means to support their Church, while the Protestant bishops, and the Protestant ministers, in virtue of an act of confiscation, live on the fat of the land? How is it that a minister of the Gospel does not recall these simple words:—'Amen I say to you, this poor widow hath cast in more than all they who have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance; but she of her want cast in all she had, even her whole living'?"

Unfortunately, M. de Laveleye writes in the spirit of M. Roussel rather than that of M. John Lemoinne. He forgets that the Irish have had to struggle for bare existence. If he is not ignorant of their history, he has wilfully disregarded it. We believe the next fifty years will clearly show that Catholic Ireland is able to hold its own, even in the field of purely material prosperity. Irishmen in other lands have shown that they are wanting neither in industry nor in enterprise. The late Mr. Maguire's well-known work on the Irish race in America certainly tends to show that their Catholicity is no barrier to the success of Irishmen, if they only are allowed a fair field for their exertions.

But M. de Laveleye does not rely only upon this comparison of Ireland and Scotland. He has other evidence. He quotes from Mr. Hepworth Dixon's book on Switzerland to show that in one and the same canton the Catholics and the Protestants present a contrast to the advantage of the latter. The canton of Appenzell is divided into the two districts of Inner Rhoden, inhabited by 11,900 Catholics, and Ausser Rhoden, which has a population of 46,726 Protestants. Mr. Hepworth Dixon describes the Protestants as industrious and rich; the Catholics as lazy, poor, ignorant, living in scattered huts, and meeting only at mass or at their popular sports. He adds, with a sneer, that instead of books and newspapers they read the lives of the saints. For our part we are very glad to hear it, much more pleased indeed than if we were told that the good people of Inner Rhoden read the works of

Mr. Hepworth Dixon, or even those of M. de Laveleye. Here, however, the comparison is again a misleading one. From information obtained on the spot, M. de Haulleville tells us that the towns and villages of Ausser Rhoden stand in a fertile low-lying district, and that, in point of wealth, their Protestant inhabitants are naturally in a better position than the Catholics of the mountain district of Inner Rhoden, who are a scattered race of shepherds. The charge of ignorance is an idle one. Mr. Dixon himself admits that every one of these Catholic mountaineers can read and write, and the charge really is based upon their strange habit of persisting in reading the lives of the saints in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

But this is not all, M. de Laveleye has yet another argument. He speaks of Nimes as a kind of Protestant oasis of prosperity in the South of France, and he quotes a certain M. Audiganne to show that while the capitalists of Nimes are Protestants, the workmen are Catholics. To our minds, this is as good an argument for us as for him. Whence came the wealth of these Protestants in the first instance we cannot say; but this is certain, for its preservation and its increase they have, as he himself tells us, to depend upon the industry, the steadiness, and the skill of Catholics. Of the two factors of the prosperity of Nimes, one is Protestant, the other Catholic. How this in any way supports M. de Laveleye's theory we fail to see.

While dealing with France, he refers, of course, to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes as having deprived France of a host of skilled workmen, and established abroad injurious centres of competition against her manufactures. There is a regular tradition about this event; but two facts are nearly always overlooked in discussing it. First, the exiles did not introduce the silk manufacture into London: there is documentary evidence that there were silk-weavers, and French silk-weavers too, in Spitalfields, years before the edict was revoked. The same is true of the silk manufacture of the Low Countries. Again, hundreds, perhaps, thousands of the exiles and emigrants were not industrious workmen at all, or, if they were, they did no work after they left France. There were amongst them a considerable number of officers and soldiers; and in the armies of Prussia and of the House of Orange whole companies and regiments of French Huguenots fought against France, under Huguenot officers. We shall not discuss the wisdom or the folly of the revocation. One thing is certain, it has but little bearing on an economic question like the one before us, for the manufactures and the trade of France

suffered no great loss in consequence of it. We return to M. de Laveleye's contention, that Catholics are at the present day, on the whole, less prosperous than Protestants.

It is a fact that in Canada and in the United States the Catholics are as active, as industrious, and as successful as their Protestant fellow-citizens, though our author seems to doubt it. Of the prosperity of the Catholics in the United States we have practical proofs in the institutions and the churches they have founded and endowed; in their press and their literature, and in their munificent offerings to the Holy See. In Lower Canada, three-fourths of the landed property is in Catholic hands; in Upper Canada there are thousands of successful emigrants from Catholic Ireland. The fact is, that M. de Laveleye's second point, the assertion that when the two religions exist in one country the Protestants are more prosperous than the Catholics, cannot be proved to be true as a general rule, and there are many facts which directly contradict it. In Prussia the Catholic provinces are the richest portions of the State. Westphalia, Silesia, and the Rhine Province enjoy a considerable amount of prosperity, while the Protestant provinces of Pomerania, Prussia, and Brandenburg are the poorest, and furnish the largest contingent to the tide of emigration. If M. de Haulleville is correctly informed, the Catholic people of the district of Ermland are in a better position in the matter of wealth and comfort than those of all the rest of their province, which is the Lutheran province of Prussia proper. There are poor Catholic districts indeed in Silesia and Pomerania; but we have not far to seek for the causes of their poverty,—a bad administration, and the suppression of the monasteries and the secularization of their property, during the present century, is, perhaps, sufficient to explain it. But even if it does not, the exception proves nothing. We have only to show either that M. de Laveleye's premises are false, or his reasoning fallacious, in order to destroy his argument. But we believe we have succeeded in doing not one but both of these things, and his theory therefore falls to the ground. Let us proceed, however, to examine the other points which we have enumerated.

The assertion that in Germany the press and the book-trade are entirely in non-Catholic hands is in form a matter of detail; but it is really put forward to make the reader infer that the intellectual position of the Catholics of Germany is a low one. Like many other of M. de Laveleye's assertions, it is wholly incorrect. It is based upon a false view of the state of affairs. The book-trade of Germany is, in the main, concentrated at Leipzig. Even Berlin, M. de Haulleville tells

us, has contended in vain against the virtual monopoly created by the "Leipzig book-fair." Now, if M. de Laveleye looks only to Leipzig, he is right in asserting that the trade is in the hands of Jews and Protestants, for Catholic books are banished from it; but Catholic publishing houses have sprung up in other parts of Germany. The Catholic literature of the country is both valuable, from the learning of its authors, and most extensive in its range of subjects. Of this M. de Laveleye must be as well aware as we are. The catalogues of any great library would tell him as much. The "Katholik" of Mayence holds a high rank amongst the periodicals of Germany; and in the press we may notice two ably-written, well-informed, and thoroughly independent papers, the "Koelnische Volkszeitung"* of Cologne and the well-known "Germania" of Berlin. In all, there are no less than 300 Catholic newspapers in Germany, and this large press maintains its position notwithstanding continual persecution under the press laws† on the one hand, and, on the other, the competition of the Liberal press, assisted as it is by Government information and subventions from the "reptile fund." The Catholics of Germany need fear no comparison with the Protestants in the field of literature and intellectual power.

Name me, if you can (says M. de Haulleville), a great German writer since the death of Goerres, Schlegel, Eichendorf, and the Austrian Grillparzer,‡ who were all Catholics, and of Heinrich Heine, who was a Jew. Who are the orators of the Berlin Parliament? Herr Lasker, a Jew, and Prince Bismarck, a sceptic, who blurts out his words and talks as if he were firing revolver shots. As for the Catholic Centre, it contains a whole group of orators and debaters,—Herr Windthorst, "the pearl of Meppen"; Peter and Augustus Reichensperger; the Baron von Schorlemer-Alost, the "captain" of the Westphalian peasantry; Canon Moufang; and Doctor Joerg.

The very existence of this party of the Centre, organized by Mallinckrodt and Windthorst since 1870, is a proof of the intellectual vigour of the German Catholics. But the charge of tending to thwart and stifle the intellectual development of her children is a strange one to bring against the Catholic

* A paper more than once confounded with the well-known Liberal "Koelnische Zeitung," to the mystification of the readers of the Reuter's and Havas telegrams.

† The "Germania" has had the honour of having five of its staff imprisoned under the press laws in the course of three years (1873-1875).

‡ We would add to this brief list the Jesuit Joseph Kleutgen, the exponent and defender of the scholastic philosophy, who is also dead within the last three years.

Church. On this point M. de Laveleye's prejudices have quite mastered his reason. All pretence of "scientific method" disappears. He begs the whole question without taking the least trouble to conceal the fallacy.

The apathy (he says) with which two new dogmas have recently been received, which formerly would have roused the strongest opposition and have led to a schism, is a sign of the incredible enfeeblement of all intellectual life in the bosom of the Church (p. 52).

This is really too good. We have here, in the first place, a naïve confession of the utter failure of the much-vaunted *Alt-Katholik* movement. For "apathy" a Catholic will read "unity." M. de Laveleye must know perfectly well that the man who refuses a duly defined dogma of the Faith ceases to be a Catholic. His statement of the case, therefore, resolves itself into an assertion, that because Catholics act as Catholics, and remain Catholics, they must be men of feeble intellect. This, however, requires to be proved. M. de Laveleye assumes it. He knows he is not writing for very critical readers. That is the secret of his bold assertions.

The fourth proposition that we have extracted from M. de Laveleye's pamphlet is to the effect that—

The nations subject to Rome seem stricken with barrenness ; they no longer colonize, they have no power of expansion. . . . Their past is brilliant, but their present is gloomy and their future disquieting.

It is not difficult to answer this. England, a Protestant power, is certainly the great colonizer of our day. But she does not stand alone. France has an eminently successful colony in Algeria, another in Cochin China. The conquest and colonization of Algiers was conceived by French statesmen during the reign of Charles X. ; it was under the white flag that the French army and navy attacked and conquered Algiers, and destroyed the last home of piracy in the Mediterranean. But more than this, even the colonial empire of England owes much to Catholic enterprise. In the present day how many of her colonists in Canada, at the Cape, in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, are Catholic Irishmen ; and in the past many of her most successful colonies were founded by Catholic France, and fell into the hands of England only by the chance of war. This is notably the case with regard to Canada. That splendid colony was won for England by the valour of Wolfe after it had been founded by the enterprise and the piety of Champlain. Canada is to this day a Catholic country. All its traditions are Catholic. Its founders avowedly wished to create a Catholic state, a

centre from which the light of the Gospel might be carried into the woods of the Great West. The story of the deeds of Champlain and his companions is only too little known in England. It is a bright page in the story of Catholic colonization. Many of the most famous cities of Canada were once humble mission stations. In the autumn of 1641 a priest and a few nuns, with some workmen—in all thirty persons, landed on an island in the St. Lawrence, and erected a few huts and tents, a church built of wood felled on the spot, a little hospital, and a school for the Indian children. This was the mission station of the Hochelaga; it is now the city of Montreal.* This Catholic colony is now a flourishing portion of the colonial empire of England; but it is only fair to remember what was its origin. The Catholic missionaries have been in the past the pioneers of Catholic colonization in other places besides Canada. The first white man who ever looked upon the waters of the Mississippi was a French Jesuit, the Père Marquette. A few years after France founded the colony of Louisiana, which was transferred by treaty to the American Union in the first years of this century. The colonies of Spain in the Philippines belong to the same class. Here, too, the missionary came with the trader. Sir John Bowring has spoken of the Jesuits of the Philippines as the pioneers and the founders of civilization in the great Eastern archipelago. India is the chief gem of the Imperial crown of England, but there were days when only the chance of war decided who should hold it, Protestant England or Catholic France. Dupleix was the first European who, in modern times, conceived the bold plan of founding an Indian Empire, and he only failed in winning it for France because he was opposed by the military skill and the wondrous good fortune of Clive.†

The charge of barrenness in the matter of colonies, therefore, counts for nothing. The colonial empire of England owes much to Catholics, and France is at once a Catholic nation

* We cannot mention Canada without alluding to an enterprise of Catholic colonization belonging to the last few years. In 1871 a party of Catholic Zouaves, who had just retired from Rome, obtained some lands in the heart of the forests of Canada, cleared the ground, built a village, which is now rapidly becoming a town, and brought the adjacent land under cultivation. The little Catholic colony, now less than six years old, has prospered beyond all expectation. It bears the name of Piopolis, in honour of Pius IX.

† The capture of Arcot was the real beginning of England's career of conquest in India. Clive owed his success entirely to the chance that he was able to attack in the midst of a thunderstorm, when the superstition of the Hindus deprived them of all power of resistance.

and a colonizing power.* But M. de Laveleye adds, that though the past of the Catholic nations is brilliant, their present is gloomy, their future disquieting. On this point he expresses an opinion, rather than states any demonstrable fact. We differ from him in opinion, but the matter is so much one of feeling, of political insight and forecast, that we freely grant that it would be as difficult for us to demonstrate the truth of our judgment as it would be for him to prove its contrary. We may, however, bring forward certain considerations in support of it. At present Germany is the strongest power in Europe; England, probably, stands next. Both of these are Protestant nations, though much of their power they owe to Catholics. When Prussia began her career of victory in 1864, more than a third of her people were Catholics. At this moment one-third of the subjects of the German Empire are "subject to Rome," to use our author's favourite phrase. As for England, the Duke of Wellington declared in the House of Lords, that one-half of the men whom he led to victory in the Peninsula were Catholics; and we have it on the authority of Sir Henry Havelock that the pith, the central strength of the army that saved our Indian Empire in 1857 was composed of Catholic Irishmen, who, a few years before, had enlisted during the time of terrible suffering that followed the great famine. At present Austria and France, the two great Catholic nations, are suffering from the effects of defeat; but who knows how the scale will turn in another ten years? And, after all, Catholicism or Protestantism has but little to do with military success. Irish, French, and Austrian soldiers—yes, and Spaniards too—have proved again and again that in any good cause the Catholic fears not to peril life and limb. The glorious records of Castelfidardo, Monte Libretti, and Mentana, more than prove this, if, indeed, any proof were needed. Catholicity has never made men cowards; it has often made them

* We must reply in a note to a note of M. de Laveleye's. The only fact he gives in support of his statement that Catholic nations no longer colonize, is contained in a note, which states that in 1867 the Comte de Beauvoir, on visiting the island of Sha Myen in the Canton river, ceded in 1861 to France and England, found in the English half of the island a village built in six years; a Protestant church, handsome houses, a cricket-ground, and a race-course; while the French half contained only uncultivated trees, rubbish, moles, and stray dogs and cats (which last, we presume, came from the English village). This, he supposes, proves a "want of expansive power" in the Catholic nation. It only proves that the French merchants in China, actuated by commercial ideas only, have, wisely or unwisely, as the case may be, neglected to colonize Sha Myen. If M. de Laveleye should ever visit China, he will find a flourishing colony at Saigon, and French merchants and consuls in all the great ports.

heroes. Had the Republicans of Paris fought but half as well as the "mercenaries" of Pius IX. did upon the field of Loigny, the Prussian dragoons would never have marched through the Arc de Triomphe.

We believe in the future of the Catholic nations. At this very moment Austria is rapidly becoming again an important factor in the politics of Central Europe. If Austria and France, with their governments, were thoroughly Catholic, we should have but little fear for them. The non-Catholic element in France is the greatest obstacle to her prosperity. We believe, too, in the future of Spain. She is recovering from the loss of her colonial empire; she enjoys peace; statistics prove that her wealth and her population are increasing; her resources are being rapidly developed; she is still a naval power of some weight, and she possesses a splendid army. If her statesmen would but abandon Cuba to its fate, she would be relieved at once of a fearful tax of blood and treasure. Our forecast may not be a correct one, but numbers of unprejudiced men share our opinion. Only the experience of the next few years can verify or discredit it. But, however this may be, the future of the Protestant empire of Germany and the future of M. de Laveleye's other favourite, the empire of the Czar, are not wholly unclouded. Socialism in Germany, Nihilism in Russia, are sources of danger that are not to be contemned. The throne of the Emperor William is not, after all, as secure as that of his Imperial brother of Catholic Austria; and if any one thing is being clearly brought to light in the field of European politics, it is the fact that the "great Slav power" ruled by the Czar is rotten to the core.

But M. de Laveleye points to another aspect of the politics of the Catholic nations. "The Catholic countries," he says, "on both sides of the Atlantic are a prey to internal struggles." Very true, at least in many cases; but why should Catholicity bear the blame of this? On M. de Laveleye's friends, the Liberals, must, we fear, be laid by far the greater part of the blame due to the fomenters of the troubles, the "internal struggles," the revolutions of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and many of the South American States. The history of the last ninety years proves this. But is it Catholic nations only on both sides of the Atlantic that have been torn by internal struggles of late years? The United States have been spoken of as held by a Protestant nation. What of the great conflict that raged for four years from the Gulf of Mexico to the valley of the Ohio? And in Europe, was there not bloodshed in the streets of Berlin in 1848? Did not German armies meet in civil conflict as lately as 1866? The

armies that marched side by side into France in 1870 had fired upon each other only four years before. M. de Laveleye has a wondrous faculty of forgetting. He forgets what Liberalism has done to trouble the peace of Catholic nations; he forgets that Protestant nations have had their periods of difficulty and trial. By taking such an imperfect view of the position of affairs, it is easy to "prove" anything.

Throughout M. de Laveleye refers again and again to England as the pattern of a free and peaceful nation. He attributes this to English institutions, and gives to Protestantism the credit of their success. Here again he has forgotten the teaching of history. The foundation of the institutions of England was laid in Catholic times, and by Catholic hands. No nation in Europe has in its constitution and laws preserved so much that belongs to its old Catholic legislation. Elsewhere the continuity has been broken by the absolutism of the post-Reformation period, when the popular liberties of the Middle Ages were, in most countries, destroyed, far more than by the revolutions of the last years of the eighteenth century. This is a wide subject, and we cannot enter upon it here. The single fact that the Church is the guardian of a higher law than that of the State makes her the best guardian of civil liberty. The mediæval institutions of Italy, Spain, France, and England itself practically prove this. But it is only in England that they have been preserved and developed to our day. How this has been effected is a question for history. But one fact meets us on the very threshold of the inquiry. Protestantism in England was the work of Tudor despotism, which paved the way for the policy of the Stuarts, and by an unbroken chain of events, led up to the civil war and the English revolution.

M. de Laveleye having endeavoured to show that Catholicity is less favourable to national development than Protestantism, proceeds to indicate what he supposes are the causes of this inferiority which he has alleged, but certainly has not proved. He tells us that in a Catholic country the priests form a separate caste, whose interests are not those of the nation at large, while in a Protestant country the minister is none the less a citizen because he is a pastor. We can only speak of this as a calumny against the Catholic clergy. It is a favourite fiction of European Liberalism, but it imposes upon no one. Patriotism in its best and highest sense is a duty imposed upon every Catholic. Love of country, loyalty, respect for the law—these are things which the Catholic priesthood has ever set before the people as essential characteristics of the citizens of a civilized country. In Elizabeth's days priests were indeed

tortured and executed on false charges of treason. History has reversed the judgment of hostile courts, and it is now clear as noonday that the men who suffered and died at Tyburne for their faith were as loyal Englishmen as they were good Catholics.

M. de Laveleye, however, indicates two other sources of inferiority,—a lower standard of popular education, and a lower standard of morality prevailing among Catholic than among Protestant peoples. Here again, we have in both instances assertion without proof. He says, indeed, that Catholics regard reading as the shortest road to heresy, that the Church has neglected education, that the educational system of Catholic countries is defective, compared to that of Protestant nations, that "it was the schoolmaster that conquered at Sedan." * Catholics need never fear any candid inquiry into the Church's influence on education. There were schools in Europe before Martin Luther's days. He certainly did not learn his letters from a Protestant schoolmaster. Nine-tenths of the universities of Europe trace back their origin to Catholic times. There was hardly an abbey in the Middle Ages that had not its school. The author of "*Christian Schools and Christian Scholars*" has shown clearly that the primary school is not an invention of the nineteenth century.† At the present day the Catholic Belgian province of Luxembourg has a more perfect organization for popular education than any country in Europe, and that too, without compulsion. Only one per cent. of the people are uneducated. In Germany, the Catholic provinces are fully equal to the Protestant districts in this

* Whether reading, writing, and arithmetic make men fight better is very doubtful. Prussia had a system of compulsory education before 1789, yet the "schoolmaster" did not conquer at Jena. This appeal to "the ordeal of combat" is a favourite one with M. de Laveleye, but it proves nothing. We take from M. de Haulleville the following remarks as one of his minor charges against France. "M. de Laveleye asserts," he says, "that during the war of 1870 the French wounded (Catholics) asked for playing-cards, while the Prussian convalescents (Protestants) only asked for books. I heard no one ask for cards in the ambulances during that war, but I know that many of the German wounded, Bavarians, Rhinelanders, Westphalians, and Poles (Catholics), who had been shot down for the German cause, which is represented nowadays as the cause of Protestantism, protested against the Protestant books which were given to them. The service of the hospitals had provided for everything except this" (p. 232).

† Bishop Spalding in his 2nd article on M. de Laveleye's pamphlet, treats briefly, but with sufficient fullness, the history of Catholic popular education from the 9th century. He also states that at present the educational statistics of Europe show that the school attendance compared with the population is in Bavaria as 1 to 7, Austria 1 to 10, Belgium 1 to 10·5, Ireland 1 to 16, Catholic Switzerland 1 to 16, and in England as 1 to 17.

respect. In France, primary education is highly developed, especially in the towns. Its success is largely due to the Catholic teaching orders of men and women. M. Maxime du Camp, a Liberal, like M. de Laveleye, gives the first rank among the primary schools of Paris to those of the Sisters of Charity. Rome, the very centre of clericalism, Papal Rome, with a population of 158,000, had, according to Mr. Laing,* in the year 1843, 372 primary schools, attended by 14,099 children, and conducted by 452 teachers. Berlin, in the same year, with double the population, had only 264 schools. The Papal States had seven universities, with a population of only two and a half millions, while the twenty-six million Protestants of Germany, at the present day, have exactly the same number of universities—seven. So much for the charge that the Catholic Church is opposed to, or careless of, the education of her children. More than half the nuns whom M. de Laveleye's Liberal friends would expel from Belgium if they could, give their whole lives without fee or reward to the teaching of the children of the poor.

But, as M. de Haulleville justly remarks, M. de Laveleye "surpasses himself" in his last proposition. "It is agreed," he says, "that the power of nations depends on their morality. Now, it appears that the moral level is higher among Protestants than among Catholics." The arguments brought forward in support of this daring assertion are the weakest in the book. M. de Laveleye points triumphantly to the immoral literature of France and the French drama. If this literature were the work of Catholics, it would be a fair argument, but all the world knows that is produced by men and women of his own school of political and philosophical thought. Madame Georges Sand and M. Paul de Kock were neither of them Catholics. The Church condemns this pernicious literature, and does all that she can to oppose it and limit its evil effects. But its circulation is not confined to France. Any London bookseller can give us evidence that the French novel, in the form to which M. de Laveleye alludes, enjoys a wide popularity in Protestant England. Nor is Protestant Germany without reproach. The country where "The Sorrows of Werther" is still a favourite story, has little to boast of in this respect; and as for America, there are journals of high standing, even in New York, which simply trade upon public vice in a way that even a Parisian journal would not venture to attempt. The charge of fostering immorality is a strange

* "Notes of a Traveller." London : 1842-48.

one to bring against the Catholic Church. We do not say that a man is established in virtue by the mere fact of being a Catholic. But we do insist that the Catholic Church protects the virtue of her children by the most rigid precepts, and places before them the highest standard in the matter of morality and purity. It is the glory of the Catholic Church to have protected by the highest sanctions the indissoluble bond of marriage; it is the reproach of the Reformation that it has reintroduced divorce into Europe. There is no Catholic who does not know that many things are grievous sins which only too many of those outside the pale of the Church look upon as pardonable follies. Then, as the guarantee and the perpetual vindicator of this exalted standard of morality, there is the sacrament of Penance which daily is the means of saving hundreds from the toils of sin. It is only natural to expect that all this would have the effect of placing the Catholic nations very high in the scale of comparative morality, and we shall show that this is the case. Paris is not a Catholic city, the cup of her iniquities is filled up from the whole world; the vice of Paris is made a reproach to Catholic France which condemns and repudiates it; but it would not be difficult to show that Protestant Berlin has nothing to boast of in comparison with Paris, and Protestant London very little. The most immoral country in Europe is Sweden, the citadel of Lutheranism, where conversion to Catholicity is still forbidden by penal laws. Mr. Bayard Taylor's account of Stockholm places that city at once lowest in the rank of European capitals.

But this is a matter which can be tested very fairly by statistics. We shall pass over it very briefly, and only give a few of the figures at our command. We will restrict our survey entirely to our own islands, and take the data supplied by the Registrar-General's returns of the proportions between legitimate and illegitimate births. In England, in 1873, the proportion was 5·6 illegitimate in every 100 registered births; in Scotland, the most Protestant of the three kingdoms, it was 9 per cent.; in Catholic Ireland 2·7 per cent. More than this, when we examine the returns for a series of years, we find that the highest percentage is always registered in Ulster, and that the disproportion between the returns of the North-east of Ireland and those of the rest of the country is remarkable. The purely Catholic districts of the West and South-west, that is to say, Connaught and the greater part of Munster, stand best in the scale. Take the following table of the percentage in all Ireland, and in the North-east, West and South-west from 1867 to 1871.

<i>Divisions.</i>	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.
All Ireland.....	3·3	3·1	2·9	2·7	2·7
North-east	5·7	5·5	5·3	5·3	5·2
West	1·2	1·3	1·3	1·0	1·0
South-west.....	2·0	2·1	1·7	1·7	1·6

M. de Laveleye compared the prosperity of Ulster with the misery of Connaught, and asked us to infer that Catholicity was a misfortune to the West of Ireland. Catholicism or Protestantism may have very little to do with the question of wealth, but certainly they have much bearing upon the question of morality. It matters little to a man hereafter whether he has been poor or rich here, but it is of great import to him to have been virtuous or vicious. In this point then,—and it is the most serious of all, Catholic Connaught stands far higher than Ulster. Ulster has, perhaps, more wealthy families, more comfortable houses; but the cabins of Connaught give shelter to a purer race. We see then, that in the scale of morality, Scotland stands lowest of any country in the United Kingdom, England comes next, Ireland stands highest; and when we take separate districts of Ireland, it is precisely the most Protestant district that stands lowest, the most Catholic districts that stand highest.* It is hard for any one to resist the conclusion that the religion of the people is the cause of this. Assuredly *Digitus Dei hic est*.

* Bishop Spalding has collected the following interesting statistics of illegitimacy in various countries, which confirm the evidence derived from our own Registrar-General's returns.

Per-centage of illegitimate births :—

<i>Catholic Countries.</i>		<i>Protestant Countries.</i>	
Sardinia (1828–37)	2·1	Norway (1855)	9·3
Spain (1859)	5·6	Sweden (1855)	9·5
Tuscany	6	Protestant Prussia (1858)	9·3
Catholic portion of Prussia	6·1	Hanover (1855)	9·9
France (1858)	7·8	Denmark (1855)	11·5
		Iceland (1838–47)	14
		Saxony (1858)	16
		Württemberg (1858)	16·1

In Catholic France, as in Catholic Ireland, the most Catholic districts stand best in the statistics. Thus, while the rate for all France is 7·8, the rate for the rural districts is 4·2; for La Vendée, 2·2; for Brittany, 1·2. In England the rural districts stand lowest in the scale of morality. The same rule holds good in Germany, the Catholic districts are the purest. The statistics stand :—

<i>Catholic.</i> { Westphalia, 3·5.	<i>Protestant.</i> { Pomerania	} 10 to 12.
{ Rhineland, 3·3	{ Brandenburg }	

This evidence is irresistible, the rule holds good throughout.

We have seen already how weak is M. de Laveleye's line of argument, how uncertain are his premises, how fallacious is his reasoning. We do not charge him with wilfully deceiving and misleading his readers; but we do charge him with reckless carelessness, thoroughly unscientific method, and utter incompetency for the task he has undertaken. His book is not a "study of social economy." It is a prejudiced attack upon Catholicism, which does not bear a few minutes' serious examination. It has not even the merit of ordinary plausibility. We have shown that in the various points of material wealth and power, ability to colonize, education, and morality, the Catholic nations have nothing to fear from a comparison with Protestant peoples. That in the last particular, and the most important of all, they stand highest in the scale. And on all these points we have adduced only a portion of the evidence at our command. The field of inquiry is such a wide one that a volume would be required for its full treatment.

We must say, in conclusion, that we agree with M. de Haulleville in anticipating a brilliant future for Catholicity, and for the Catholic nations. The Catholic revival in France and Italy; the conquests achieved by Catholicity in England, Germany, and America; the glorious work which is being done by Catholic missionaries alike in the East and the West; the wondrous unity, not only of doctrine but of feeling and sentiment, that pervades the whole Church; the devotion alike of pastors and peoples to Rome,—all are unmistakable auguries for future good. Learning and literature flourish now as they have ever flourished, under the fostering care of the Church, Protestantism is everywhere dead or dying. Already its influence is gone. Men will soon be either infidels or Catholics. The Church has conquered Protestantism as she conquered Arianism; she will conquer infidelity and Liberalism as she conquered Paganism and Roman Cæsarism. She is the true civilizing power of the present, as she was in the past. Even as we write, while Liberal philanthropists are talking of opening up Africa, the sons of the Church are not talking but working, and quietly and unostentatiously preparing the way for a systematic attempt to win the dark land of Central Africa to the cross of Jesus Christ. With all this before our eyes, we cannot share in any gloomy forebodings for the future of Catholic peoples. We are approaching the close of one century, the opening of another. The nineteenth century has been an age of Liberalism, for which the eighteenth had prepared the way. Is there any reason why the twentieth century should not be an age of Catholicity, the ultimate result of the Pontificate of Pius IX.? We do not think there

is. On the contrary, we believe that there is every reason why we should hope and pray for such an event. Even humanly speaking, it is more than possible, and he would be a daring man who would say that the hope is a baseless one.

ART. VII.—SIMON DE MONTFORT, EARL OF
LEICESTER.

Royal and other Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry III. Edited by
WALTER SHIRLEY, D.D. London: Longmans. 1866.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. By WALTER SHIRLEY, D.D.
Quarterly Review, January, 1866.

The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. By G. W. PROTHERO.
London: Longmans. 1877.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. By REINHOLD PAULI. Translated
by U. M. GOODWIN; with Introduction by HARRIET MARTINEAU.
London: Trübner. 1876.

Life of Simon de Montfort. By M. CREIGHTON, M.A. London: Riving-
tons. 1876.

The Barons' War. By WILLIAM HENRY BLAAUW, M.A. London: Nichols
& Son. 1844.

Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars. Edited by O.
HALLIWELL, F.R.S. Camden Society. 1840.

THE reputation of few great men has undergone such fluctuations as that of Simon de Montfort. Honoured and loved during life, worshipped as a saint after death, then branded with infamy as a rebel and hypocrite, he is now again raised on the pinnacle of fame as the creator of the English Constitution. These fluctuations have not arisen from the discovery of any documents, which have thrown additional light on his character, but solely from corresponding fluctuations of popular sentiment and principle on religious and political subjects.

All the books at the head of this article, being taken more or less directly from the national records and contemporary chronicles, are valuable and interesting, so far as regards the incidents alone of De Montfort's life. But when we pass

beyond the bare incidents, we at once become conscious of a great deficiency, for we fail to catch a living picture of the hero. Nor is it hard to account for this defect. If, generally speaking, "a man's religion is the chief thing about him,"* much more is it so with De Montfort, the mainspring of whose life was religion. Hence it is evident that writers who do not understand and who habitually misrepresent his religion, must not only fail to depict him correctly, but must often give us a travesty in the place of a true likeness. Thus they tell us that his contemporaries worshipped him as a saint, and yet they describe him as ambitious, proud, imperious, ungoverned in tongue and temper; apparently without a suspicion, that the mere fact of Catholics having considered him a saint, is a conclusive proof that he could not possibly have been haughty, fierce, and undisciplined.

In dealing with public events they fall into similar mistakes through ignoring the central idea of the age, that all Christians, whether as nations or individuals, were members of one family, of which Christ's Vicar was the Father and Judge. To call this common father and judge a "foreign power," betrays gross ignorance of the spirit of the time. To complain of his interference in national affairs, is absurd. Had he not interfered, all Europe would have cried out against him in the words of Queen Eleanor to Pope Celestine:—

As the Vicar of the Crucified, the successor of Peter, the Pontiff of Christ, the Anointed of the Lord, you cannot be silent without guilt and infamy. . . . The Prince of the Apostles reigns in the Apostolic See, and is placed over the nations as a severe judge. It rests with you, who have been established for that purpose over nations and kingdoms, to draw the sword of Peter against the wicked.†

Before we enter on the consideration of De Montfort's life and character, we must notice some important misrepresentations of political events previously to his arrival in England.

Pauli makes the strange assertion, that Henry II.'s opposition to S. Thomas of Canterbury, was based on the old Teutonic institutions and legal customs of the Anglo-Saxons.‡ But it is notorious that the exact contrary was the case, and that S. Thomas held "the constitutional position of the Primate, as champion of the old English customs and law against the personal despotism of the king."§

* Carlyle, "Lectures on Heroes," Lect. I.

† Epp. Pet. Bles., 144, 146, ap. Rohrbacher, "Hist. Eglise," vol. xvi. p. 498.

‡ P. 2.

§ Green, "Short. Hist. Eng.," p. 122.

Again, Pauli and Creighton misrepresent the relation of Pope Innocent III. to John and his barons. They tell us that "Innocent III. required" John to take, "at the hands of Pandulph, . . . the oath of fealty for England and Ireland";* and that he "helped the king against the barons, and received from John, as the price of his help, the surrender of the English crown."† But Innocent had nothing whatsoever to do with John's act of fealty "at the hands of Pandulph," whom he had not even authorized to receive it; and Nicholas, Bishop of Tusculum, had afterwards to be sent from Rome expressly for the purpose.‡ Neither Pope nor Legate "required" this submission from John, but his barons compelled him to it, as they themselves afterwards reminded the Pope.§ Pauli has evidently some idea of this fact; for he says, "There was a moment when the English barons . . . appeared as the Pope's allies. . . . They had once well-nigh desired, but now disowned" the Pope's "paramount authority."|| Notwithstanding, he makes the above contradictory assertion.

Shirley describes the true relations of Rome and the English nation in the following passage :—

Between the Papacy and the National Church no serious differences had then arisen; and the Pope was regarded as the head and mainstay of the most revered and the most popular institution in the country. Indeed, before the struggles of the thirteenth century had given birth to the English Constitution, its functions were indirectly supplied, so far as they were supplied at all, by the action and influence of the Church. Through it plebeian thoughts and plebeian feelings ever found an expression; through it men of the humblest origin rose to high place and power, and mitigated by their presence the harsh principles of feudalism, humanized the courts of law, and gave encouragement to the gentle arts of peace.

But he unhappily adds, and Creighton echoes him :—

It was in the reign of King John that the first great shock had been given to the popular reverence for Rome. It was then first felt that, on questions vital to England, the interests of Rome and of the English Church might be not only different, but absolutely opposed. . . . Langton fell under the Papal ban for expressing English feelings . . . and the wishes of the nation . . . and for maintaining English rights. . . . The minority of Henry III. witnessed, for the first and last time in our history, the attempt of a foreign Power to govern England through a Viceroy, and that viceroy a Legate.¶

* Pauli, p. 5.

† Creighton, p. 63.

‡ Matthew Paris. "*Chronica Majora*," vol. ii. pp. 565-570. Ed. Luard.

§ Maucclerc in "*Rymer, Fœdera*," i. p. 185.

|| Pp. 5, 6.

¶ Shirley, p. 36; Creighton, p. 63.

This expression of the Protestant feeling of the nineteenth century, becomes sheer nonsense when transferred to the thirteenth. In the thirteenth century who ever dreamt that the decision on a question of justice and respective rights, should be influenced by national wishes and interests? Nay, who would not have been scandalized by such a supposition? A distinctive idea of that age of faith was the recognition of a standard of absolute truth and justice, higher than that of political expediency and quite independent of it, of which the Pope was the recognized guardian and expositor. Langton was not excommunicated for expressing any feelings or wishes whatsoever, but for refusing to obey the Pope and excommunicate the barons. It was not he, but the Pope, who defended English rights. The barons of highest repute for patriotism and strength of character, were aware of this. For he had said to them :—

As we would not have the king deprived of his rights, so we would have him desist from harassing you; lest by evil customs and iniquitous exactions England should be oppressed in the Pope's name.*

Accordingly, as Prothero and Pauli tell us, they had a mis-giving "that they might have gone too far"† in "their attempt to establish their own permanent authority side by side with that of the king."‡ They could not "fail to perceive that the charter would have temporarily, perhaps permanently, restrained the free exercise of the royal authority; and it was equally undeniable that the measures adopted in order to bring about this result were revolutionary in character."§

Accordingly, they remained true to John in his last and greatest difficulties.|| They gathered round his infant heir, and in union with the Legate promulgated Magna Charta, freed from the faults which the Pope had condemned. It was they, and "no foreign power," who governed England during Henry's minority; and the Legate, watching over the interests of both king and people, gave to their acts the sanction which they and all their contemporaries regarded as that of Christ Himself.

Shirley complains, that during Henry's minority "we find" Pandulph "writing to the Justiciar and to Des Roches, as the haughtiest of the Plantagenets might have written to

* Rymer, i. p. 205.

† Prothero, chap. i. p. 16.

‡ Pauli, p. 12.

§ Ibid., p. 10.

|| Stubb's "Constit. Hist.," vol. ii. c. xiv. p. 16.

his humblest minister."* But it is evident that at a time when, as he himself tells us, the whole country and all the royal castles were in the hands of a few nobles, and the revenue was almost extinct, when private feuds set town against town and noble against noble, and acts of violence were committed with impunity by high officials, a stronger hand than that of a mere fellow-subject and equal, was needed to control the anarchy.† It was of vital importance to have the support of a spiritual power, that could dare at a critical moment to write to the Justiciar, "Stand firm, do nothing against justice, hope in the author of our salvation; for I fear nought, whatsoever man may say against me."‡

A glance at the correspondence of Pope Honorius III. and Pandulph, suffices to prove how invaluable was their support to the English Regent and Justiciar, whether in compelling the surrender of royal castles, or preserving them in the king's hands;§ in collecting the revenue;|| in negotiating with the kings of France and Scotland, and Llewellyn, Prince of Wales; in protecting the king and his sister against their mother and her husband, the Comte de la Marche;¶ and in defending the king's subjects from Jewish money-lenders,** nobles like Fawkes de Bréauté, Warrenne, and Albemarle,†† and violence and injustice of all kinds.‡‡ At a later period we find Honorius pleading for justice and mercy to Fawkes de Bréauté §§ and his widow,||| exhorting Henry to be "more impartial and forbearing to his subjects,"¶¶ and annulling the "presumptuous and iniquitous" statute, which excluded all the Irish clergy, however respected and learned, from ecclesiastical dignities.***

We now proceed to consider Simon de Montfort's life and character from a Catholic point of view. He was born about the beginning of the thirteenth century. His descent was more than commonly illustrious; and his father was the celebrated crusader against the Albigenses. About 1230 he came to England. In 1232 Henry III. gave him the Earldom of Leicester, the hereditary claim to which, through his grandmother, Amicia, his elder brother, Amauri, resigned to him. But Henry obliged him to renounce all claims to his father's

* "Royal and Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry III.," vol. i. pref. 20.

† Ibid., p. 21.

‡ Ibid., Ep. 68, p. 78, from Pandulph to Hubert de Burgh.

§ Ibid., vol. i. pp. 535, 539.

|| Ibid., pp. 28, 36.

¶ Ibid., p. 536.

** Ibid., p. 35.

†† Ibid., pp. 105, 111, 129, 130.

‡‡ Ibid., p. 167.

§§ Ibid., pp. 234, 543, 544.

||| P. 547.

¶¶ Ibid., p. 540.

*** Ibid., p. 541.

rank and lands in France before he could take his place as an Englishman.

We now get our first personal glimpse of him through a letter from Grosseteste, then prebend, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln. The letter is without date, but the superscription, in which Grosseteste describes himself as "the unworthy minister of the church of Lincoln," proves that it must have been written before 1235, when he became bishop. It is a treatise on the first principles of justice, such as might be addressed to a young man entering on his baronial duties; and it was called for by a report that Simon was about to punish a citizen of Leicester too severely, not that he had "too harshly punished" him, as Pauli tell us.* Grosseteste explains at great length, that it is equally wicked not to punish the guilty as to punish the innocent; that to punish the wicked less than they deserve, is an imitation of Christ, who punishes all less than they deserve; while to punish them beyond their deserts, is tantamount to punishing the innocent, and places the judge on a footing with Herod, who massacred the Holy Innocents, and with the Jews, who crucified the Son of God. He then proceeds to the case in point, and prays God that it may be far from the Earl's intention to throw off his human nature and assume the ferocity of the lion, or rather of devils, and thus to make himself the associate of Herod and those who crucified our Lord. He concludes:—

Let not cruelty rage against the above citizen, nor severity be rigid. But let mercy exceed justice; that you may be an example of clemency and mercy, and not a cruel master. Farewell.†

The king's favour drew on Simon the jealousy of the barons, and in 1237 they complained of him in general terms, as one of "the infamous and mistrusted men who were said to foment" Henry's misdeeds, and who consequently were "exceedingly hateful to the English nobles, although they derived their origin from the same kingdom."‡ An imprudent marriage soon after gave them just cause of displeasure.

Simon's tall, handsome person and knightly accomplishments had already won in succession the hearts of two noble ladies, the Countess of Flanders and the Countess of Boulogne. But the King of France had objected to his marrying either, on account of his connection with England. He now fell in love with Eleanor, Henry's youngest sister, and carried away by his ardent, impetuous nature, he cast aside all thought

* P. 43.

† Grosseteste's "Epistolæ," Ep. 48, p. 141. Ed. Luard.

‡ Matt. Par., p. 446. Ed. Wats.

of the grave obstacles which existed to his marrying her. Eleanor had been married, while still a child, to the younger William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke; and on his death in 1231, when she was sixteen, she had taken a vow of perpetual widowhood, but without receiving the veil,* or entering a cloister. Notwithstanding, she returned Simon's love, and on the 7th of January, 1238, they were privately married in the king's chapel, and the king gave her away.† The marriage could not long be kept secret. When it became known the barons, irritated that the king should have given his sister in marriage without their consent, assembled in arms, headed by the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall. But after long and angry discussions, Simon, having humbled himself before Richard, obtained his forgiveness, and the king having sworn to reform his conduct, the matter passed off.‡

Simon and Eleanor had still to make their peace with the Church. With this view Simon set out for Rome. The object of his journey was not, as Shirley tells us, to "make good a marriage which was really in itself invalid";§ but to obtain the Pope's authoritative sentence whether a marriage had been contracted or not, and to get Eleanor a dispensation from her vow. We are not told distinctly on what grounds the doubt about the marriage rested, but it seems to have been because opinions in England were divided as to the nature of Eleanor's vow. If it had been a simple vow, its obligation would have been invalidated by the higher obligation of the sacrament of matrimony, and a valid marriage, which even the Pope could not annul, would have been contracted. But if, on the contrary, the vow had been a solemn one, a marriage could not possibly have been contracted. At the present day solemn vows can be taken only by the members of a very limited number of religious Orders. But at that time they were more common, and were sometimes taken even by persons still living in the world. In any case, as the doubt about the marriage had arisen, the Pope's final sentence was indispensable.

On his way to Rome Simon visited the Emperor Frederic II., who gave him a letter to the Pope. At Rome the evidence as to the circumstances of the vow was found to be conflicting. Pope Gregory IX., therefore, wrote to his Legate in England: "The circumstances have been differently related by different persons; wherefore, we see nothing contrary to the presumption that a marriage has been contracted"; and he directed him to absolve Eleanor from her

* Wykes, p. 65. Ed. Luard.

† Matt. Par., pp. 465, 471.

‡ Ibid., p. 468.

§ P. 33.

vow.* Simon now returned to England, and on the 14th of October he was most joyfully received by Henry. Six weeks later his wife bore him a son, to whom the king stood god-father.

On the 16th of the following June, Prince Edward was born; and at his baptism by the Legate four days after, Simon was one of his sponsors and officiated as Hereditary Lord High Steward.†

But on the 9th of August, when he and Eleanor arrived at court to attend the queen to her churching, the king flew out in a rage, and calling him an excommunicated man, drove him and his wife from his presence. Overwhelmed by this unexpected outbreak, they hastened by water to the palace of the late Bishop of Winchester, which the king had lent them. But Henry ordered them to be forcibly ejected thence; and though they returned to him, and with tears earnestly besought his pardon, they could not appease him. In frantic rage he accused Simon of having seduced his sister before marriage, of having got a dispensation at Rome by bribes, and, as a climax of wickedness, of having, without his knowledge, made him a security for the money that he had promised at Rome to pay.

The unhappy couple, overcome with shame, embarked on the Thames in a small boat and hurried away from England. But Henry's mean spite pursued them; for he wrote to his agent in Rome, not to allow English privileges to be pleaded on behalf of the Earl of Leicester in a suit that he was carrying on against the ex-Count of Brittany.‡ Henry's anger seems, however, to have been as evanescent as it had been irrational. For in the following spring, when Simon paid a hurried visit to England, he received him with his usual cordiality, and Simon, with his characteristic generosity, cast the veil of oblivion over his late outrageous conduct.§

All the biographers acquit Simon and Eleanor of the criminal connection of which Henry accused them; and they agree that, as in the parallel case of Hubert de Burgh, the miserably weak king had been worked on by worthless favourites to get rid of virtuous men, who stood in the way of their selfish plans. As to the charge of bribery, Prothero and Creighton believe it; while Shirley rejects the possibility of it, because "the chances of a misunderstanding in such a case were not inconsiderable . . . and a dishonourable transaction

* Autograph. Rom. Pont. Mus. Brit. MS. Add. 15,354, p. 84. Ap. Pauli, p. 36.

† Matt. Par., p. 488.

‡ "Royal Letters," vol. ii. Ep. 426, p. 16. § Matt. Par., p. 527.

of this kind was utterly alien to Simon's character."* The only proof of bribery that Prothero and Creighton allege, is the fact that Simon collected a large sum of money before he went to Rome. But to consider this a proof of bribery, betrays ignorance of Catholic practice, and forgetfulness of the social customs of the age. The long journey to Rome and visits to two sovereign courts, especially at a time when the interchange of presents was, as it still is in the East, an indispensable act of courtesy, would necessarily cause a great outlay. Moreover, in accordance with ordinary Catholic practice, some other obligation would doubtless have been imposed instead of the vow. Simon would probably have been required to join the Crusade, as this was the object most earnestly desired by all the Popes, and especially by Gregory IX.; and he seems to have been allowed to commute this obligation for the gifts and promises of money mentioned by Matthew Paris, which would have been applied to the same purpose. Probably, at the time of Henry's outbreak Simon had been pressing him to pay some of the debts he was always owing to his sister, on the ground that he would be excommunicated unless he fulfilled the promises he had made at Rome. This supposition would explain Henry's mention of excommunication, and making him a security for Simon's payment; and it is also borne out by the fact, that Simon, apparently not being able to raise the money, actually went the following year on crusade.

Another motive which Shirley and Pauli suppose may have actuated Henry, is that Simon being a friend of the Emperor Frederic, who had just been excommunicated by the Pope, and Henry being very devout, the latter may have been worked upon by his favourites to think it necessary to throw off Simon by trumping up this charge against him.† Prothero, however, rejects this supposition, on the ground that there is no reason for supposing that Henry had broken off intercourse with Frederic, or that Simon had lost the favour with which he had recently been regarded at Rome.‡ In fact, Henry always kept up family relations with Frederic; and though he often used the Pope's name for selfish purposes, he never made any sacrifice for him.

Prothero, however, agrees with the other biographers, that Simon may have been influenced through life by the bold ideas and anti-papal policy of Frederic.§ Such a surmise is a striking proof of the inability of prejudiced non-Catholic

* *Ibid.*, p. 31.

† Shirley, p. 31; Pauli, p. 40.

‡ P. 48.

§ Prothero, p. 46; Pauli, p. 47; Shirley, p. 29.

writers to form a correct estimate of the character of Catholics. No two persons could have been more opposite in every respect than Simon and Frederic. Simon was "most devout to Christ," and was "animated by an ardent desire for God's glory and the public good."* In Frederic, on the contrary, "there was an enormity of heresy and the most dreadful blasphemy, to be detested and execrated by all Christians."† Simon was united in the closest friendship with the regular and secular clergy, and his life was devoted to the promotion of national liberty; while Frederic's was spent in crushing liberty in the Italian republics, pillaging and massacring the citizens, profaning churches, and persecuting the clergy. The only influence which Frederic could possibly have exerted over Simon, would have been by exciting such horror of his vices and crimes as would have impelled Simon to the practice of the opposite virtues.

A letter of Grosseteste's, which is universally ascribed to this period, is a convincing proof of Simon's innocence. For not only does this severe reformer omit all reference to Henry's accusation, but he addresses Simon as one who had made considerable progress in the spiritual life. After consoling him on the lower ground, that "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution,"‡ and that God "scourgeth every son whom He receiveth,"§ he proceeds to inculcate the higher degree of patience; saying,

To the just, tribulation is what pruning is to the vine, ploughing to uncultivated ground, washing to dirty cloths, the healing though bitter potion to the sick, hammering to vessels not yet fully shaped, the purifying fire to gold. Therefore, to beholders the present suffering and tribulation is not so much matter for sorrow, as the glory, which is the future fruit of the discipline of tribulation, is for joy. Wherefore, according to the interpretation and properties of your name, suffer tribulation in humble obedience, and ascend by the steps of humility to the summit of the strong mount, i.e. Christ, who is the mount on the summit of mounts, and the virtue of God the Father. In order that, contemplating every kind of adversity in Him, "even to the death of the Cross, for which cause God also hath exalted Him, and hath given Him a name which is above all names,"|| you may be ready, in imitation of Him and in the hope that fruit may arise from tribulation, to bear all your trials with unshaken and undaunted fortitude.

Finally, the bishop promised to intercede for Simon with the king.¶

* Brewer, "Monumenta Franciscana," *Epistolæ Adæ de Marisco*, Ep. 6, p. 86; Ep. 99, p. 225.

† Matt. Par., p. 482.

‡ 2 Tim. iii. 12.

§ Heb. xii. 6.

|| Phil. ii. 9.

¶ Ep. 75, p. 243.

In the spring of 1240 Simon went to the Holy Land. No details of his exploits there have reached us. He must, however, have distinguished himself greatly; for, in June, 1240, the nobles of Jerusalem wrote, asking the Emperor Frederic to appoint him regent.*

We next meet with Simon in May, 1242, in Poitou with Henry, who had been enticed by his stepfather, the Comte de la Marche, into a foolish war with France. Simon excelled in the use of arms and in military experience.† A contemporary says; "He was a man of wonderful forethought and circumspection, pre-eminent in preparing and vigorously carrying on war, abounding in excellent stratagems, not degenerate from his high ancestry."‡ Thus he was among the first soldiers of his day. The Comte de la Marche having betrayed the English army to Louis, Henry was in imminent danger of being taken prisoner at the battle of Taillebourg, and escaped only through Simon's prowess. Most of the nobles left the king in disgust, but Simon was faithful to the last, and returned to England with him only in September, 1243.

Simon's brilliant deeds of arms and chivalrous loyalty, reinstated him in the king's confidence and overcame the prejudices of the barons. In June, 1244, Henry wrote to the Justiciar of Chester, that he could do nothing about the state of the Border counties till he had the advice of his "beloved and faithful Simon de Montfort."§ In the same year, when Simon first took his place in political life, he was chosen to be one of the committee of twelve who were to negotiate with the king on behalf of the barons and clergy.|| But though his name thus appears among the opposition, yet he does not seem to have taken a strong part with them; for the king employed him to plead on his behalf with the bishops.¶ Again, in 1246, his name is attached to the respectful, though strong remonstrance to the Pope, about the large sums demanded by his Holiness, and his giving benefices in England to foreigners to the prejudice of the patrons. But here again there is no evidence that he took any special personal part.** Notwithstanding the appearance of his name on the above occasions, we agree with Mr. Stubbs in thinking, that from 1243 to 1248 he must on the whole have led a quiet life on his own estates.††

* Introduction to "Manners and Household Expenses," &c., p. 19, Ed. Turner; ap. Shirley, p. 33.

† Rishanger, "De Bellis," p. 6. ‡ Chr. Mailros, ap. Blaauw, p. 84.

§ "Royal Letters," vol. ii. Ep. 444, p. 40. || Matt. Par., p. 639.

¶ Ibid., p. 640. ** Ibid., p. 701. †† "Constit. Hist.," vol. ii. p. 64

These five peaceful years give us a picture of Simon in his own home. His marriage had realized the romantic dreams of his youth. Eleanor was the confidante of all his hopes and cares, his constant companion, adviser, and helper. Five sons were given them, and by mutual consent were trained in God's service by Bishop Grosseteste. To these family joys were added the charms of holy friendship. Grosseteste and Adam de Marisco watched over Simon and Eleanor, reproving, advising, exhorting them, and guiding them to the highest ends through the purest motives; while a knot of the most learned and spiritual men in England brought them the pleasures of cultured social intercourse, to which Simon's own education fitted him to contribute.* This rare union of earth's brightest treasures, was crowned and sanctified by Divine love. Simon's life was consecrated to God in the purest religious spirit of chivalry. He assisted at the Offices of the Church both by day and night, and often spent the night in watching and prayer. He was sparing in food and drink. His dress was of plain brown russet, and he wore a hair-shirt next his skin. Amid the temptations of a splendid position and the allurements of a corrupt court, it was his constant prayer that God's grace would keep him spotless from avarice and the desire for worldly goods.† Such was Simon's preparation for his subsequent heroic life.

A great spiritual movement had been originated by Pope Innocent III., and in the Franciscan and Dominican Orders he had found the instruments best suited for his great work of reform. The Franciscans came to England in 1220, and spread rapidly over the kingdom. Their school in Oxford attracted scholars from all parts of Europe, and placed the education of the English clergy in their hands. The first lecturer in it was Grosseteste, then "the very glory of the University,"‡ and the first Friar Minor who taught in it, was Adam de Marisco. Grosseteste thus describes the success of the Franciscans in a letter to Gregory IX. :—

Your Holiness may be assured that in England inestimable benefits have been produced by the Friars; for they illumine the whole country with the light of their preaching and learning. Their holy conversation excites vehemently to contempt of the world and voluntary poverty, to the practice of humility in the highest ranks, to obedience to the prelates and head of the Church, to patience in tribulation, abstinence in plenty; in a word, to the practice of all virtues. If your Holiness could see with what devotion

* "De Bellis," p. 6.

† "De Bellis," p. 6; Chr. Mailros, ap. Blaauw, p. 259.

‡ Wood, "Antiq. Oxon.," l. i. p. 71; ap. Collect. Anglo-Minorit., p. 19.

and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction as to daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and the regulars have obtained by imitating them, you would indeed say that upon them who dwell in the land of the shadow of death, hath the light shone.*

To the Franciscans Simon was linked by his friendship with Adam de Marisco. From him he derived his sympathy with the masses of the people, which was characteristic of the Franciscans; while to Grosseteste may be traced his heroic devotion to the popular cause.

Protestant writers commonly describe Simon and his friends as opponents to the Pope and to Catholic doctrine. Thus Shirley says: "It is certainly not likely that . . . Grosseteste and Adam de Marisco would have encouraged him (Simon) to believe, that any act of the Pope could make good a marriage which was really in itself invalid."† On the contrary, it is quite certain that they would have impressed on him the Pope's power of binding and loosing, if he had ever doubted it. The wide-spread fame of their school at Oxford, proves that they were quite sound on what was then a cardinal dogma of the faith of Europe, as it has always been of the Catholic Church.

There is not the least evidence that Simon opposed the Pope's authority. As to his friends, it is certain that both Adam and Grosseteste upheld it. The Franciscan Order was specially united to the Holy See through the vow of obedience to the Pope taken by its minister-general, and the Friars Minors were frequently employed to collect money for his Holiness both in England and elsewhere. Grosseteste's opinions on the subject are expressed in a letter to the king, in which he says, that "not to obey the Pope is like the sin of witchcraft and idolatry."‡

Creighton tells us that the Popes "showed themselves more anxious to bear rule over men's bodies than their souls," and "men's reverence turned from the scheming politicians, who called themselves the successors of S. Peter." § He speaks, too, of their "robbing England," thinking there was "booty to be had in England," and "plundering the English Church." || Several of the other writers under review imply similar accusations, though they express themselves with more historical dignity. Here we have another striking proof of the inability of non-Catholic writers to estimate Catholic character and grasp the true position of

* Ep. 58, p. 180. Ed. Luard.
§ Pp. 2, 3.

† P. 33.

‡ Ep. 119, p. 341.

|| Pp. 86, 90, 130.

Catholic Europe at great critical periods. The Pope was at this time engaged in a vital struggle against the Hohenstaufen for the very existence of Christianity and the liberties of Europe. These princes aspired to centralize in their own hands all judicial and executive power, to annihilate municipal liberties, to monopolize trade and education, to found a schismatic Church in Germany,—in fact, to make themselves the true Cæsars of Europe. Far from meriting the charges of political scheming, robbery, avarice, and extortion, there are few positions more heroic than that which the Popes occupied at this period, frequently driven out of their own city by the weak and turbulent Romans, deserted or feebly supported by Christian princes, without money or troops, and yet inflexible and undaunted in opposition to their powerful persecutors. What can be grander than the heroism of Gregory IX., an old man of ninety, who, in 1240, when Frederic II. was approaching to storm the city and his reconnoitring parties were already in sight, never trembled for a moment, but, carrying the heads of the Apostles and the true Cross in procession round the city, refused to enter into negotiations? Awed by this supernatural courage the emperor shrank from encountering the feeble old man, and turned his footsteps through the Abruzzi to Apulia.*

Grosseteste's opinion of the Pope's demands for money, may be seen in his letter to the king already quoted, in which he says, that "so far from there being any cause of astonishment at the bishops' collecting money for him, there would be much more reason for both astonishment and indignation were they not to do so when they see their spiritual father and mother, to whom they owe much more honour than to their natural parents, despoiled of their patrimony, in exile, persecuted, and deprived of their ordinary means of support."†

As to the national grievance, that the Pope gave English benefices to Italians, Grosseteste did not draw the sharp line of distinction between English and foreign priests that modern writers do. The object of his life was to carry out the reforms of the clergy, which the Popes, even in the midst of their greatest difficulties, had so much at heart. He rejected English and foreign priests alike if they were unfit to have a cure of souls, whether their patrons were English barons, Italian cardinals, king, or Pope. At the same time he bade the Friar Minor, John de Dya, provide six or seven clerics from abroad to fill benefices in his diocese, in order that they might preach

* Von Reumont, "Geschichte der Stadt Rom," vol. ii. pp. 534-6.

† Ep. 119, p. 341.

by their example, even though they could not speak English.* He fully acknowledged the Pope's right to appoint to English benefices, for he said in a letter to the Legate Otho, that "the Pope and the Roman Church had the power to appoint to all ecclesiastical benefices."† The true idea of his celebrated letter to the Pope, of which Protestants take an erroneous view, was, as Mr. Luard has shown,‡ that the Pope's nephew was unfitted for preferment by his youth. He availed himself of the opportunity to point out the scandals and abuses arising from the Papal provisions; but he studiously guarded against the supposition that he was guilty of disrespect or disobedience, declaring that he was actuated only by the filial honour due by God's command to a father and mother.§ The Pope took the letter in this sense; for, after having read and considered it, he wrote to all the English clergy, expressing his sorrow that the evil times and the great audacity of petitioners should have caused him to make unsuitable appointments; and he adopted the strongest measures in his power to prevent the abuse for the future.|| Mr. Luard, in his valuable preface to Grosseteste's Letters, shows that no one could have exceeded him in his reverence for the Papal power, and for Innocent IV. in particular.

The constant influence of such men as Grosseteste and Adam, could not fail to tell on Simon and his wife. Its fruit at length appeared in deepened compunction and "great alarm" for the sin they had committed by their marriage, in expiation of which they took the cross in 1248.¶ But before they could carry their purpose into effect, the king called on Simon to undertake the government of Gascony.

In a letter written by Adam to Grosseteste while Simon's departure for Gascony was still uncertain, he says:—

I return to your lordship the abridgment which you wrote "*Of the rule of a kingdom and a tyranny*," sealed with the seal of the Earl of Leicester. . . . He has spoken to me of that most salutary design of yours for liberating souls, with which you have been divinely inspired; he praises, extols, and embraces it, beyond what most men would have conceived: and he seems to me prepared by Divine grace to take part in the work, himself and his associates, if any such can be found.**

Matthew Paris also tells us:—

It was reported that the bishop had enjoined on him, in order to obtain remission of his sins, to take up this cause, for which he fought even to the

* Eccleston, c. 14, p. 64. "*Monumenta Franciscana*," p. 64.

† Ep. 49, p. 144. ‡ Epistolæ, pref., p. 20. § Ep. 128, p. 432.

|| "*An. Burton*," p. 314. ¶ Matt. Par., p. 742. ** Ep. 25, p. 110.

death ; declaring that the Church in England could not be firmly established except by the sword, and positively assuring him that all who died for it would be crowned with martyrdom.*

The coincidence between these two writers leaves scarcely a doubt that the cause of popular liberty, which Simon had so enthusiastically espoused, was imposed upon him as a penance by Grosseteste in commutation of his Crusader's vow.

The expression "liberating souls" is characteristic of a true Friar Minor, and it reveals to us the pure and high motive of Simon's public life.

In the autumn of 1248 Simon set out for Gascony. Here he was initiated into the practice of the principles of government, which he was later to carry out on a larger scale at home. A swift succession of brilliant victories, which made the Gascons "dread him like a thunderbolt,"† and raised his fame to the unrivalled pre-eminence of that of his father, were but the prelude to measures which had for their object the liberation of souls from wrong and violence and the sins which follow in their train. The royal castles were recaptured ; forts were erected to bridle the country ; robber-bands were broken up ; rebel chiefs were hanged, imprisoned, or sent to England for trial by the king ; and lawless deeds were punished with such stern, impartial justice, that order was quickly restored, and traders and pilgrims could journey without risk of being plundered and murdered, as formerly.

But, meanwhile, the miserable clique of foreign favourites who surrounded the weak king, took advantage of his suspicious nature to inspire him with jealous doubts of the loyal subject, whose fidelity had already been so nobly proved. A letter, which Simon wrote from Paris to the king on Easter Eve, 1249, when he was on his way back to Gascony after an unexpected visit to England, explains the difficulty of his position.‡ After telling the king that some of the Gascon nobles had made a league and in a few weeks would be in arms, he adds :—

They bear me such illwill because I maintain your rights and those of the poor, that I dare not return to Gascony without having seen you and received your written instructions. . . . I cannot get a farthing of your revenue, for everything is in the hands of the King of France ; and I cannot place much trust in the people of the province. On the other hand, it is hard to check the sort of warfare that they carry on, for they ride the

* *Matt. Par.*, p. 998.

† *Ibid.*, p. 879.

‡ "Royal and Historical Letters," vol. ii. Ep. 436 p. 52. Though this letter is anonymous, yet it is unanimously attributed to Simon, because no one else could possibly have written it.

country like thieves by night, laying waste the land, burning, pillaging, and making prisoners of the inhabitants. It is absolutely necessary that I should speak to you before I go thither ; for I have heard that they have given you to understand many evil things of me, and soon they will tell you that I was the cause of the war.

Whether Simon now saw the king does not appear, but his anticipations of the evil influence of his enemies were speedily verified. Gaston de Béarn and his principal adherents, whom he had sent prisoners to England, were pardoned and allowed to return to Gascony, where they immediately appeared in arms, and Simon had to recommence his task. No less than five times was he thus compelled to reconquer Gascony—"such a labour of Sisypheus was the service of Henry."*

When, after spending large sums of his own in the king's service, Simon unexpectedly appeared at court on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1251, to obtain aid in men and money, and pressed his suit by reminding the king how badly the Gascons had formerly behaved to himself, Henry gave him the doubtful answer, "By the head of God you have told the truth, Earl, and I will not refuse effective assistance to you, who are fighting so vigorously for me. But loud complaints have reached me that you imprison those who come to you in a peaceable way ; and those whom you send for, as if in good faith, you put to death when in your power."

These charges Simon positively denied ; adding, "My Lord, their known treachery, which you yourself have experienced, renders them unworthy of belief."†

Both secret and public inquiries into Simon's conduct were now instituted. But the charges against him could not be proved. On hearing of these proceedings, he indignantly exclaimed, "How is it, my Lord King, that you incline your ear and your heart to the messages of these traitors, and believe those who have often been convicted of treachery, rather than me, your faithful subject, and thus institute an inquiry into my conduct?" But Henry coldly answered, "If everything is clear, what harm will the scrutiny do you ? In fact, your fame will become brighter by it."

We possess a most interesting series of letters written by Adam to Simon and Eleanor during this period. It is evident from allusions in Adam's letters to other persons, that Grosseteste also was in close correspondence with Simon. But unhappily none of his letters, except the two already given, have reached us. Adam's correspondence, besides throwing light on Simon's religious character, further shows us how

* Shirley, p. 40.

† Matt. Par., p. 810.

warm was the interest taken by the most distinguished English ecclesiastics in all that concerned him, and how great must have been their influence on the political events of the day. One of the earliest of Adam's letters to Simon, seems to have been written on the occasion of the latter's unexpected return to England at Christmas, 1248. After expressing his joy at Simon's return so much earlier than he expected, he continues :—

Act manfully, and strengthen your soul in the Lord, in whom we may confidently hope that as He mercifully despises not those who trust in Him, though unexpected accidents may retard the execution of wise and profitable plans, yet for the honour of His name He will deign to bring them to a prosperous issue, even beyond what we could have hoped for. Though uniform experience affords little confidence that circumspect counsel will be had on the matters about which you wrote to me, yet, by God's grace, it is in no wise to be doubted that, humbling ourselves under the mighty hand of God, we ought to throw all our care upon Him, because He careth for us, and to direct all our actions to the accomplishment of His immutable will.*

To the years 1249–50 may be referred two letters of Adam's, the tone of which proves that they were written during a season of prosperity. He says :—

O most beneficent Earl ! how much purity, holiness, and glory will you not receive in the kingdom of God, in recompense for your indefatigable and successful labours to reform, illuminate, and sanctify His Church by good government ! What can be so pleasing to the Son of God as always to watch for the salvation of souls, for whom, by the shedding of His blood in such agony, He was pleased to redden the saving Cross ? But what avails it to provide for the peace of your fellow-citizens, and not to guard the peace of your own servants and household ? Better is a patient man than a strong man, and he who rules his own temper than he who storms a city. I wonder whether your acuteness will teach you what I mean by these words.†

Shortly after he writes again :—

My former letter seems to your Serenity exaggerated, as if I had said more in your praise than was fitting : but it was not undeserved, though I confess that I have a special affection for you above all mortals. . . . An ignoble mind, it is true, may be elevated to pride by its honours, and cast down to inertness by praise ; but the wisdom of a noble soul is inclined by the one to humility, and by the other is animated to virtue.‡

Another letter seems to have been written when Simon's difficulties were just beginning :—

Because the angel of the Lord surrounds and protects those who fear Him, I hope that amid the dangers of foes, the plots of traitors, and the

* Ep. 138, p. 264.

† Ep. 137, p. 264.

‡ Ep. 139, p. 266.

uncertainties of this fluctuating world, you may be kept by the mercy of Him of whom it is written, "The King that sitteth on the throne of judgment scattereth away all evil with his look."* Provided only that, from holy fear of His Divine Name, you carefully preserve in your own person, your soldiers, your servants, and all belonging to your government, devotion to God, unbroken loyalty to men, peace with each other, reasonable opposition to the refractory, and perfect charity to all. God goes before those who fight thus. If the Lord is for us, who will be against us?†

As difficulties closed round Simon, Adam wrote :—

If you have received the answers of broken friendship and feigned affection, what else are you now suffering than what you before expected? The clear circumspection of your wisdom will remember in how many conferences we drummed into each other's ears and placed before our eyes, the execrable shamelessness of seductive cunning such as we now see; although, considering the trustworthiness of courageous fidelity, your wisdom did not think it right to decline the danger of a truly grand undertaking for the imminent suspicion merely of some stupendous dishonesty. . . . This I most anxiously wish, pray, and beseech, that you would studiously procure for yourself the saving comfort of God's Word by frequent examination of the Holy Scriptures, breaking through, so far as it can reasonably be done, the storms and perturbations of distracting cares. I think it would be very suitable to your discretion if you would frequently peruse the twenty-ninth, thirtieth, and thirty-first chapters of the Book of Job, and other passages in the same book suitable to your condition, and with them the delightful commentaries of S. Gregory, as God shall give you opportunity.‡

We possess several other most interesting letters to both Simon and Eleanor, which appear to have been written while Simon's difficulties were daily increasing. But our limits compel us to pass them over, and to confine ourselves to quoting from a long letter which Adam wrote to Grosseteste in 1252.

By this time Henry's mean jealousy, sedulously fed by his despicable parasites, had ripened into violent hatred. The Gascons, perceiving that their only hope of conquering Simon lay with the king, redoubled their complaints, and Henry, catching eagerly at any chance or excuse for disgracing him, summoned him to England. He was now subjected to a trial before the king, bishops, and barons, which lasted from May 9th to June 11th. Adam, who was present, describes it in a long letter to Grosseteste. He tells him that the Gascons were encouraged "day and night, secretly and publicly," to heap accusations on him, while the king assailed him with "reproaches, taunts, and immoderate invectives."

* Prov. xx. 8.

† Ep. 120, p. 266.

‡ Ep. 120, p. 266.

But throughout, he observed the moderation of gentleness and the perfection of magnanimity towards both his lord and his adversaries. I know not that from the remotest times such manifest frowardness had ever been shown to any one, whether noble or ignoble ; while very few, except my Lord of Worcester, Lord Peter of Savoy, and Lord Peter de Montfort, stood faithfully by him.

All the English prelates and barons, and even the king's brothers, however, openly praised his courage, fidelity, firmness, and just intentions. Simon refuted each of the charges against him by written documents ; and a number of persons who had been with him in Gascony proved that this conspiracy had been got up against him only because he had done his utmost to restrain the sacrileges, homicides, and violence which were being constantly committed. The overwhelming evidence compelled the king to give judgment in his favour, and the "sentence was received with unanimous acclaim of assent" by all the barons.

Notwithstanding, after the interval of a single night, the attack on him recommenced, "the king raging in wrath, and those wicked men hissing at him in their falsehood" for several days and nights.* In the heat of the altercation, the king having called Simon a traitor, the latter gave him the lie, adding, "'Who could believe that you are a Christian? Have you never confessed?' Henry answered, 'I have.' Simon replied, 'But what avails confession without repentance and atonement?' To which the king retorted, 'I never repented of anything so much as I now repent of having permitted you to come to England and hold land and honours here.'"[†] The biographers quote this incident as a proof of Simon's violent temper and sharp tongue. But, considering the chivalric sensitiveness of knightly honour in that age, and the previous days and nights of badgering, we must differ from them.

No amount of ill-treatment could vanquish Simon's magnanimity. He offered to go with his friends and at his own expense to subdue the Gascons ; or, if the king would not let him do so, he asked to be dismissed in the presence of the barons without loss of honour or of money. Henry would not consent to either proposal. But at length, hoping that the chances of war might rid him of him, he dismissed him, saying :—

"Return to Gascony, that you, who are so fond and such a fermenter of wars, may there find enough of them, and obtain your merited reward, as your father did of old." To this insulting speech the Earl answered cheer-

* Ep. 30, p. 122.

† Matt. Par., p. 837.

fully, "I will go thither willingly, nor, as I believe, will I return thence until, ungrateful though you are, I bring these rebels into subjection to you, and make your enemies your footstool."* Then, strengthened by the fear, and animated by the love, of the Divine name, placing all his hope upon Him who does not desert those who trust in Him, disciplined to obedience by what he had suffered, rejoicing and confiding in the protection of the Highest, he crossed with his eldest son to Boulogne on the 16th of June, 1252.†

Simon once more reduced the province to order. But the Gascons continuing their complaints, Henry, in order to please them, dismissed him early in 1253.

He now retired to France where a splendid career was opened to him. Blanche, the Queen Regent, had died at the close of the preceding year. The French nobles pressed him to accept the office of Seneschal and govern the country during Louis IX.'s absence in the East. But, immovable in his fidelity to the king who had called him traitor, he twice refused their tempting invitation.

When Henry arrived in Gascony in June, 1253, he found the whole province in open rebellion, and after trying vainly to subdue the rebels, he was obliged to summon Simon to his aid. In obedience to Grosseteste, who was now on his death-bed, and "prompted by the spirit of charity and humility, which passes the bounds of human feeling, to return good for evil,"‡ Simon forgot the insults lately heaped on him, and, going to Henry's assistance, for the sixth and last time subdued the Gascons.

During the next four years we hear of his being sent on an embassy to France. Twice also we find him in collision with William de Valence, the most lawless of the king's half-brothers. But otherwise, he seems to have spent this time chiefly in his own home, from which the call of duty alone could draw him forth.

Up to the year 1258 Simon had not taken a prominent part in politics. But a general feeling of confidence in him seems to have been spreading. His magnanimity and constancy were a marvel even to his enemies; and it was universally known, that when he had once sworn he was as immovable as a pillar, and neither threats, promises, gifts, nor flatteries could make him draw back from his word.§ Grosseteste had died in 1253, and Adam in 1257. Thus he stood alone when the time came for him to execute the task of "liberating souls," which they had imposed upon him. A terrible famine,

* Matt. Par., p. 844.

† Matt. Par., p. 879.

‡ Ep. Adæ 30, p. 122.

§ "De Bellis," p. 6.

which raised the sufferings of the people to an unendurable pitch, brought on the crisis.

Modern writers treat of this national struggle as a great step in the advance of constitutional government. But no such idea crossed the minds of the barons, and least of all Simon's. His sole object was the religious one of liberating souls from oppression and sin. His views were essentially conservative, and it was only by falling back on old national customs and chartered rights, that his genius led him to the measure on which now rests his fame.

The struggle divides itself into two periods under two different leaders. The work also was twofold, consisting of reforms of the king's conduct as feudal lord, and as supreme judge—the first affecting the barons, and the second the great mass of the nation.

During the first period Gloucester was at the head of the barons. The defect in the scheme of government now adopted at Oxford, was its narrowness, for it merely transferred despotic power from the king to a limited number of the barons, and even excluded many of those who had hitherto attended Parliament. Simon at first refused to sign the Provisions, but at length he took the oath, saying, "By the arm of S. James, though I take the oath last of all and against my will, yet will I keep it inviolate." The redeeming points of the work were the appointment of a Justiciar, Chancellor, Treasurer, Sheriffs, and Knights who were to be elected in each county to lay complaints against the sheriffs and others before the Justiciar. But this part of the work, on which depended the redress of the grievances under which the masses of the people groaned, was not so effectually carried out as the former; for the obvious reason, that in many cases the barons themselves were the oppressors. As early as February, 1259, there was a quarrel on this subject between Simon and Gloucester, who objected to the visitation of his estates. Again, in October, the community of the bachelors or knights, i. e. the lesser barons and other freeholders, who formed a large middle class, complained to Edward, that whereas the king had done all that was required of him, the barons had fulfilled none of their promises.

The popular section of the baronial party was also weakened by Simon's frequent absence in France, where he was negotiating a treaty for the final surrender of the French provinces lost by John. He has been accused of selfishness for supporting Eleanor's demand for a share of the money given by Louis in compensation, and for the payment of Henry's long-standing debts to her. But Louis upheld her claim. Simon

acted with his usual generosity, even resigning his lien on Bigorre, which he held in pawn for his expenses in Gascony.

The split in the baronial party inspired Henry with hope. In 1261 he produced a bull from Pope Alexander, absolving him from his oath to the Provisions. But Alexander's death prevented his acting on it. This step united the barons, and they summoned three knights from each county south of the Trent to a Parliament at St. Albans. The king, not to be outdone, summoned them to a Parliament at Windsor. But it is doubtful whether they attended either Parliament. Gloucester soon fell back to the king, and Simon went abroad, declaring that he would rather die without a foot of land than be a perjurer and draw back from his oath.*

In 1262, Henry having obtained a confirmation of the bull of absolution from Pope Urban, threw off all restraints, replaced the barons' Justiciar and sheriffs by his own creatures, and revived all the worst abuses. In July Gloucester died. Simon, who was called "the key of England that had locked out the aliens,"† was now pressed to assume the leadership. He at once assented, declaring that he was "equally ready to die among bad Christians fighting for the Holy Church, or among Pagans as a sworn Crusader."‡

With the year 1263 the second period of the national struggle begins. Many of the barons now went over to the king. It is commonly said that the more moderate were with Henry, and the younger and more violent with Simon; and, also, that his imperious temper, both now and in the following year, alienated many. But it was not a question of moderation or of temper. The first principles of government were at issue. Besides the original question as to the king's right to govern despotically, there had arisen the further questions whether the barons had a similar right, or whether, in the "purgation of errors" and "regulation of customs,"§ they were bound to act for the interest of the whole community and after consultation with them? This was the point of division between the two sections of the baronial party, and no clever management could possibly have reconciled them.

The object and views of the barons who deserted Simon, had been declared by the government they had established at Oxford. Simon's opinion and aim are expressed in a Latin poem of the time, in which the whole question of the seat and duties of sovereignty and the ultimate object of government, is dis-

* "Annal. Dunst., p. 217.

† "De Bellis," p. 10.

‡ "Oxenede Chr.," ap. Blaauw, p. 84.

§ "Political Songs of England," p. 102, lines 597-8. Ed. Thomas Wright.

cussed. The conclusions arrived at are, that "the people is not the king's, but God's";* that "the first place is to be given to the community";† that "the community should advise, and what the generality think, should be known";‡ and that "it concerns the community to see what sort of men ought justly to be chosen for the utility of the kingdom."§ The further question as to what were the laws of the realm, which at this time had arisen throughout Europe in consequence of the revival of the study of the Roman civil law, is also answered. The old Roman law was based on Cæsarism; while the old law of England rested on the free principles of Teutonic customs and the Church's legislation. Thus it is stated in the above poem, that the laws are "the customs of their own kingdom, which have been bequeathed from father to son,"|| and "are best known" to the community.¶ And when the Bishop of Chichester tried to mediate before the battle of Lewes, Simon said to him,—

"Choose the best men who have a lively faith, who have read the Decretals, or who have taught in a becoming manner theology and sacred wisdom, and who know how to regulate the Christian faith. Whatever they may resolve by sound doctrine, or fear not to decree, they shall find us ready to agree to." But a voice from the crowd of courtiers answered, "See, now the soldier is to give way to the sayings of clerics! The military order subjected to clerics, is debased."**

Thus the governing idea of Henry's party and of Cæsarism, was expressed.

We still continue to hear of the Provisions as the object for which Simon contended. But it should be noticed, that this did not refer to the form of government established at Oxford, which the Pope had condemned as derogatory to the king's sovereignty, and the revival of which Simon neither attempted nor desired, but only to the Provisions which were founded on the national charters and guaranteed freedom of person and property.

A striking feature of Simon's conduct at this time was his persevering efforts, in spite of ever-recurring treachery and falsehood, to avoid bloodshed. His military genius could have easily placed the whole kingdom at his mercy. He, however, not only abstained from warfare on a great scale, but he seized every opportunity to obtain peace. Early in 1263, when a collision between Edward and some of the barons was imminent, he hurried over from France and issued a pro-

* Line 759.

|| Line 770.

† Line 847.

¶ Line 767.

‡ Lines 765-6.

** Lines 198, 246.

§ Line 776.

clamation that he would observe any truce which Edward might grant. The following Whitsuntide he offered that the Provisions should be modified by mutual consent, with the sole reserve that the article as to aliens, which involved "nothing but what was the rule in all countries of the world, should be left intact."* Later, when the desultory warfare was in his favour, he again offered Henry the same terms, which the latter reluctantly accepted. Once more, in the following December he consented, for the barest chance of peace, to refer their differences to Louis's arbitration, notwithstanding his own conviction, expressed to Louis in the preceding February, that "though Henry desired nothing but what was good, several of his council did not care for peace, and would not willingly forward it."†

Louis' sentence, known as the Mise of Amiens, called forth a general burst of indignation; for without even entering into the case of the barons, it was absolutely in Henry's favour, with the sole reservation of the charters granted before 1258. It was ascribed to bribery, or the influence of the Queens of France and England. Louis was said to have been forgetful of his own honour, to have extended the power conceded to him to things not belonging to the Provisions, and not to have kept God and the truth before his eyes.‡ Even the royalist Wykes calls the sentence less wise and prudent than was fitting.§ Simon and his friends protested that the question of aliens had not been submitted to arbitration; and they argued that Louis, by ruling that the charters were to be observed, compelled them to uphold the Provisions, which were only the logical consequence of them.||

London, the Cinque Ports, all the other towns, the clergy, the students at Oxford, the whole of the middle classes, the young Earl of Gloucester, and most of the younger barons, took part with Simon. But many of his old adherents, and among them Henry of Almaine, son of Richard of Cornwall, now deserted him. Undaunted, however, by these defections he exclaimed, "Though all should leave me, I and my four sons will stand fast for the just cause which I swore to defend, for the honour of the Church, and for the welfare of the realm."¶

At Brackley he made still another attempt for peace through several bishops and the French ambassador, offering

* "Lib. de Ant. Leg.," 58, ap. Prothero, p. 248.

† "Royal Letters," vol. ii. Ep. 599, p. 242.

‡ "Annal. Worcester.," p. 448; "Annal. Dunst.," p. 227; Matt. Par., p. 992.

§ P. 139.

|| Rishanger "Chron.," p. 11. Ed. Riley.

¶ "De Bellis," p. 17.

to accept the Mise of Amiens, if the king would give up the article about the aliens. But Henry indignantly broke off the negotiation and an appeal to the sword was unavoidable. Success was at first on the royal side. But, not discouraged, Simon renewed his attempts for peace through the bishops of London and Gloucester; and in consideration of the turn of fortune against him, offered £30,000 in reparation of damages, and for the observance of the Provisions. Finally, the day before the battle of Lewes he authorized the attempt of the Bishop of Chichester, already mentioned. But his overtures were met by the scornful answer, "They shall have no peace unless they all put halters about their necks, and deliver themselves up to us to be hanged or to be drawn."*

The same religious spirit which has already been seen in Simon, continued to animate him. A contemporary tells us, that, "like another Josias, he sought after justice as the medicine of his soul."† The poem already quoted, says, that it was not to gain power, or to promote himself or his friends, or to enrich his children that he strove, but that, "like Christ, he offered himself a sacrifice for many."‡ The night before the battle of Lewes he passed in watching and prayer, "according to his custom," exhorting his soldiers by word and example to confess their sins with humility and contrition, in order that their souls being cleansed from every stain, they might fight with greater courage and with more confidence of victory in the cause of God. He also bade them place a white cross on their breast and back to show that they were fighting for justice. Walter of Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, was in the camp, and gave absolution to all, promising heaven to those who should die fighting manfully.§

The victory of Lewes placed England for fifteen months in Simon's hands. This brief period did not give him time fully to organize a government. Besides, the memorials of a defeated party are always scanty. Still, we know enough to judge of his spirit and principles. First, we are struck with the purity of his desire to do justice to all, and the magnanimity with which he sought after this end. In the first triumph of victory, far from using his newly-got power to carry out his own pre-conceived notions, he referred the leading points in dispute to Louis, who had so lately disappointed his hopes, and to the Legate of the Pope, who had condemned his party. With singular fairness and generosity he sent Henry

* Latin Poem, line 250.

† Lines 328—331, 346.

‡ "De Bellis," p. 7.

§ "De Bellis," p. 30.

of Almaine, though so closely connected with his opponents, to Louis in September, when he was a prisoner, and again in the following May when he was at liberty, to press the final settlement.* Meanwhile, a general disarmament was ordered. Custodians of the peace were appointed in each county. Tournaments were peremptorily forbidden. The Marchers who continued their depredations, were banished for a year, and the Earl of Derby for a similar offence, was committed to the Tower. Archbishop Boniface, who had fled abroad with the other aliens after the battle of Lewes, was invited to return with the foreign members of his household, and all other foreign clergy who would agree to spend the proceeds of their benefices in England; and compensation for injuries was promised.† By such vigorous means civil feuds were extinguished, and peace was restored.

Simon's great measure, which has immortalized his name as the creator of the House of Commons, needs no comment. His policy with respect to the royal authority has, we think, not been properly estimated. His aim evidently was to keep it intact, and to avert the anarchy of baronial rule. So anomalous was his position, and so great were the difficulties of this task, that only perfect singleness of intention and great magnanimity could have induced him to undertake it. The king was incapable of governing. He had been the mere tool of worthless favourites, who had made it their boast that "the king willed always what they willed, but they did not will what the king willed and ordered."‡ These favourites Simon now replaced by wise counsellors, and he himself never left Henry, hoping thus to regain his old influence over him. At the same time he treated him with great respect, and all public acts were done in his name. His expenses were restricted till his debts should be paid, in order "that he might be able to live without oppressing the poor."§ The royal castles and all public offices were placed in trustworthy hands. But it was openly declared that these measures were intended to be only temporary.|| When after Simon's death his possessions were confiscated, the only addition found to have been made to them, was the castle of Chester, which he had exchanged for a portion of his hereditary domains in Leicestershire of equal pecuniary value. The attitude of Richard of Cornwall and his son justifies us in presuming that they appreciated his conduct; and Edward professed to be satisfied.¶

* Chr. Roff. ap. Blauw, p. 211; Rymer, i. p. 810.

† Rymer, i. p. 786.

‡ "De Bellis," p. 4.

§ Ibid., p. 37.

|| Ibid., p. 42.

¶ Ibid., p. 41.

But it was only natural that the barons, disappointed of their expected booty, and finding themselves under a stronger rule than they had ever known, should have accused him of selfish greed and ambition. If, as Shirley says, it was something which passed in the Parliament of March, 1265, which gave deep offence to Gloucester and his friends and caused their secession,* there can be no doubt that their feudal pride also revolted from sharing their power with those whom they despised as boors and clowns.

The support of the Holy See alone could have enabled Simon permanently to hold his ground. Unhappily, that support was denied him; and, during the last few months of his life he was formally under the Papal ban. It is, however, almost certain that he did not in will rebel against the Holy See. His connection with Grosseteste and Adam, the Papal banner which, by his order, floated at Northampton, beside those of the barons,† his submission to Pope Urban's condemnation of the Provisions and confirmation of the *Mise* of Amiens, his reference of his cause in the hour of victory to the Papal Legate, and his appeal to the Pope against the Legate's unfair excommunication, all declare how great was his reverence for the authority of Christ's Vicar. His appeal was never heard. The Legate became Pope Clement IV.; and on Holy Thursday, 1265, he spoke the sentence of excommunication in the Church of Perugia. But there is no mention of it in English records; and probably it was known in England, as it is to us, only through the Papal bull, which was not signed till more than a month after Simon had gone to render his account at a higher tribunal.‡

The falsehood and treachery of Edward and Gloucester brought about his fall. But in death he conquered. For the seed which he sowed, sprang up and brought forth the fruit of constitutional liberty, which at a later period grew up in its full maturity. The long list of miracles wrought at his tomb and the Office to his honour, tell us of the crown which monk and layman would fain have placed over his grave; while the national "Lament,"§ which was written immediately after the battle of Evesham, couples his name with that of S. Thomas of Canterbury, as gaining in death a glorious victory.

* P. 56.

† Blaauw, p. 107.

‡ Rymer, i. p. 786.

§ "Political Songs," p. 125.

ART. VIII.—RECENT GERMAN THOUGHT—ITS INFLUENCE ON MR. TYNDALL.

Geschichte des Materialismus. Von F. W. LANGE. Iserlohn : Baedeker. 1876.

Hartmann, Dühring, und Lange. Ein Kritischer Essay. Von HANS VAIHINGER. Iserlohn : Baedeker. 1876.

Geschichte der Philosophie. Von ALBERT STÖCKL. Mainz : Kirchheim. 1876.

HERACLITUS taught that all things are in a flux. Mr. Tyndall believes that we (and the universe along with us) shall melt into the infinite azure of the past. The stream that flows, the clouds that melt—these are the pitiful figures of all reality ; for neither in heaven nor upon the broad earth can we find substance or essence, or the thing in itself which might resist annihilation. Sooner or later must the world's epitaph be written : "Fuit." And if there is no repose, if nothing abides, nothing is solid, then there is no God, and religion becomes a pleasant or a terrible imagination. We dream ; let but our dreaming be noble, full of all beauty and grace, whether it range amongst the forms of science, or the ancient religious myths, or the hopes and aspirations which give a zest to the common life. Could we, indeed, transcend phenomena, and arrive at the essence, our case would be entirely different. But this we can never accomplish, and life is but a passage from one delusion to another.

Time is a dream and eternity a fable. Such is, in brief, the doctrine which Professor Tyndall has, with rare pathos, advocated in most of his essays. Whether the fitting name for it be atheism or pantheism we do not inquire ; but of one thing we are sure, that it is not and cannot be exhibited as a form of Theism. It is, at best, an indolent doctrine, such as the Lotos-eaters might have welcomed ; once become the popular religion, it would seem nothing but a gross and sensual unbelief, the scientific justification of every passion and of all that is now forbidden as against the moral law. In spirit, in tendency, in assumption, it is the peremptory denial of that Natural Religion which the Gospel takes for granted, and, by obvious consequence, it is the denial of Catholic Christianity. If we must needs give it a theological name, we will call it Buddhism. For, as we understand, that time-worn creed acknowledges no God, puts

aside the immortality of the soul, looks upon all the universe as empty seeming, teaches the philosopher a stoical morality (which degenerates into materialism amongst the people), and considers that the desirable end of all things is their absorption in Nirvana. Change the scene and the costume from India to England, add some finely-devised apparatus for experiments upon matter, instead of Oriental take Western eloquence, and you have altered the accidents but left the thing itself intact. Merely, instead of the contemplative sage, you have an essayist like Hume or a *savant* like Tyndall.

Readers will not say that this indictment is ambiguous, but they may hesitate to accept it as true. Buddhism is an historical religion, the articles of whose teaching are fairly well known, and our meaning will, therefore, be sufficiently clear. Still we can imagine the difficulty which some must have in representing to their mind's eye Mr. Tyndall as a Buddhist. The thing is too far-fetched; it is grotesque. Where can a scientific man have studied Oriental philosophy? Nay, what can have drawn him to study it even if opportunities had been plentiful? Science does not delight in fantasy, but these Eastern religions are pure fantasy. And on some such ground as this the average student will refuse to believe that we rightly interpret our author.

But surely the matter is not difficult. Phenomenism is the great philosophical doctrine of the day. It is preached all over Europe. It has won so many disciples that there is now a plebeian as well as a patrician class amongst them. It is the favourite topic of lay sermons and secularist lectures. And its religious expression, its result when applied to the problems of God and morality, is simply what we have said, Buddhism. For the creed of an agnostic is antitheism founded on ignorance, and as he is the "enlightened thinker" of the West, so the Buddhist tells us in his very name that he vindicates for himself the enlightenment of the East. "Nescio Deos" might be the motto of both, only they are not vulgar Epicureans; they have attained the lofty heights of a virtue which asks no reward, and, like King Richard in the tragedy, must despair and die. In a consistent philosophy the theory of knowledge determines all the rest; and Phenomenism declares that our professed knowledge is real nescience. Then we ought to abolish positive religion, and set up in its place an atheistic morality. This we take to be the new wisdom as expounded by modern philosophers generally, and by Mr. Tyndall in particular.

However, we grant this wisdom was not derived at first

hand from the East. It has a European home, Germany, that wide Empire of the Air, according to Jean Paul, which the victories of Moltke and Bismarck have so wonderfully brought down out of the clouds. The Germans are a speculative people, and revel in ideas; their satirist Heine playfully observes that ideas abound with them as gold abounded in Eldorado, and are of about as much value. At present they have undertaken to think for all Europe. It is from them that our philosophers have borrowed and are borrowing their systems. Mr. Tyndall is even proud to make known his obligations to Fichte, who died a generation ago, and to Lange, who died the other day. This is the exact state of the case; we are suffering under a Teutonic invasion of ideas which seems likely to end in conquest. Should that be the fate of the English nation, it will mean that Christianity has at length died out amongst us, and that the religion of materialism reigns in its stead.

Englishmen are the last in the world to apprehend danger. They have no love for theories, and cannot believe that opinions in the long run matter so much. But we will not do them the injustice to believe that they care nothing for religion, or that they would willingly deny God and their own souls. Yet to this they must come if Mr. Tyndall's doctrine gains firm hold of science and literature. They may rely on their traditional dulness to abstract considerations—and that dulness is, in a rational community, astounding—but it will not endure. Or even though it should endure, how sad will be the spectacle of a nation in which the cultured and the thoughtful have abandoned religion to the mere multitude! Worse than this has happened in Germany; for the lower classes—of course, we mean the Protestant lower classes—have ceased to frequent the churches, to have their marriages solemnized, or their children baptized. They are not philosophers, but they can read and write, and they can put in practice what the philosophers recommend. The natural course of things in England seems likely to be that educated men will give up believing in God altogether. But before they take Mr. Tyndall's advice, it might benefit them to look over the pages which we are going to review. They do not know, perhaps, what atheism is like when it has once been established.

To the spirit and the letter of Lange's work on Materialism, Professor Tyndall declares himself equally indebted. So much indeed is he in Lange's debt that we, who had read the Belfast Address before the German author, were tempted afterwards to consider Mr. Tyndall a downright plagiarist. But as we said in October last, that is of small consequence. The

Belfast Address has done mischief where Lange could never have penetrated. It is not every one who can preach against God in the presence of the British Association. The advantage of recurring to Lange is, that one sees the drift and the scope, one reads the full enunciation, of those mysterious fragmentary sentences which so exercised Mr. Tyndall's hearers. And as Lange supplies a meaning to the English Professor, so does Vaihinger secure us from mistaking whilst we interpret Lange. All these gentlemen belong to the same school. To speak with the bluntness of our ancestors, they believe neither in God nor devil, but they have contrived to believe in Kant. Christianity, and Theism itself, they regard from the distance, as it were, of a geological period. This, we may suppose, is the height of good manners at Berlin; but if educated Germans no longer speak of Theism except as matter for the historian, we venture to predict that their affectation will meet with its reward. If they will not hear the Scriptures, it is still possible for them to learn from their Positivist brethren that "as a man sows, so shall he reap." How can human power keep anarchy at bay when Providence has withdrawn its help? Blasphemy is the greatest of crimes, and a Socialist reign of terror may be its punishment.

It would seem that Lange has done more than all his contemporaries to bring back the Kantian criticism. He has not, however, kept himself strictly to the negative rôle of a critic; or, perhaps we may say he has laid unusual stress on the synthetic functions of the Reason. This part of Kant's system has been rather neglected, owing to the influence of Schelling and Hegel, who substituted for it a special doctrine of their own. At least, so Herr Vaihinger would allege; and from his point of view we think he is correct. But the Catholic adversary might find it easy to show that there is no real difference between these authors, since they agree in the main article of Phenomenism. We will explain our meaning further on. For the present, it is enough to say that Lange has taken great pains to harmonize Kant's philosophy, and in doing so, has employed a certain kind of construction or synthesis. This gives us that doctrine upon the nature of Religion, Philosophy, and Poetry, which Mr. Tyndall has, to some extent, reproduced. And here is the chief point of interest for most readers.

But though Lange has a numerous following, he is not the only leader of German thought. Several philosophies—we prefer to say, several forms of the same philosophy—dispute the pre-eminence. By comparing and contrasting them Vaihinger maintains we shall get the most absolute and undeniable representation of all that the agencies at work in Ger-

man society have effected, and are likely to effect hereafter. He says ingeniously, and it seems to us with great truth, that the philosophy of a period bears to its history much the same relation which algebra bears to geometry. He does not, of course, mean that a concrete and living organism can find its perfect exposition in any one set of doctrines, or is moving in only one direction; for history denies this with emphatic reiteration. But there is at hand the symbol of the resultant of forces; and such a symbol may well represent German thought now, for the systems in vogue converge upon each other more or less, and all bear away from Catholicity. In addition they furnish, if taken together, a luminous enlargement of Mr. Tyndall's essays; the study of them tells us what will happen under the influence of that spirit which governs him, and will assist us to realize the monstrous doctrines which are said to be an advance upon Christian truth.

Herr Vaihinger has written a strangely attractive book, not very ambitious in appearance, but full of matter, subtle, and to the point. We do not recommend it, for all that. A man must have passed through all the degrees of irreligion before arriving at the calm scepticism of its author, and at the yet calmer atheism of those whom he brings on the scene. We can fancy some one led by innocent curiosity to turn over his pages, and, not knowing what was to be expected in such a volume, reading on and on with a mixed feeling of eagerness to see what more fearful things *could* be said, and of growing dismay at the things that had been said already. But German culture accustoms one to systematic impiety in those whom it subdues, and apart from this, Herr Vaihinger gives information which is very seasonable. When the world is mad, we find it necessary to study the symptoms. Our author does so with a steady eye and a penetrating mind. "*Si fractus illabatur orbis,*"—that, indeed, has come to pass in Germany long since, but the imperturbable critic has out his tablets, and his only anxiety is how he may secure a vividly correct picture of what came after Chaos.

Some one has recommended him, says Herr Vaihinger, to entitle his essay, "*de tribus impostoribus.*" Under the circumstances he might have done worse. At all events, if they are not impostors like Mahomet, they claim, like him, to be prophets and founders of a new order of things. It is very hard that every heterodox philosopher must feel called upon to create the universe according to a new design; but nothing less than this do these three undertake. Hartmann and Dühring are fierce antagonists, who happen to agree on some few points, but wish to set up thoroughly different systems of thought and life.

Lange takes his place above them both, and aspires to the dignity of a *deus* or *demon ex machinâ*, who ends the play, and demands our satisfied applause. Not that he solves the mysteries of the world. He has no glorious all-perfect wisdom to bestow upon us, no form of truth to win our admiration and worship. His "*vos valet et plaudite*" consists in a solemn commemoration of our nescience, which began with our being, and can end only with our life. It is seldom that a name brings out the nature of a system; but for convenience sake we may describe Hartmann as an Idealist, Dühring as a Realist, and Lange as a Sceptic. Much as they differ in their speculative tenets, they all have a strong leaning towards Socialism, are all discontent with the present régime even though upheld by the iron will of Prince Bismarck, and all expect or desire a republic in the future. This is a somewhat remote deduction from their primary convictions, but it is sufficiently remarkable. It proves that the political genius of the Germans is far inferior to their literary insight and culture. They feel that immense misery is pressing upon the country; but show themselves incapable of devising any remedy, except one of that renowned species which cures the disease by killing the patient. However, we are losing the thread of our metaphysics.

Kant has divided philosophy into the speculative and the practical, the former of which is concerned with Being, the latter with Action. In other words, we may put two questions to ourselves whilst contemplating the universe, "What is it?" and "Why is it?" We may discuss the formal or the final cause of things. More plainly still, the problem is "What is the Truth?" and "What is the Good?" The three authors answer these questions very differently.

Hartmann and Dühring represent in their opinions and their style the chief aspects of life at Berlin, that great city which is becoming a sort of New Jerusalem for the scientific and literary classes throughout Germany. In the works of Hartmann we view the melancholy, the despair, the pessimism of a cultured society which has worn itself out in searching after pleasure. Hence the Socialism of this writer has a perceptibly aristocratic tinge, like the revolutionary speeches of Mirabeau. Dühring is not less true to Berlin, but he depicts it under another light. He is the advocate of that proverbially cold and corroding intellectualism, that unscrupulous rationalism which enters into the very notion of the modern gentleman. But, strange to say, he knows the lower classes intimately and has a deep feeling for them; their sufferings lead him to further every movement towards a revolution, and his

theory is democratic in tendency. He is before all things destructive, pushing analysis as far as it will go in the social and metaphysical orders; and though he does not choose to be called an Hegelian, he is yet lineally descended from Feuerbach and the Hegelian Left. Naturally, then, we may expect him to defend the materialism of contemporary science, and to hold with Comte, if not with Giordano Bruno, in many things.

Dühring's system, on the whole, may be considered, in Ontology Realism, in Ethics Optimism. That is to say, he answers the questions as to the Being and Worth of the universe by affirming that things are really as we see them, and that life deserves, for its excellence, to be cherished, and as far as possible increased in quantity and value. But the reader is not to imagine that Dühring has principles in common with the Scholastics, or with the Catholic philosophy, because he admits a real and a good world. The world here spoken of is merely sensible: Dühring knows nothing of spirit. This material and palpable world, bounded in time and in space, is to him the absolute and the last reality: beyond it there is no God, before it there was no eternity. All our knowledge may be summed up as "the mathematics of matter." It becomes evident that such must be his doctrine, when we remember that the faculty of analysis by which he learns philosophy and science, is the so-called Understanding of Kant, or, as we should say, the faculty of formal logic exercised on absolutely material premisses. The understanding is the Lockian power of sensible reflection. All it can do, therefore, is to represent extension under abstract forms, which, though abstract, are not properly universal. Moreover, he goes on to explain that we possess a synthetic faculty as well, the imagination, which, so long as it obeys "Understanding," is capable of producing an ideal, an æsthetic harmony of the world. But the imagination may rebel, or may forget the material realities which it should keep in view, and then it ceases to have any real value. Now, this pretended harmony (which, like the air-pulsations of music, is not and cannot be spiritual) is the philosopher's religion, or more truly, his God, and so Dühring tells us. But what *we* mean by religion is founded on the recognition of a Creator, spiritual and supreme, and totally distinct from the universe. Dühring coolly says that this is a "pathological delusion," the fantasy of a sick brain. The most perfect expression of natural science, he asserts, is identical with philosophy, is the only true knowledge, and the only possible religion. Thus do we arrive at the "system of reality," the view of nature which takes what is given in sensible experience just as it is given, and without subtlety or hair-splitting, or any foolish

endeavour to colour things so that they may please, is able to "comprehend," but will not seek a transcendental or spiritual explanation. The limits of nature are the limits at once of reality and knowledge. But nature is good and pleasant. Dühring admits the existence of evil, but in details only, not on the whole; and since, according to him, all things are finally one and the same (All-Eine Sein), those who bow to the law of necessity and strive to forget their particular mishaps in sympathy with the universal good, may find the perfect rest which they desire. Beatitude is promised to society; and the truly noble will do all in their power to hasten the period of its arrival. But it never can arrive until Religion and Tyranny (which are alike in nature) have breathed their last. The *ancien régime* must finish. The new epoch is to begin and to continue without God. Dühring will not allow such a God, even, as Comte's Grand-Être. There is to be neither Church nor State, and Christianity must be banished as nothing better than a spiritualistic magic. Hereupon succeeds the Republic of Plato, with little or nothing of its atrocious immorality corrected. The delineation is of a sort which we dare not attempt: but ought not this necessary deduction to be decisive of the philosophy which compels us to make it?

Vaihinger has personified Dühring's thought under the figure of Mephistophiles, the sneering logician whose way it is to deny and to question as often as possible. Hartmann is far more taking, and though he professes the gloomiest of doctrines, there is a touch of genial humour in his writings. He has attracted much notice amongst his countrymen and no little affection. Lange terms him "an afterling of the speculative Romanticism," and it seems clear that he is connected with the Hegelian Right and even with Schelling. If his rival is Mephistophiles, he may be considered as Faust, so says Vaihinger, but we suppose he means Faust on his travels and striving to drown thought in enjoyment. What is very striking, but as we think founded on fact, there are traces of religious earnestness in Hartmann's works, and we have lighted upon opinions of his which resemble Christian teaching. He is not, however, a Christian. One of his best-known works was intended to prove that Christianity is in a state of natural decay, and must perish of itself. But he is no enemy to the faith, if we understand by the term enemy one who would like to see religion at an end. He thinks the Christian Church has need of an infusion of new ideas, and he recommends us to study the Buddhist philosophy. It is foolishly said, but not unkindly meant. He prefers Buddhism himself, because it was the cherished religion of one who is known to be his master, a

man little thought of in his day, but now much celebrated and studied—we mean Arthur Schopenhauer. From him Hartmann has learnt his doctrine of the Unconscious and of the absolute evil.

According to Vaihinger, the philosophy of Hartmann is a combination of Idealism and Pessimism. We have to crave our readers' indulgence for the frequent use of these technical words, but they help the memory, and their signification is more precise than that of any others we might adopt. When, therefore, Hartmann is asked to define the nature of the world, he replies that it is not "absolute Being" as Dühring had said, nor "subjective Seeming," as Lange and Tyndall would say, but "objective Seeming." The world must be affirmed to "exist," but not to "subsist." And it will not last for ever. Day by day it advances to its own destruction. The end of all sensible reality, and of the thinking subject which contemplates it, is simply Nirvana; the great abyss must swallow up the universe. Hence the reality of such an objective seeming becomes very doubtful; and it is the ordinary course to look upon Hartmann as an Idealist—all the more because he declares that the world is only real in its relation to us, but an illusion if compared with the Unconscious out of which it has emerged. The individual, too, has no part assigned him in the play; he merely crosses over the stage, and his exits and entrances are alike unmeaning. All this appears to be Hartmann's genuine teaching. But, some difficulties remain; and though we cannot undertake to say that Hartmann escapes into Realism, we still are not persuaded that he is the unmitigated Idealist they represent. He informs us that the universe may be defined as the intuitions of the unconscious Reason realized; this ought, surely, to throw some light on what he conceives in the phrase "objective Seeming." Is he trying to describe the reality which is a true existing substance, but is not infinite, nor yet self-caused? That which is real in itself and in our thought, but appears as nothing when set face to face with the Illimitable, might be taken for a moment as the created world which Catholic teaching insists upon. So, at least, we *might* interpret our writer. But, if his view concerning the world has a remote and unsteady resemblance to the Scholastic, he goes utterly wrong when speaking of the world's First Cause.

Spinoza and Schopenhauer (to say nothing here of Leibnitz) supply those thoughts in which the theology, if we may call it so, of Hartmann is rooted. He lays down a philosophical teaching which, in his opinion, we must accept as metaphysics; and its purpose is to examine and define the attributes of that which came first (the *Ur-Etwas*), the ground of all things

that are. This absolute first is the Unconscious. It eternally subsists, and is even pure spirit; it is the perfect explanation or reason of the Universe, and is, consequently, its own reason. This seems to promise a restoration of the Natural Theology in which Christendom has for so many ages believed. But Hartmann very speedily disappoints our hope. The absolute ground of all things is nothing in itself; it is the empty deep of possibility—in Scholastic terms it is *pura potentia*, not that which is aught real, but that which may become everything and all things together. Hartmann has been considered a materialist, and with some show of justification; but he does not make matter the first original. This something-nothing, the bare abstract possibility is a sort of willing and striving to be. It has the attributes, such as Schopenhauer imagined them, of Will and Representation, and these do not suffer reduction to any common denominator, though they are founded on one identical thing. But why is this First Cause, which has appeared previously to be a willing and thinking spirit, now degraded by a name like the Unconscious? A spirit is personal, and knows and loves itself; this is its life. How then can the absolute spirit be unconscious? Hartmann answers that in each one of us there is an unconscious substratum, though we are by nature spiritual; he recalls to our memory the obscure perceptions which Leibnitz defended as the ground of consciousness; and he argues that a similar ground must exist in the divine being. The Unconscious is, therefore, a sort of direct and automatic intelligence, ever looking out, never turning back upon itself. In it all things are represented, except only its own essence. Its act is purely transitive, like that of a mechanical force; since, were it otherwise, did the knowledge and love reflect upon the subject which elicits them, we should see resulting thence life and perfect consciousness. But these are to be gained by development, by the production of a world of nature and spirit which differs in outward seeming from the Unconscious, although really one and the same thing with it. The original Will is instinctive, and so the universe arose through a blind impulse which had no rationality in it; creation is an unexplained accident, not the effect of freely-choosing love. In the abyss that was an eternal pain, the pain of want, and to get release from the evil which it knew, the Unconscious ventured upon other evils, far more terrible, of which it had not even a dim conception. How that which has no perception of itself could perceive that it was in pain, we are not informed. Suffice it that the Deep—the Gnostic Bathos, surely—gave rise to the whole universe; the Unconscious began his journey upwards along all the steps

of nature, of organism, and of life, till he appeared in man as a thinking, conscious, unhappy spirit. To the silence which reigned in the abyss succeeded the harsh music of the struggle for existence. First, came Nature, then History; both are the experience of the Unconscious, and both tell us of his failure to achieve happiness.

It is here that the current materialism receives an interpretation from Hartmann. Although asserting (by what seems to us a contradiction) that the Unconscious is capable of design, and has, in fact, arranged and governed the world according to a plan, he admits the Darwinian natural selection; what is more, he admits the *generatio æquivoca* which scientific men of all shades of doctrine so unanimously and even scornfully reject. We, of course, do not for a moment allow that the production of the living from the absolutely non-living is possible, we think it a physical and metaphysical absurdity. But Hartmann desires to be on good terms with Hæckel and Darwin. His account of the material world is therefore materialistic. And, by a like consequence, man is said to have the brute for his progenitor, and there is no such thing as a soul distinct from the body. The principle of thought, on Hartmann's view, is the brain. But we must never forget that Hartmann takes up a Kantian position in the theory of knowledge. His thought, as regards the essences of things, is agnostic; his language only is materialistic. He would not contend that essence is matter or extension: the ultimate ground and substance is a logical notion, that non-being which is emptiness itself. Although the immediate explanation is that of modern science, there needs another explanation still, and that is comprehended in the Buddhist doctrine that all things come out of nothing, and that thither they return. The last word is not Materialism; it is Phenomenism.

Nature and History, then, are the enterprize of the Unconscious searching for perfect happiness. And nature grows by adding species to species under the laws which Darwin has traced, or, at least, has conjectured. But, what is History? It is the "*chronique scandaleuse*" of all that man has had to suffer—an immeasurable tableau of catastrophe, disaster, and ruin, in which everything has been attempted and everything has failed. Life is merely pain, beatitude is a dream never to be realized. Wherever there is consciousness there is misery. Had the Unconscious known so much as this, it would not have created the world; but it wrought in ignorance. Before, it suffered only in itself: now it suffers in all men, and in all living things. But, as Schopenhauer suggests, it requires a long apprenticeship in this world ere we come to understand

that our pain is essential to our life itself, and is not the accident of any state. To be is to be unhappy : this is the secret which philosophy teaches to a few. The world's history is a record of how men have refused to believe in pain ; how they have struggled with it and fled from it ; how they have invented pleasures, and sought the perfect bliss. Hartmann thinks it his melancholy duty to define their history as so many " Stages of Illusion "—first, the Pagan, then the Christian, lastly, the Modern. At all times the sum of miseries has far exceeded the sum of pleasures. But the Pagans hoped to gain beatitude by surrendering themselves to nature, and the Christians feigned a beatitude in a world which they had not seen—the fairyland of heaven. The moderns imagine that to advance art and science, and social life, and to make the most of what is seen, forgetting the unseen, will bring them to a golden age of republican equality, freedom, and fraternity. All this Hartmann accounts a delusion. Nature cannot satisfy the heart ; there is no world beyond the grave, and Socialism will never do away with the evils of work, suffering, hunger, and death. It is an irreversible decree that pain and life are to spring up together, and to increase in the same proportion. What has the enlightened thinker to conclude ? Simply, that we must despair. The world is the best of all possible worlds : he frankly concedes it ; but the best is very, very bad, and worse than none at all. Our comfort is to know that it cannot last. Science proves that the soul is not immortal, and our daily experience shows all things hastening to decay. The world's redemption is its deliverance from existence, and the absorption of all its elements in the Unconscious. Where silence was before, silence will be again. When all the stages of illusion have had their day a grand catastrophe will come upon the universe, and the token of its advent is to be the triumph of Socialism. The last years of history will witness a socialistic republic, and then the cup of human misery will be full. We think so, indeed ; who could forecast any other issue of so detestable a philosophy ?

But thus we are brought into the presence of that problem which Hamlet has made so familiar to us :—

Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And, by opposing, end them.

Since we live in a wretched world, and to die is to escape from it, what should hinder us our escape ? Hartmann replies

"sympathy." He would have us keep in view the story of Prometheus, who, at the cost of his own pain, brought light and life to "the human mortals"; he would have us be brave, virtuous, noble, self-sacrificing, perfect in all good. But we can see no reason. The aspirations of mankind are all in the weary line:—

Ich wollt' es wäre Schlafzeit, und alles wär' vorbei.*

How can the individual be required to bear a life-long pain, when society is making all speed to end its misery by annihilation? There is in this the logic neither of hope nor of despair. And the sympathy invoked is a grotesque misapplication of feeling. We help one another to happiness because we love one another; but what sort of a love is that which proposes to lessen the difficulty of suicide? If there is nothing to hope, why should we exert ourselves? Why not be, in spite of Hartmann's prohibition, idle lookers-on at "the Carnival of Existence"? Hartmann says it is our fate to live in hope; then, we conclude, there must be something worth hoping for; "*Sic transit miseria mundi*" is *not* the inscription of the last day. What we always, and of our own accord desire, is that which Providence has designed shall come to pass: "new heavens and a new earth in which justice shall dwell." The absolute misery of the latest ethics is as false as the absolute nothing of the latest metaphysics. They are both a *reductio ad absurdum* worked out by the modern philosophers from their own premisses.

Great as the opposition may seem, great as upon some points it certainly is, between Hartmann and Dühring, their doctrines are in agreement on the sum of reality acknowledged. Beyond the sensible and material, Dühring affirms there is nothing whatever; the universe is all, and matter is all. Hartmann, again, even if it should be proved that he admits a true and real universe, reduces all things to the Unconscious, as to their origin and foundation; but this, we have seen, is a logical notion, and no more; it is the possibility which is nothing in itself, and has no contents, no substance, no actual perfection. The Unconscious is Nirvana, the uttermost abstraction, nor does it suppose a preceding reality. Whilst the orthodox teaching, whether we take it from Aristotle, or Plato, or S. Thomas, or Kleutgen, would have us refer sensible phenomena to their substance, and spiritual acts to *their* substance, and universe and soul to an infinitely perfect, infinitely real God, who is not any of His creatures, it must be evident that the

* Would 'twere the hour for sleep, and all were o'er.

point at issue is not how we shall arrange the scheme of things, but what things there are, how many, and with what essential distinction from each other. Furthermore, the question is, do we need to explain our whole experience, objective and subjective, by referring to a mere logic of notions, and so making things depend upon ideas which are not things, or by concluding to the existence of an Infinite Act, a First Cause in comparison with whose reality all things else are like shadows. A Christian affirms God, and the soul, and the world, and that each of these is itself and no other. But Hartmann and Dühring believe that God is the universe, God is the soul, and that apart from these He is nothing. Dühring infers from this belief that we ought to speak only of the world which we see, and to abolish that word God which has introduced so much ambiguity and error; Hartmann infers that we ought to hold all things divine, as being those forms of the Unconscious and its apparitions, of which Spinoza is the accredited prophet.

This understood, it follows that Lange is practically at one with Hartmann and Dühring, for he, too, denies us any real knowledge of the supersensible. But he professes to think the question beyond our powers, whether of intuition or inference; and his aim, as we have already said, is to convince us that we ought to rest in a negative solution. He takes up and completes the enumeration of faculties as they are given in Kant's Criticism, but deals more largely with the synthetic than the analytic functions of them. He considers that there is a distinction of essence between Science and Philosophy, so great that these two sorts of knowledge do not belong even to the same genus. Science is a product of the Understanding (*Verstand*); Philosophy is a product of the Reason (*Vernunft*); in other words, Science is a prose explanation of particular phenomena, but Philosophy is a poetical dream on the universal essence. As both are subjective, neither is true. Our various faculties seek and attain contentment in exercise, but we are not to imagine that they arrive at truth or reality. Materialism satisfies the faculty of Science, Understanding; Idealism satisfies the higher faculty, Reason; still the product of the one function brings no happiness, no perfection to the other. If man were only scientific, he would be a materialist; if he were only poetical, he would be an idealist: the misfortune is that he cannot help being many things in one. He has need of clear, well-defined sensible knowledge; none the less, he has need of religion too. He lives by sense and imagination, the one bringing him across a phenomenal world, the other lifting him up to surmise and prophecy about a world of things which are

not phantoms. But he knows the first more securely than the second, or he seems to know it more securely so long as he employs the scientific faculty as an instrument. The unpardonable error which orthodox philosophy commits is to make all our knowledge of a piece, to call metaphysics by the name of science, to assume that the lower faculties learn things objectively, and then to maintain that the highest are concerned with the objective also. But Religion and Philosophy are no more real than poetry; they are forms of poetry, very noble and consoling, to be sure, but only a child would believe that they can tell us of the world which we do not see. That there is such a world it is impossible to affirm or deny with reason; we might as well begin to dispute whether fairyland exists, or Utopia, or any other unreal vision to which the poet has given "a local habitation and a name."

Is then Lange a believer in materialism? His book, which, in the opinion of many, will inaugurate a fresh period of philosophy amongst cultivated Germans, offers large justification of what materialists have held; so much so, indeed, that he writes against Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates with the animosity of a man for whom their doctrine has no attraction. He professes impartiality, but, so far as we have read him, the profession is not sustained throughout. And we say this, mindful that he did wish to be free from bias and to look at his authors from a neutral point of view. But in metaphysics there is no neutrality. However, Lange declares himself against dogma of whatever school or section; he thinks the dogmatic materialist has nothing more solid to go upon than the dogmatic idealist. He is a critic and, therefore, a sceptic. His masters are Kant and Hume. This is precisely the view which Mr. Tyndall has sought to hold,—nescience expounded in terms of matter when we employ the understanding; and in terms of spirit or mind when we delight ourselves with the imagination; but, first and last, nescience.

Our space is narrowing rapidly, but we think it of the highest importance to grasp what has just been said; and to put it with such clearness as may serve our design, we will quote at some length from the recent work of Mr. Leslie Stephen.* Though he is reviewing a doctrine which was published in English books a hundred years ago, there does not need the alteration of a word to obtain a fit expression of that which we combat now in Lange and Tyndall. Mr. Stephen writes:

Hume's scepticism cuts away the very basis of ontological proof. The mind, according to him, is unable to rise one step beyond sensible experi-

* "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," vol. i. pp. 315, 316.

ence. It can separate and combine the various "impressions" and "ideas": it is utterly unable to create a single new idea, or penetrate to an ultimate world of realities. The "substance" in which the phenomenal qualities of the world are thought to inhere is a concept emptied of all contents, and a word without a meaning. The external world which supports the phenomena is but a "fiction" of the mind; the mind, which in the same way affords a substratum for the impressions, is itself a fiction; and the divine substance, which, according to the Cartesians, causes the correlation between these two fictions, must—that is the natural inference—be equally a fiction. Impressions and ideas, combining and separating in infinite variety, being the sole realities, the bond which unites, and the substratum which supports them, must be essentially unknowable, for knowledge itself is but an association of ideas. Dismiss these doubts, attempt to frame ontological propositions, and the fallacy manifests itself afresh in the futility of the dogma which emerges. Under the form of examining Bayle's criticism on the "hideous hypothesis" of Spinoza, Hume exhibits the inevitable antinomies which beset the reason in its endeavour to soar beyond experience, and, therefore, on his assumption, to transcend itself. Metaphysicians had insisted on the utterly disparate character of mind and matter. The two could not be brought into relation except by the verbal explanation of the divine power. It was only necessary, then, to exhibit this antithesis to show that the doctrine was inconceivable: Mind cannot be resolved into matter, therefore materialism is absurd; but neither can mind be brought into contact with matter, unless mind be itself extended, therefore spiritualism is equally absurd.

How, it may be asked, could Lange propose, after this, any theory of life, or any philosophy? He professed, indeed to have both, but the end of his teaching was pretty nearly this, that things naturally fall into a system which gives us pleasure, and even a relative satisfaction, without, however, raising in us the conviction that the system itself is true. The critical philosophy is but a special form of the universal illusion, possessing in some respects an advantage over ordinary dogmatism. Thus Art, Religion, and Philosophy have only a value as they lift up the mind and soul to a world which never has been nor can be, but which, for all that, is beautiful and desirable beyond words. Plato held that this was the real, though unseen, universe; but Kant and Schiller have schooled us otherwise, and we must say that all the best knowledge is a dream, foreign to science, but needful if we are to live happily. The ideal is not real, nor founded on reality; neither is it due to caprice or voluntary imaginings; it is simply the refuge which nature opens to us from the world's confusion and sorrow. When we turn to things as they are, desolation looks us in the face, we become with the religious men of all ages pessimist in our thoughts, and the soul is overwhelmed with sadness. But we turn

again to the pure and shining forms of perfection within us, and the vision of poetic beauty, justice, and contentment is like summer in the heart. This is how Lange conceives of Religion and Philosophy.

And this is what leads him to say, that in all the particular inquiries now making, the materialist has reason on his side rather than the dogmatic idealist, whilst, on the whole, it may be that the latter is nearer to the unknowable truth than the former. How Lange can know what the probabilities are when he has not an atom of certitude to start from is not so easy to comprehend, but we think we see the truth which he has distantly indicated. All knowledge is a help towards learning something about God, but religious knowledge is a more successful attempt than any other at an account of what God is and of what He has made the universe to be. This is accurately true, but only on the supposition that some religious creed is divine and is not a delusion. Religion may be an economy, an imperfect representation of the Infinite; but what we cannot admit, and what Lange persistently holds, is that religion is a fable.

To few, says Vaihinger, is given the steadiness of entire scepticism; human nature tends of itself to one or other side. Nothing, certainly, should be more trying than the unstable equilibrium induced by Kant, the swaying now towards a crude material philosophy, and now towards a superlatively Platonic idealism. And, in consequence, whenever Lange ceases to watch himself, he dogmatizes like the rest of men. He is deficient in speculative consistency and thought. We may allow his keenness and perspicuity in noting the opinions which obtain amongst materialists; he shows, also, a rare acquaintance with schools and creeds, and, generally, with their historic surroundings. But it is not possible to rightly understand the doctrines of ancient or modern times if we always shirk the decisive question, "What is truth?" Lange has the vices of a genuine Kantian. He can teach nothing absolutely, but must wait till some one has made him a present of a theory to operate upon. He feels at home when registering objections, exposing blunders, holding up to scorn the innate contradictions of every system hitherto produced. He thinks he may criticize at his own rate, but we should be glad to learn how there can be any criticism at all unless there is first a theory (explicit or implicit does not matter) to govern it. For if a proposition is declared untrue, that must be because its contradictory is known to be the answer nothing when this is delivering judgment as fr

Vaihinger, for instance, will travel with any man along the road of sceptics, but this does not hinder him from laying bare the inconsistencies which his reason (not his Kantism) enables him to perceive in Hartmann and Dühring. Much that he remarks is striking, and, we think, justified by his arguments. But the ghost of Kant hovers near us, and we know not how to reply when it whispers that even criticism must be phenomenal, and its judgments no less deceptive than the systems which they condemn. If, then, we argue that the so-called contradictions of orthodox writers are not real but seeming, that is, are not contradictions at all, what can be said in answer?

Hence the air of unreality, of dreaminess, which pervades the history of Lange and the essay of Vaihinger, nay, which has crept, we fear, over some portion of our present exposition, in spite of our best efforts to the contrary. The most solid arguments dissolve when those who advance them assure us that they are nothing but an imaginative arrangement of certain speculative dice, ingenious throws which neither have nor can have scientific value. After tiring ourselves with the unsatisfactory theories of Hartmann and Dühring, what do we get from the critics that is better than a sleeping-draught to quiet our ignorant passion for truth? Lange preaches the philosophy of despair—and so does Tyndall—as surely, though not as energetically, as Schopenhauer, or the disciple who is now rivalling Schopenhauer in his denial that God is good. To say that very possibly things are as Hartmann represents them, but that we can live pleasantly by supposing otherwise, is to be cynical as well as cruel. We are advised to think of the “Stand-point of the Ideal,” which is Lange’s name for his new religion, as Goethe thought of a celebrated episode in *Wilhelm Meister* (“the Confessions of a Beautiful Soul”); that “it all rests altogether upon the noblest illusions and the tenderest interchanging of the unreal with the real.” Religion, in fact, means that we have some very fine feelings which we are bound to cherish. And to put it briefly, as well as convincingly, Lange informs us that we may have a cosmology, so long as we take care not to hold a real world; and a metaphysics, so long as we refuse to decide whether there is anything at all; and—further than this folly cannot go—a Religion, so long as we do not believe in God. Religion without God is the great ideal towards which Humanity is striving. Even Christian mythology will still be acceptable, still furnish the occasion for much devout and æsthetical poetizing, if its dogmatic exclusiveness and rigidity can be done away with. Lange would preserve the ritual and the liturgical offices which have remained intact since

the Reformation; he would join in singing hymns to Christ and in celebrating the Passion, but with the understanding that it is all to mean nothing objective or historical. Since Christianity is the finest exhibition of art and genius in religion, he thinks it will survive the assaults of the critical period, and will afford some necessary elements of any civilisation in the future. But it must undergo a transformation such as has befallen metaphysics and science; it must "contemplate moral truth as radiating from a new centre," not from the throne of God, but from the depths of tragic feeling in the human heart. Its reality must consist in this, that there are emotions which religion alone can express, as there are ideas for which we discover a medium and a sphere in music and in music alone. Religion is to be life's noblest music—only it dies away without so much as an echo in any world beyond.

We have said enough. These three remarkable men arrive at the same end by roads which are not very different. They all proclaim that Religion, as commonly understood by mankind and to some extent practised, is dying a speedy death in Protestant Germany. They all preach Atheism, Nihilism, Socialism. And they speak with the authority of that great educated multitude which the spirit of the age has made its own in thought as in conduct. Whatever may be the discrepancies and contradictions of doctrine here visible, it is still clear that the school is one, and is governed by principles which all accept. These principles we collect, and have every reason to collect, into the one plain intelligible position called Secularism. It is the belief that this world is a dream and the next a fiction. The dream we are bidden to enjoy, the fiction we are bidden to disregard. As we said at the beginning, this is the flux of Heracitus—"All things pass; let us make the most of them ere they cease to be." This, too, is the materialism of Professor Tyndall, which, with the air of a benefactor, he recommends to the most enlightened of his contemporaries and to the new generation. We should be wanting in sincerity of speech and in loyalty to the truth of God and His Church, did we hesitate to conclude with S. James that this doctrine, this philosophy, this outcome of modern science "is not wisdom descending from above, but is earthly, sensual, and devilish." This is its origin, its progress, and its end.

ART. IX.—THE FRENCH PRESIDENT AND THE NEW CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

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HAVING in July anticipated a majority of at least fifty for Marshal MacMahon, in his appeal to the French constituencies, it need not be said the result of the elections is a surprise and a disappointment to us. The Opposition, though seriously damaged, will still have a considerable majority in the Chamber of Deputies. The 363 do not, according to M. Gambetta's boast, return 400. Of the 363, indeed, fifty do not return at all. But other candidates of the Left have gained seats which, according to the fairest estimate we have seen, reduce their loss as a Party to thirty-six seats. The loss of thirty-six seats to the Left means a gain of seventy-two votes to the Right on a division. This fact would alone suffice to show the growing force of the reaction against Radicalism. But the real strength of that reaction is much more decisively manifested in the record of the number of votes actually given on the one side and the other at the last and the present elections. In 1876, the number of votes for candidates of the Left was 4,316,000 and for candidates of the Right, 2,884,000—showing a majority of 1,432,000 votes for the Left. In 1877, the votes for the Left were 4,273,000, and for the Right, 3,751,000—showing a majority for the Left of 522,000 votes. In 1876, 7,200,000 electors were polled ; in 1877, 7,793,000. The vote-power of the Left, therefore, in 1876 exceeded that of the Right in a proportion equivalent to rather more than a fifth of the total number of electors polled ; while in 1877 it has fallen to almost exactly a fifteenth. Under a system of universal suffrage, votes are not to be weighed, but counted. Invited to

pay homage on this great occasion to the irresistible voice of the sovereign people, we cannot help remembering that Reaction is one of the most energetic and diffusive principles of political progress in the present age, and are obliged to calculate that at its present rate of operation the 867,000 votes added to the strength of the Right since last year may be not unreasonably expected to increase to two millions before the apparently inevitable dissolution of 1878. It is curious, too, to consider from the point of view of those who regard universal suffrage, not as the Universal Lie, as Pius the Ninth once called it, but as the *Vox populi, vox Dei*—that all the Frenchmen who voted in 1876 for and against Right and Left were not equal to the numbers who voted for the Prince President after the events of December, 1851; and that all who voted this year fall short of the number who voted for his taking the title of Emperor. Louis Napoleon received 7,489,216 votes in condonation of the *coup d'état*, and 7,864,189 for the restoration of the Empire.

Under these circumstances the question presents itself, What will the Marshal do? M. Gambetta has, in an insolent and disloyal phrase, declared that he has two alternatives, to submit or to resign. To resign is of course simply out of the question. No one who remembers the circumstances under which the supreme executive power was confided to and accepted by the Marshal in 1873, from the National Assembly in the plenitude of its sovereign authority, can imagine that he should vacate the high office which he has sworn to hold for seven years, because his ministers find difficulty in conducting the public business in the inferior branch of the Legislature. Who ever heard of the President of a Republic giving way before the jerrymandering and logrolling, the obstructiveness and caballing, which tend to make bear-gardens of the Lower Houses of almost all Constitutional States, except England and Hungary—and with which England indeed is already seriously threatened? But the peculiarity of Marshal MacMahon's position is that a degree of personal power has been, not to say confided, but forced upon him, such as, we venture to say, is without a precedent in the history of republics. In the history of Republican Governments, dictatorships, involving an almost absolute exercise of the executive power, have been not uncommon. Some of the greatest acts of American history have been done by virtue of what are called the "implied powers" of the President. American Presidents, under cover of such an authority latent in their office, becoming overt under stress of great emergencies of policy, have found themselves suddenly seized of enormous

faculties and capacities of which they had not conceived that their commission at the moment it was conferred on them contained the very germ,—as when President Jefferson suddenly purchased Louisiana from the French Government in 1803, actually doubling the extent of the territory of the Republic, without the previous consent of Congress; and as when President Lincoln was one day smitten by the brilliant idea of issuing greenbacks on his own authority, to pay the charge of the war with the South, without asking Congress for supplies;* and on another of emancipating all the negro population of the Southern States by a stroke of his pen.

Such cases, says Judge Story, in treating of the “implied” or “incidental powers of the Executive” with special reference to the annexation of Louisiana and Florida, “furnish a striking illustration of the truth that constitutions of government require a liberal construction to effect their objects, and that a narrow interpretation of their powers, however it may suit the views of speculative philosophers or the accidental interests of political parties, is incompatible with the permanent interests of the State, and subversive of the great ends of all government, the safety and independence of the people.”†

* Mr. Bagehot is quite mistaken in the first sentence of the following striking passage from “*The English Constitution*,” p. 266. Nothing was farther from the minds of the authors of the American Constitution than that Congress should be able to control the Executive. They took every sort of pains to provide otherwise. But it is more than probable they did not contemplate the possibility of a President’s carrying on war by paper-money, issued without consulting Congress:—

“The authors of the Constitution doubtless intended that Congress should be able to control the American executive as our Parliament controls ours. They placed the granting of supplies in the House of Representatives exclusively. But they forgot to look after “paper money;” and now it has been held that the President has power to emit such money without consulting Congress at all. The first part of the late war was so carried on by Mr. Lincoln; he relied not on the grants of Congress, but on the prerogative of emission. It sounds a joke, but it is true nevertheless, that this power to issue greenbacks is decided to belong to the President as commander-in-chief of the army; it is part of what was called the “war power.” In truth, money was wanted in the late war, and the administration got it in the readiest way; and the nation, glad not to be more taxed, wholly approved of it. But the fact remains that the President has now, by precedent and decision, a mighty power to continue a war without the consent of Congress, and perhaps against its wish. Against the united will of the American *people* a President would of course be impotent; such is the genius of the place and nation that he would never think of it. But when the nation was (as of late) divided into two parties, one cleaving to the President the other to the Congress, the now unquestionable power of the President to issue paper money may give him the power to continue the war though Parliament (as we should speak) may enjoin the war to cease.”

† “*Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*,” iii. 161.

And again, applying the same doctrine more particularly to the personal action of the President, he lays down this clear broad rule—"In the exercise of his political powers the President is to use his own discretion, and is accountable only to his country and to his own conscience. His decision in relation to those powers is subject to no control, and his discretion when exercised is conclusive" (Story, iii. 419). But the political power of Marshal MacMahon under the French Constitution, is of a far more ample and sovereign character than has ever been ascribed to the President of the United States. Chief of a provisional Republic, to which its own constitution attributes no element of duration whatsoever, and, which may, in 1880, by a mere majority of its two Chambers, resolve itself into a Constitutional Monarchy, or an Empire, or the Commune, in him alone is vested under the eighth article of the Law relative to the Organization of the Public Powers, the right of proposing, even before 1880, if he should think it advisable, a revision of the Constitution itself.* Such powers were assumed and exercised by Cromwell; but we do not remember any instance, except that of the present French Constitution, in which they were voluntarily conferred upon any Executive officer, however, trusted and eminent, by the free vote of a National Assembly. The meaning of the mandate of the National Assembly to Marshal MacMahon may, in truth, be thus simply expressed:—"If you find that this Constitution, which, we hope may, at least, give France for seven years an effective Government of transition, will not, after all, enable you, to whom we have confided the supreme power for that term, to administer affairs with Ministers whom you can trust and respect, and, according to your views of a proper policy for the State—then to you alone is reserved the power of proposing the abrogation of the whole or of any part of the Constitution that may prove obstructive or detrimental." This is not merely an immense power in itself, but it is a power in the light of which all the Marshal's ordinary powers must be construed. In him is personally vested by

* "8. Les Chambres auront le droit, par délibérations séparées, prises dans chacune à la majorité absolue des voix, soit spontanément, soit sur la demande du Président de la République, de déclarer qu'il y a lieu de réviser les lois constitutionnelles.—Après que chacune des deux Chambres aura pris cette résolution, elles se réuniront en Assemblée nationale pour procéder à la révision.—Les délibérations portant révision des lois constitutionnelles, en tout ou en partie, devront être prises à la majorité absolue des membres composant l'Assemblée nationale.—Toutefois, pendant la durée des pouvoirs conférés par la loi du 20 novembre 1873 à M. le maréchal de Mac-Mahon, cette révision ne peut avoir lieu que sur la proposition du Président de la République."

the constitution that a absolute sovereignty which the National Assembly possessed, in a way in which it cannot be by him transmitted to any successor of his in his office, should France decide that he shall have a successor with the same title at the end of his presidential term or terms. Let it be remembered, again, that time was of the essence of the pact by which the executive power was devolved upon the Marshal by the National Assembly. The number of years proper to enable the President of a Republic to feel that he is really master of his own administration, and that he may, without undue precipitation, develop the policy of whose inspirations he is the elect organ, is one of the most interesting and difficult questions in the history of democratic governments. It has been regretted by some of the wisest patriots and statesmen of the United States that the constitutional convention of 1787 did not, as it was very nearly doing at one time, settle upon seven years, instead of four, as the period of presidential power.* Only last year a proposal was made, and supported by a party in Congress considerable in numbers, and still more in authority, that an extension of the term to six years should be submitted to the people in convention. Marshal MacMahon, it was perfectly well known, would not have accepted the supreme power when it was proposed to him in May, 1873, unless he was assured that his authority should have an adequate basis in regard to its duration, to begin with; and he was strongly advised to insist upon a term of ten years. Ultimately, the septennate seems to have been decided upon as a compromise between the ten years of the French constitution of 1851, and the four years of the American constitution. The Marshal was elected, it may be added, unanimously, this condition being well known and stipulated in the law promulgated. Many abstained; only two votes were recorded against him out of 392, who voted. He was elected after want of confidence in M. Thiers had been thrice affirmed by majorities who condemned him for his even then growing tendency to lean more and more on the Radical party. Marshal MacMahon was thus elected, and he accepted office, to oppose the designs of the Radical party, as distinctly

* "Another proposition was (as has been seen) to choose the executive for seven years, which at first passed by a bare majority; but being coupled with a clause, "to be chosen by the national legislature," it was approved by the vote of eight states against two. Another clause, "to be ineligible a second time," was added by the vote of eight states against one, one being divided. In this form the clause stood in the first draft of the constitution, though some intermediate efforts were made to vary it. But it was ultimately altered upon the report of a committee, so as to change the mode of election, the term of office, and the re-eligibility, to their present form, by the vote of ten states against one" (Story, iii. 296).

as Mr. Lincoln was elected to oppose the designs of the Southern slaveholders. He is no more capable of submitting or resigning than that model of American Presidents, General Andrew Jackson, was when he once found himself in conflict, not with one merely, but with both Chambers of Congress, and resisted and defeated them both; or General George Washington before him, when the Lower House proceeded to discuss the terms of a treaty he had made, and he, on the ground that it was an act of the executive power, which was no concern of theirs, refused even to submit the papers to them. We feel assured that the Duke of Magenta will in his high office be not one whit less firm. The proud words which General MacMahon uttered, as he stood amid a hailstorm of bullets on Fort Malakoff, "*J'y suis, et j'y reste*," are the proper motto of his presidential policy at present.

If the French Republic were, like the English monarchy, merely a system of Parliamentary government, the Marshal's course would be perfectly plain. He would receive the Duc de Broglie's resignation, and send for M. Gambetta. M. Grévy, proposing to be President in 1880, would, of course, think it beneath his dignity to take office under his predecessor. M. Gambetta, though at present smitten by two sentences of imprisonment for insulting the chief of the State, is quite as clearly designated the leader of his party as Mr. Gladstone was after the election of 1869, or Mr. Disraeli after that of 1873. M. Gambetta would accordingly, instead of going to gaol, first receive the President's pardon and then succeed the Duc de Broglie as Minister of Justice, Keeper of the Seals, and Vice-President of the Council. The portfolio of the Foreign Office would naturally be committed to M. Jules Favre, who would immediately receive the cordial congratulations of Prince Bismarck. M. Jules Simon might be entrusted with the Ministry of the Interior, if it should not be felt that the successor of M. Fourtoul ought to be a man of unusual energy and resolution; and in that event, the Marshal might be asked to sign, and M. Gambetta, as Minister of Justice, would, no doubt, most cheerfully countersign, an order for the release from prison of M. Bonnet Duverdier. M. Louis Blanc is obviously indicated for the post of Minister of Instruction and Public Worship. Chanzy has been rather discredited by holding the governorship of Algeria under the powers that be, and French generals, as a rule, are in favour of the principle of a standing army; but after all, Garibaldi is a French citizen, and M. Gambetta appointed him General of Division in 1870; why not make the Cincinnatus of Caprera Minister of War? With a red shirt over its red breeches, the uniform of the French army would,

at least, fulfil the ideal of Belleville. The appointment of M. Victor Hugo to the Ministry of Finance would cause a transient excitement on the Bourse; but, justified on the ground that Mr. Canning wrote verses, and nevertheless was a success as First Lord of the Treasury, that Mr. Disraeli has written novels, even after having been an excellent Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would be recognised that the time has come to give poetry and fiction their fling at the funds and taxes of France. The day may come when Mr. Whalley will sit in the seat of Mr. Cross, and Lord Kenealy on the woollack, and when the idol of his country, now imprisoned, at the instigation of the Jesuits, in the gloomy dungeons of Dartmoor, may be summoned to that commanding position which he is so fitted to adorn in the councils of his Sovereign. Anything may happen under a system of Parliamentary Government, where the executive is a Cabinet, virtually designated by a House of Commons, to be elected by-and-bye by the agricultural labourers and trades unions of the three kingdoms. But the French Republic is not, any more than the United States, a system of Parliamentary Government, and its executive power is not lodged in a Cabinet virtually elected by the Chamber of Deputies. Its executive power is, in the words of the Constitution, "confided for seven years to Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta;" and it stands to simple reason—it commends itself to common sense—that the executive power of a State, so confided to its chief, can only be exercised through Ministers of State in whom he can himself completely confide.

The French Republic is not, any more than the American Republic, according to its Constitution, a Parliamentary Government. The executive power is as strictly separated from the legislative power in the one State as it is in the other. Mr. Bagehot, in his wise and brilliant book on "The English Constitution," has clearly shown that the great source of energy in our Government, on the contrary, is the union of legislative and executive authority in the Cabinet, which he correctly describes as a committee virtually chosen by the majority of the House of Commons. He says:—

How important singleness and unity are in political action no one, I imagine, can doubt. We may distinguish and define its parts; but policy is a unit and a whole. It acts by laws—by administrators; it requires now one, now the other; unless it can easily move both it will be impeded soon; unless it has an absolute command of both its work will be imperfect. The interlaced character of human affairs requires a single determining energy; a distinct force for each artificial compartment will be but a motley patch-work, if it live long enough to make anything. The

excellence of the British Constitution is, that it has achieved this unity ; that in it the sovereign power is single, possible, and good. The success is primarily due to the peculiar provision of the English Constitution, which places the choice of the executive in the people's house."

The founders of the American Republic were perfectly well aware of the importance of singleness and unity in political action. But they never dreamed of the possibility of obtaining such a result by attempting to vest both legislative and executive power in a committee representing the majority of either House of Congress. On the contrary, they sought to obtain it by a strict separation of the legislative and executive powers :—

The characteristical qualities (says Chancellor Kent), required in the executive department are promptitude, decision, and force ; and those qualities are most likely to exist when the executive authority is limited to a single person, moving by the unity of a single will. Division, indecision, and delay are exceedingly unfavourable to that steady and vigorous administration of the law which is necessary to secure tranquillity at home, and command the confidence of foreign nations.

So, also, Judge Story says, when treating the very same question in his "*Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*"—a great book, distinguished by its lofty spirit, its accurate veracity, its thorough learning, its far-reaching search of example, its serene contempt for the wild cyclones of opinion which beat about the bastions of authority in newly-formed Democratic societies, but soar away into space if they find that power rests steady on its foundations of justice and force, and is not to be shaken by mere noise :—

Taking it, then, for granted (says Judge Story) that there ought to be an executive department, the next consideration is, how it ought to be organized. It may be stated in general terms, that that organization is best, which will at once secure energy in the executive, and safety to the people. The notion, however, is not uncommon, and occasionally finds ingenious advocates, that a vigorous executive is inconsistent with the genius of a republican government. It is difficult to find any sufficient grounds on which to rest this notion ; and those, which are usually stated, belong principally to that class of minds, which readily indulge in the belief of the general perfection, as well as perfectibility, of human nature, and deem the least possible quantity of power, with which government can subsist, to be the best. To those, who look abroad into the world, and attentively read the history of other nations, ancient and modern, far different lessons are taught with a severe truth and force. Those lessons instruct them, that energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of a good government. It is essential to the protection of the community against foreign attacks. It is not less essential to the steady administration of the laws, to the protection of property against

those irregular and high-handed combinations, which sometimes interrupt the ordinary course of justice, and to the security of liberty against the enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy. Every man the least conversant with Roman history knows, how often that republic was obliged to take refuge in the absolute power of a single man, under the formidable name of a dictator, as well against the intrigues of ambitious individuals, aspiring to tyranny, and the seditions of whole classes of the community, threatening the existence of the government, as against foreign enemies, menacing the destruction and conquest of the state. A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for a bad execution ; and a government ill executed, whatever may be its theory, must, in practice, be a bad government.

That unity is conducive to energy will scarcely be disputed. Decision, activity, secrecy, and despatch will generally characterise the proceedings of one man in a much more eminent degree, than the proceedings of a greater number ; and in proportion as the number is increased, these qualities will be diminished.

In regard to this supposed necessity of securing the unity of the executive authority by imposing the discharge of its duties upon one man, the Constitutions of the American and the French Republics run upon all fours. The terms of the Constitution of the United States were, in fact, followed by the framers of the French Constitution, and in some respects considerably strengthened. Thus the words of the American Constitution are (Art. ii., Section i., Clause i.) :—

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years.

And the words of the first article of the French Constitution are :—

Le pouvoir exécutif est confié pour sept ans au Maréchal de Mac-Mahon, duc de Magenta, à partir de la promulgation de la présente loi ; ce pouvoir continuera à être exercé avec le titre de Président de la République et dans les conditions actuelles jusqu'aux modifications qui pourront y être apportées par les lois constitutionnelles.

General George Washington was already clearly indicated as first President of the United States, when its Constitution was adopted, but no one ever dreamed of embodying his name in that act, or of fixing him with the personal executive responsibility of the State for a term of years, or of giving to him alone, meantime, the right of advising the revision of the Constitution ; and, perhaps, the English language is incapable of conveying in a great deed of state that delicate reserve touching the duration of the Government which it professes to found, which is conveyed in the French words, “ le pouvoir continuera

à être exercé avec le titre de Président de la République.” The French Republic is, throughout its constitutional laws, in truth, regarded as a Republic of fact, not of right—a Republic on its trial and on sufferance, Marshal MacMahon being both its chief and its judge. All the jargon of the Revolution—unity, indivisibility, eternity, liberty, equality, fraternity—is carefully avoided in its title-deeds.

The centre of gravity in the present political conditions of England is lodged in the House of Commons. It was not always so, and it may not always continue to be so. There are already signs that the influence of that House is somewhat waning, and that the powers, both of the Crown and the House of Lords, are slowly revindicating themselves. But every possible precaution was taken, openly and avowedly, by the founders of the American Republic, and in this they have been followed by the French, against allowing the House of Representatives and the Chamber of Deputies to have any such influence on Government as that of the House of Commons. We trust we may be excused for quoting again, in illustration of what we have said, several passages from the writings of Mr. Alexander Hamilton, already referred to by us in July. Speaking to this precise point, the position of the House of Commons in the English Constitution, he says:—

If a British House of Commons, from the most feeble beginnings, from the mere power of assenting or disagreeing to the imposition of a new tax, have, by rapid strides, reduced the prerogatives of the Crown, and the privileges of the nobility, within the limits they conceived to be compatible with the principles of a free Government, while they raised themselves to the rank and consequence of a co-equal branch of the legislature; if they have been able, in one instance, to abolish both the royalty and the aristocracy, and to overturn all the ancient establishments, as well in the Church as State; if they have been able, on a recent occasion, to make the monarch tremble at the prospect of an innovation* attempted by them, what would be to be feared from an elective magistrate of four years' duration, with the confined authorities of a President of the United States? What but that he might be unequal to the task which the Constitution assigns to him?†

And again, with reference to the besetting propensity of the Lower House of the legislature to encroach on the executive, he says:—

It is one thing to be subordinate to the laws, another to be dependent on the legislative body. The first comports with, the last violates, the funda-

* “This was the case with respect to Mr. Fox's India Bill, which was carried in the House of Commons, and rejected in the House of Lords, to the entire satisfaction, as it is said, of the people.”

† The Federalist, No. 71.

mental principles of good government ; and whatever may be the forms of the Constitution, unites all power in the same hands. * * * The representatives of the people, in a popular assembly, seem sometimes to fancy that they are the people themselves, and betray strong symptoms of impatience and disgust at the least sign of opposition from any other quarter ; as if the exercise of its rights, by either the executive or judiciary, were a breach of their privilege, and an outrage to their dignity. They often appear disposed to exert an imperious control over the other departments ; and, as they commonly have the people on their side, they always act with such momentum, as to make it very difficult for the other members of the Government to maintain the balance of the Constitution.*

And lastly, as to the necessity of an inflexible firmness on the part of the executive in such emergencies :—

There are some who would be inclined to regard the servile pliancy of the executive to a prevailing current, either in the community, or in the legislature, as its best recommendation. But such men entertain very crude notions, as well of the purposes for which Government was instituted, as of the true means by which the public happiness may be promoted. The Republican principle demands that the deliberate sense of the community should govern the conduct of those to whom they intrust the management of their affairs ; but it does not require an unqualified complaisance to every sudden breeze of passion, or to every transient impulse which the people may receive from the arts of men, who flatter their prejudices to betray their interests. * * * When occasions present themselves in which the interests of the people are at variance with their inclinations, it is the duty of the persons whom they have appointed, to be the guardians of those interests to withstand the temporary delusion, in order to give them time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection. Instances might be cited, in which a conduct of this kind has saved the people from very fatal consequences of their own mistakes, and has procured lasting monuments of their gratitude to the men who had courage and magnanimity enough to serve them at the peril of their displeasure.

But however inclined we might be to insist upon an unbounded complaisance in the executive to the inclinations of the people, we can, with no propriety, contend for a like complaisance to the humours of the legislature. The latter may sometimes stand in opposition to the former ; and at other times the people may be entirely neutral. In either supposition, it is certainly desirable that the executive should be in a situation to dare to act his own opinion with vigour and decision.†

We cite Mr. Alexander Hamilton as a Republican statesman, political philosopher, and constitutional lawyer of the very greatest eminence, a principal author of the Constitution of the United States, and admittedly the highest authority in all that concerns its interpretation, and the intentions of its

* The Federalist, No. 71.

† Ibid.

founders. He was the writer, in "The Federalist," of the papers which treat of the Executive Power. That the doctrines he laid down on this subject are accepted as the one only authentic, orthodox, and undisputed interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, concerning the relations of President and Parliament, we may be permitted to prove, by referring to the words of two American jurists, who have earned a world-wide fame, and who have both written on the organic laws of their country. Judge Story, in stating the sources of his Commentaries, places first "The Federalist, an incomparable commentary of three of the greatest statesmen of the age," and he adds this extraordinary testimony to its authority: "I have transferred into my own pages all which seemed to be of permanent importance in that great work; and have thereby endeavoured to make its merits more generally known." He has transferred, not merely by way of quotation, but has embodied in the text of his great treatise, every word that Mr. Hamilton wrote to prove that the mainspring of political action in a Republican Constitution is the President, and that the Lower House, if such a constitution is to last, must be content to occupy a very subordinate place. Chancellor Kent, an authority not less eminent and weighty, speaks in terms even more earnest of the respect due by all Republican politicians to this great book. "There is," he says, "no work on the subject of the Constitution, and on Republican and Federal Government generally, that deserves to be more thoroughly studied. No constitution of Government ever received a more masterly and successful vindication. I know not, indeed, of any work on the principles of free government that is to be compared in instruction and intrinsic value to this small and unpretending volume of 'The Federalist'; not even if we resort to Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Milton, Locke, or Burke. It is equally admirable in the depth of its wisdom, the comprehensiveness of its views, the sagacity of its reflections, and the fearlessness, patriotism, candour, simplicity, and eloquence with which its truths are uttered and recommended. Mr. Justice Story acted wisely in making 'The Federalist' the basis of his 'Commentary,' and as we have had the experience of nearly fifty years since 'The Federalist' was written, the work of Judge Story is enriched with the results of that experience, and it is written in the same free and liberal spirit, with equal exactness of research and soundness of doctrine."*

We cite these eminent authorities at perhaps too great

* "Commentaries on American Law," vol. i. p. 241. By James Kent.

length, but it seems to us that it is interesting to settle at the present moment on the highest attainable authority what is the true Republican interpretation of the relations between the executive and the legislative powers in a Republican State, where, as in the United States and France, the President is the sole depository of the former power for a fixed term of years. We do not admire the French Republic as a system of Government, nor do we believe that it is destined to endure. But while it exists it is entitled to a fair trial; it is entitled, moreover, to be administered as a Republic and in a Republican spirit; and for this reason, we submit, that its statesmen should as utterly discard the Parliamentary traditions of the reigns of Louis Philippe and Queen Victoria, as the citizens of the American colonies repudiated their veneration for King, Lords, and Commons, when they founded a Presidential Government. As Mr. Bagehot pithily says, "The independence of the legislative and executive powers is the specific quality of Presidential Government, just as their fusion and combination is the precise principle of Cabinet Government." Who can deny that the great danger of France at the present moment is the attempt of the Lower Chamber of the legislature to assume the authority of an English House of Commons, and to insist on the exercise of the executive power through Ministers of its selection? What, to use Mr. Hamilton's words, would be to be feared in such a case but that the President "might be unequal to the task which the Constitution assigns to him?" Is it not true, again to cite his words, that the representatives of the people in the Chamber of Deputies "seem sometimes to fancy that they are the people themselves, and betray strong symptoms of impatience and disgust at the least sign of opposition from any other quarter, as if the exercise of its rights by the executive or the judiciary were a breach of their privilege and an outrage on their dignity?" May it not be even said that they at present "appear disposed to exercise an imperious control over the other departments"—nay, that apparently having "the people on their side" by a majority—though it be but a majority of a fifteenth of the people polled—they are acting "with such momentum as to make it very difficult for the other members of the Government to maintain the balance of the Constitution?" Is this, then, an occasion in which "the servile pliancy of the executive to a prevailing current, either in the legislature or the community," is to be regarded with favour? Is it a time for "complaisance to the humours of the legislature?" Is it not rather a time when "it is certainly desirable that the executive should be in a situation to dare to act his own

opinion with vigour and decision"—thus saving "the people from the very fatal consequences of their own mistakes," and earning "lasting monuments of their gratitude to the men who had courage and magnanimity enough to serve them at the peril of their displeasure?" As we cite and apply these passages, we cannot but feel that Mr. Hamilton's political genius had somewhat of prophetic strain in it, though such a crisis as is forecast in the words we have quoted has not, so far as we can remember, occurred in his own country. Here, perhaps, it may be said of him, as Mr. Grattan said of Mr. Burke, "prophet-like, he has pronounced the destinies of France, and in his prophetic fury admonished nations."

Thanks to the uncompromising sincerity with which the American colonists discarded their previous political belief and practice; thanks to the single-minded energy with which a series of strong-willed Presidents have continually asserted the independence, and exalted and extended the attributes, of the Executive Power, the tradition of Parliamentary Government is now dead in the United States, and not merely dead, but despised. After all, it was against the tyranny of Parliament, and especially against the unjust exercise of the peculiar power of the Commons—that of taxation—rather than against the exercise of any prerogative of the Crown, that the people of the Thirteen Colonies rebelled. Their principal enemies sat in that House. Their most powerful advocate in it, Mr. Burke, spoke in it, as they were well aware, under the prejudice attaching to the position he had recently held in their service as Agent-General for the Province of New York. To the House of Lords, on the other hand, their cause was represented with all the commanding influence of the eloquence and all the recognized majesty of the character of Lord Chatham. They retained a respect for the House of Lords which they are not ashamed to show and to prove, when opportunity offers, even to this day; but they felt such an antipathy for the House of Commons, that they were determined there should, at least, be nothing like it in their own Constitution. Mr. Hamilton says so in so many words. Accordingly, the American Constitution, by one method, as the French Constitution by another, fixes immovably the centre of gravity and regulating control of the legislative power in the Senate. This sentiment has grown with the growth and strengthened with the strength of the American Union. The large foreign population which it has, within the last half century, absorbed, has, so far from mitigating, probably intensified the feeling. The German's breast contained no chord to be touched by the name of Parliament. The Irish

peasant hated the British Constitution from top to bottom ; but having from nature and faith the instincts which attest that royalty has deep sanctions in human history, he hated the Crown less than the House of Lords ; and being, according to his own tradition of his origin, a member, however humble, of an ancient aristocratic system, he did not regard the House of Peers with quite the same detestation, distrust, and contempt as the Commons. That House in its relations with him, was a power which pressed most heavily upon him when he was weakest, and only yielded the commonest civil rights to him, inch by inch, at long intervals of time, under the terror of insurrection at home, or of foreign war, and then with mean qualifications and hypocritical pretences. A great popular chieftain, named by the people themselves, with plenty of power, was thus an institution commending itself equally to Celt and Teuton, gone across the Atlantic in search of "ready-made liberty." Nor have the American people ever regretted the vast and elastic authority, in which they commit for four years the exercise of their sovereignty to one man. On the contrary, the Presidents of whose history they are most proud, are those who exercised the Presidential power in its most absolute sense, and, when necessary, extended it ; who most strenuously resisted any attempt of Congress to control their policy ; who (and they were generally the same men) made no sparing use of their preventive check upon legislation as well ;—like Washington, who used the veto twice, against Acts of Congress ; Madison, who used it six times ; Jackson, nine times ; and, never in vain. The two methods of Government, the Parliamentary and the Presidential, were, by a curious complication of circumstances, brought into very striking contrast at the time of the discussion of the Alabama claims. Mr. Caleb Cushing was then counsel for the United States. He is a lawyer of much eminence, particularly versed in constitutional and international law, who, on this great occasion, represented his Government with the full approval of the American Bar and people. His words, which we are about to cite, at all events prove that Mr. Hamilton's doctrine is still heartily held by those who may be fairly regarded as his disciples and successors, and that the experience of three generations of American statesmen and jurists confirms his doctrine, that Parliamentary Government is incompatible with the due distribution of powers in a Republican Constitution. It should be mentioned that the italics in the following passage are Mr. Cushing's own :—

Now, the submergence of the power of the Crown in Parliament, and of that of Parliament in the House of Commons, and the commitment of all

these powers to transitory nominees of the House of Commons, are facts which, combined, have produced the result that *government* in England is at the mercy of every gust of popular passion, every storm of misdirected public opinion, every devious impulse of demagogic agitation—nothing correspondent to which exists in the United States.

Mr. Gladstone is Prime Minister of Great Britain—that is to say, of three hundred millions of men, aggregated into various States of Europe, Africa, America, Asia, and Australasia. But he holds all this power at the mere will of a majority of the House of Commons. He must consult their wishes and their prejudices in every act of his political life. If he conceives a great idea, he cannot make anything of it until after he shall have driven it into the heads of three or four hundred country gentlemen, which are not always easily *perforable* either by eloquence or by reason. And during the progress of all great measures, including especially foreign negotiations, which require to be undisturbed in their progress from germination to maturity, he is subject to be goaded almost to madness every day by vicious interpellations, not only on the part of members of the opposition, but even his own supporters in the House of Commons.

How different is the spectacle of government in the United States! Here, the President—that is, the Prime Minister of the sovereign people—is placed in power for a fixed period of time, during which he is politically independent of faction, and can look at the temporary passions of the hour with calmness, so as to judge them at their true value, and accept or reject their voice according to the dictates of public duty and the command of his conscience. Neither he nor any of the members of his cabinet are subject to be badgered by factious or unreasonable personal interrogation in either house of Congress.

Moreover, the House of Representatives does not presume to set itself up as the superior either of the President or of the Senate. Nor is the Senate in the condition of being terrified from the discharge of its duty by threats on the part of the President or of the House of Representatives to subjugate its free will at any moment by thrusting into it a batch of twenty new administration Senators. Least of all does the House of Representatives presume to possess and exercise the powers of a constituent national convention, to change in its discretion the constitution of the United States.

Thus it was that, in the matter of the discussion of this Treaty, Mr. Gladstone and the other ministers were tossed to and fro on the surging waves of public opinion, and pestered from day to day in Parliament, while solicitously engaged in reflecting how best to keep faith with the United States, and at the same time do no prejudice to Great Britain. If, at that period, the ministers said in debate anything unwise, anything not strictly true or just—Mr. Gladstone did, but Lord Granville did not—let it not be remembered against them personally, but charged to the uncontrollable difficulties of their position, and the signal defectiveness and intrinsic weakness of the organic institutions of Great Britain.

During all that period of earnest discussion on both sides of the ocean, it was to me, as an American, matter of the highest thankfulness and gratula-

tion and patriotic pride, to see the government of the United States—President, Secretary of State, Cabinet, Congress—continue in the even tenor of their public duty, calm, unruffled, self-possessed, as the stars in heaven. The Executive of the United States is, it is true, by its very nature, a thoughtful and self-contained power. Congress, on the other hand, is the field of debate and the place where popular passions come into evidence, as the winds in the cave of Æolus. But, on this occasion, no more debate occurred in either House than that least possible expression of opinion, which was necessary to show accord with the Executive. Even the opposition, to its honour be it said, conducted itself with commendable reserve and consideration. How different from all this was the spectacle exhibited by the British Parliament! *

The American Constitution in one way, the French in another, provides that, of the two Chambers, the higher authority shall always belong to the Senate. Mr. Madison discussed this subject with particular ability and learning in "The Federalist." He lays it down, as the result of his considerable study of the Republican form of Government, that "history informs us of no long-lived Republic which had not a Senate." He adds:—

To a people as little blinded by prejudice, or corrupted by flattery, as those whom I address, I shall not scruple to add, that such an institution may be sometimes necessary, as a defence to the people against their own temporary errors and delusions. As the cool and deliberate sense of the community ought, in all governments, and actually will, in all free governments, ultimately prevail over the views of its rulers: so there are particular moments in public affairs, when the people, stimulated by some irregular passion, or some illicit advantage, or misled by the artful misrepresentations of interested men, may call for measures which they themselves will afterwards be the most ready to lament and condemn. In these critical moments, how salutary will be the interference of some temperate and respectable body of citizens, in order to check the misguided career, and to suspend the blow meditated by the people against themselves, until reason, justice, and truth, can regain their authority over the public mind? What bitter anguish would not the people of Athens have often escaped, if their government had contained so provident a safeguard against the tyranny of their own passions? Popular liberty might then have escaped the indelible reproach of decreeing to the same citizens, the hemlock on one day, and statues on the next.†

The French people have now and then had occasion to feel in the course of their history, as Mr. Madison supposes the Athenians to have felt. Evidently, if the Senate is to exercise the influence expected from it it must have powers greatly superior to those of the other branch of the Legislature. The founders of the Constitution of the United States hoped

* Treaty of Washington, p. 45.

† The Federalist, No. 63.

that by means of a strong Executive and a strong Senate, mutually sustaining each other, and having certain constitutional functions in common, the Lower House might be kept in that modest, though far from unimportant, place in the political system which the name, by which it is more commonly known, indicates. Accordingly, it was determined that certain of the powers of the Executive should be exercised with the concurrence of the Senate, and the most important of the powers of the House of Representatives under the control of the Senate. The great functionaries of State, the Judges of the Supreme Court, his own Ministers and Envoys are appointed by the American President; but they must be approved by the Senate. Treaties with Foreign Powers are not binding unless approved by the Senate; then they become law. The American President has no occasion to concern himself to consider whether the House of Representatives approves of the persons composing his Cabinet, or of those who represent the nation in its great foreign legations. Their right even to discuss the terms of a treaty is somewhat doubtful; and, at all events, beyond mere discussion, they have no power. In such grave affairs, neither President nor Minister heeds their adverse votes. To impeach either would be to impeach the Senate itself. Again, Money Bills must come from the Lower House; but the Constitution of the United States was careful that in this most important attribute of power the Senate should not confound its position with that of the House of Lords. The Senate exercises the same control over finance as over all other business; and, in the words of the Constitution, its members "propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills." We are glad to see that the French Senate, justly regarding this as one of what the Americans would call its "implied powers," has insisted on its right of amending Money Bills, notwithstanding the absence of any special clause in the constitution on the subject. The French constitution was very vaguely—we must not hesitate to say, in some respects, even very loosely drawn; and, but for the fact that it is modelled in its general distribution of powers, and in the demarcation of estate from estate on the constitution of the United States, there might be a very great difficulty in finding an authoritative canon of interpretation for its text. It is certain that no such canon is to be found in the entirely new theory of the functions of constitutional sovereignty which has attained acceptance in England since the premiership of Lord Melbourne. It is certain, on the contrary, that the power of the French President is a far less limited, far more arbitrary, not to say absolute, power than that of the President of the

United States. The French President appoints everybody to everything—minister, ambassador, bishop, general, prefect, mayor, as well as the policeman, the postman, the exciseman, the tide-waiter—in which latter categories only is the patronage of the American President virtually uncontrolled. He is not obliged to consult the Senate as to the construction of his Cabinet, or the choice of his diplomatists. His power of concluding treaties is, in some respects, greater than that of the American President. He concludes and ratifies treaties in general of his own authority, and communicates them to the Chambers only when, in his opinion, the interest and safety of the State so permit; but in regard to commercial treaties, or cession or acquisition of territory, his power is limited; so that if, in the stress of some great crisis of a general war, an opportunity were to offer itself of reacquiring Alsace and Lorraine by purchase, such as President Jefferson availed himself of when he annexed Louisiana, the Marshal would be obliged to wait until the two Chambers had first agreed to a law on the subject.

With the exception of some such curious and rather absurd limitations, the powers of the French President are distinctly greater than those of the American President. Above all, he possesses the power of adjourning both Houses twice within the session, and of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, with the concurrence of the Senate. The American President cannot interfere with the session of Congress unless the Houses themselves disagree on the proper term for their adjournment. He has no power of dissolving the Lower House. The powers which the American Constitution confer on the Senate, while they greatly augment its dignity and influence, are still powers which undoubtedly tend to limit the authority of the Executive; and if the Senate had not habitually realized the duty imposed upon it by the Constitution of sustaining the power of the President, the Constitution, so variously tried in other ways, could not have survived to ninety years of age. But the power given by the French Constitution to the French Senate of deciding with the President when it may be necessary to dissolve the representatives of the Commons is a power far beyond that of objecting to the nomination of an occasional Minister or Judge of Appeal. The House which possesses such a power is, in fact as in law, the superior branch of the legislature. If the House of Lords were suddenly given the right to advise the Crown to dissolve, and to alter Money Bills, the whole balance of the British Constitution would be altered. The power of the House of Commons, as we know it, would speedily eva-

porate. But such a power, however desirable, as that of the House of Commons, in such a monarchy as England, is not regarded as by any means desirable, or even possible, in a Republic. The authors of the French Constitution, therefore, gave, in our opinion, a far more useful and direct authority to their Senate than that which the American Senate holds. As the actual and the implied powers of the French Constitution are more and more exercised and evolved, it will be found, should the Republic last, that the Senate will become, as the American Senate has become, in ability and character immeasurably the more powerful and important branch of the legislature; and the Chamber of Deputies, after several severe struggles, perhaps, to assume powers and assert an equality which it no longer possesses by law—struggles which can only have a painful end—will devote itself to the humble, but not the less useful rôle which belongs to it according to the Constitution.

The American legislators of the last century (says Mr. Bagehot) have been much blamed for not permitting the ministers of the President to be members of the Assembly; but, with reference to the specific end which they had in view, they saw clearly and decided wisely. They wished to keep 'the legislative branch absolutely distinct from the executive branch;' they believed such a separation to be essential to a good constitution; they believed such a separation to exist in the English, which the wisest of them thought the best constitution. And, to the effectual maintenance of such a separation, the exclusion of the President's ministers from the legislature is essential. If they are not excluded they become the executive, they eclipse the President himself. A legislative chamber is greedy and covetous; it acquires as much, it concedes as little as possible. The passions of its members are its rulers; the law-making faculty, the most comprehensive of the imperial faculties is its instrument; it will take the administration if it can take it. Tried by their own aims, the founders of the United States were wise in excluding the ministers from Congress (p. 30).

Mr. Bagehot was not literally correct in the leading statement of this paragraph, which in other respects, we submit, sustains our general argument. An able American critic of his work, Mr. Bradford, in the *North American Review*, of January, 1874, traversed that statement in these terms:—"The founders of the United States did not exclude the Ministers from Congress. The Constitution is absolutely silent on the subject." As a matter of historical fact, however, Mr. Bagehot was undoubtedly right. It was evidently found very soon in the actual working of the United States Constitution, that the distinction between the Executive Power and the Legislative could only be maintained by regarding the Ministers simply as officers of the Executive Department, and

by their protecting themselves from the interference of the Legislature through the very simple process of omitting to seek seats on its benches. This state of things came to pass—it was not proposed; but it was quite in accordance with the line of reasoning so clearly and conclusively stated by Mr. Bagehot. All the American statesmen, who really made their Constitution a subject of study, shared the same dread. “The Executive in our Government,” said Mr. Jefferson, a politician of a very different character from Mr. Hamilton, “is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal, object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislatures is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for many years.” If we may trust Mr. Cushing’s testimony, the problem is now solved in the United States. We trust, and we believe, that it is; and that the stability of the Republic is assured thereby. We are far from feeling the same confidence with regard to the Constitution of France. It is much to be desired that some eminent French lawyer and statesman would take the six organic laws of 1875, and unfold their provisions and powers, expressed, implied, and incidental, with the same accuracy, lucidity, and energy as characterise the wonderful work of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. It is easy to see that the most difficult part of his task would be to ascertain the exact sense of the various clauses of the Constitution in which the responsibility of the Ministers before the Chambers is, we will not say, defined but expressed. According to the law of the 10th of July, 1875,* it would seem to have been contemplated that the Ministers need not necessarily be Members of either Chamber, for it provides for their having access to both, and being heard, if they so demand, or having commissioners named by them heard, in defence of any legislative measure under discussion. In the same clause, it is indicated that the constitutional course of communication between the Executive and the Legislature is, as in America, a message from the President, read by a Minister. So that this clause, if it stood alone, might be interpreted as meaning that Ministers have the right personally or by their delegates to assist the deliberations of the Legislature by the communication of necessary information to enlighten it in the discharge of its legislative functions, but need not be either Senators or Deputies. But

* “Le Président de la République communique avec les Chambres par des messages qui sont lus à la tribune par un ministre. Les ministres ont leur entrée dans les deux Chambres et doivent être entendus quand ils le demandent. Ils peuvent se faire assister par des commissaires désignés, pour la discussion d’un projet de loi déterminé, par décret du Président de la République.”

in the sixth clause of a previous law, that of the 25th of February,* it is said that the Ministers are jointly responsible before the Chambers for the general policy of the Government, and individually for their personal acts. These terms are very large and very general. They seem to include everything, and yet, strictly construed, they amount to nothing, except that Ministers are liable to be impeached for general or individual misconduct in office, as the President is for High Treason alone. The earlier law must, of course, be read as corrected and qualified by the later; and the later law, certainly, does not convey that view of the constant intimate association of Ministers with, and their absolute dependence upon a majority in, the legislature, which we are accustomed to connect with the idea of Parliamentary Government. A Minister of State is in the first instance an executive officer. To whom is he responsible in that capacity? Plainly to the person charged by the Constitution with the executive power. The legislature has no control over the executive power; its domain is the law. It has undoubtedly the power to bring ministers to justice, if their general or particular policy in any way contravenes the law; but we do not see how it can compel the person to whom the executive power is alone confided to exercise his executive functions through ministers in whom he cannot himself confide, but who may happen to have the confidence of the legislative power. This cannot possibly have been contemplated. It would mean the subjection of the superior to the inferior power—the first object of the Constitution being obviously and notoriously to mark their independence of each other. And in truth Marshal MacMahon, though he has endeavoured as far as he possibly could to find ministers in whom he could confide, and who should also be acceptable to the Chambers, has never admitted their right to turn his ministers out of office. He has always refused to allow any change to be made in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of War. It is our belief that in the present state of France much more injury can be done to the moral and effective power of the nation by a Radical Minister of the Interior, or of Justice, or of Public Instruction, than can be redressed by the most brilliant administration of Foreign Affairs or the most effective reorganization of the army. In those successive attempts,—the Dufaure ministry, the Simon ministry,—the time for compromise and

* "Les ministres sont solidairement responsables devant les Chambres de la politique générale du Gouvernement, et individuellement de leurs actes personnels. Le Président de la République n'est responsable que dans le cas de haute trahison."

conciliation passed, not through the Marshal's fault, in vain. The time has now come for him, in President Abraham Lincoln's homely phrase, "to put his foot down," and prepare for the evidently necessary revision of the Constitution; meantime to maintain in office and uphold with all the personal power which the Constitution has conferred upon him, with, as we also hope, the support of the Senate, the Ministry of the Duc de Broglie. For in him we honour the statesman to whom is due the glory of having given to France the secure (if temporary) haven of its present government; who pre-eminently possesses the confidence of its chief and of the best and wisest of his countrymen; and who is slowly and surely earning that honour from history of which the general and phrenetic hatred of the demagogy of the day is the certain and gratifying presage. No man in the world, we trust and believe, has a keener relish for what a French writer once, speaking of him, charmingly called *les joies amères d'impopularité*; and he needs it.

Our argument is, that a Republican constitution should, while it lasts, be interpreted and applied in a Republican spirit. We have cited Republican authorities to sustain this argument; but so far as the opinion of this country is concerned, we are perfectly well aware that argument and authority are alike in vain. There is a frantic desire in the breast of the modern Liberal—and on this subject opinion at large is bitten with Liberalism—to see the French Revolution carried *jusqu'au bout*,—through no matter what "varieties of untried being," as Mr. Burke said,—no matter what series of "leaps in the dark"; even unto (as Mr. Carlyle in an idiotic moment once expressed it) "the burning up with unquenchable fire of all the Gigs that are in the earth." The terrible past and recent agonies of France, the words of its best and wisest, avail not, any more than the cries of animals to their vivisectors. But the margin of its coin avers, and history attests, that God protects France. His Vicar's recent words have not been all in vain. They have moved and are moving the minds of masses of men; and, critical as is the emergency, it is not beyond the control of the Presidential Power, if used with that high hand, that thorough and steadfast spirit, which we have as good a right to expect from Marshal MacMahon as from General Jackson or General Washington.

Notices of Books.

The Via Media of the Anglican Church. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.
Vol. 1st. London: Pickering.

MANY years ago, when Mr. Newman's intention of submitting to the Church became generally known, it was a common exclamation of Anglicans, that he might personally indeed go to Rome, but that he would never be able to answer his own anti-Roman arguments. These critics, however, had not very long to wait; for almost simultaneously with his conversion there appeared his *Essay on Development*. In this *Essay* not only he replied triumphantly to what had been by far his own strongest point, but entirely turned the tables on his opponents, by showing that it was they, and not Roman Catholics, who were in overt and flagrant contradiction to Church history.

So much in regard to what was by far F. Newman's strongest anti-Roman argument, his allegation of Rome's supposed unfaithfulness to the primitive Deposit. But he had also insisted strongly on another objection: an objection far inferior in plausibility to the former, yet not without some superficial appearance of force. This objection is based on "the difference which at first sight presents itself between the formal teaching" of Catholicity "and its popular and political manifestations" (p. xxxvii.).

We have said that this objection is a far less plausible one than the former. In his Protestant work, it was mainly the Church's *definitions* which Mr. Newman regarded as her "formal teaching." But, even as regards the Church's mere office of teaching the Faith,—how was it even a plausible statement, that the Church's definitions necessarily contain either the whole or even the most important part of her doctrine? Protestants often argue, as though the Church's definitions claimed to be a methodical exhibition of her teaching. But such a notion is refuted on the very surface of ecclesiastical history. As F. Newman now points out (p. 223, note), "doctrines remain implicit" and so undefined, "*until they are contravened.*" That portion then of Catholic dogma, and that alone, is commonly defined, which *has been contravened*. But is it the most vital and essential parts of her doctrine, which are sure to be those earliest contravened? Rather the contrary. For instance, what could possibly from the first have been more momentous and fundamental, than the revealed doctrine on Justification? Yet it was not defined before the Sixteenth Century, when men arose wicked enough to deny it. The infallibility again of the *Ecclesia Docens*—the ruling and supreme principle of Catholic theology—was not defined,

until (less than ten years ago) it became incidentally necessary to do so, in order to define the Supreme Pontiff's infallible magisterium. In like manner (as we have more than once pointed out) there are various doctrines concerning the Blessed Virgin, involved e.g. in indulgenced prayers, which are infallibly true, though there has never happened to arise any necessity for defining them.* And something of the same kind may be said, in regard to the Church's doctrine on Purgatory and again on Eternal Punishment.

Even then as regards the Church's mere *teaching*, there is not so much as any plausibility in the supposition, that her definitions at any given period sufficiently represent even the most important and vital parts of that teaching. But secondly, Mr. Newman forgot (as F. Newman now points out) that the Church has other offices besides that of teaching; and that definitions do not purport to lay down, in any degree, either the legitimate forms of popular devotion, or the Church's every-day maxims of practical and political action. To say that the Church is insincere and double-dealing, because no one could guess from her doctrinal definitions what are her popular devotions and what her maxims of government—is like saying that some military commander is insincere and double-dealing, because no one could guess, from his official despatches, how his soldiers amuse themselves in winter quarters. The topic here indicated is that mainly treated by F. Newman in the freshly-added portion of the present volume. The Anglican Essay, which he has here republished, contained the most express and carefully-elaborated assault on Rome, which Mr. Newman ever put forth. In republishing it, F. Newman deals with various incidental details by bracketted notes ad locum. But there were two pervasive anti-Roman objections, which did not admit of being thus dealt with. The first of these—Rome's alleged unfaithfulness to the Primitive Deposit—he had already encountered (as we just now observed) in the Essay on Development. The second—the allegation that Rome's practical spirit differs startlingly from her formal teaching—is made the subject of a prefatory Essay to the present volume; and we will here briefly indicate its argument. In order then to bring out clearly the force of his reply, he is led to inquire what is the Church's full work. Is it only to teach religious truth? On the contrary this is but a comparatively small part of her office.

"It is her special duty, as a sovereign State, to consolidate her several portions, to enlarge her territory, to keep up and to increase her various populations in this ever-dying, ever-nascent world, in which to be stationary is to lose ground, and to repose is to fail. It is her duty to strengthen and facilitate the intercourse of city with city, and race with race, so that an injury done to one is felt to be an injury to all, and the act of individuals has the energy and momentum of the whole body. It is her duty to have her eyes upon the movements of all classes in her wide dominion, on ecclesiastics and laymen, on the regular clergy and secular, on civil society, and political movements. She must be on the watch-tower, discerning in the distance and providing against all dangers; she

* F. Newman accounts the Church infallible in her adoption of devotions, "so far as they imply doctrine" (p. lxxv.).

has to protect the ignorant and weak, to remove scandals, to see to the education of the young, to administer temporalities, to initiate, or at least, to direct all Christian work, and all with a view to the life, health, and strength of Christianity, and the salvation of souls" (pp. lxxx. lxxxi.).

In the fulfilment of this multifarious work, she does not receive a simple gift of infallibility, as in her direct doctrinal teaching: yet, by giving her the latter infallibility, God "indirectly protects her from serious errors in worship and political action also" (pp. xlii., iii.). For instance (p. lxxxiv.), the Pope's infallibility must certainly extend to her canonization of Saints; because the Church "cannot be permitted by God to be led into error on a point of morals by the Supreme Pontiff." And so in a large multitude of similar cases. Still this divine supervision—inesestimable as is its value—

"does not secure her from all dangers as regards the problem which she has to solve. Nothing but the gift of impeccability granted to her authorities would secure them from all liability to mistake in their conduct, policy, words and decisions, in her legislative and her executive, in ecclesiastical and disciplinarian details; and such a gift they have not received. In consequence, however well she may perform her duties on the whole, it will always be easy for her enemies to make a case against her, well founded or not, from the action or interaction, or the chronic collisions or contrasts, or the temporary suspense or delay, of her administration, in her three several departments of duty—her government, her devotions, and her schools—from the conduct of her rulers, her pastors, her divines or her people.

"It is this difficulty lying in the nature of the case, which supplies the staple of those energetic charges and vivid pictures of the inconsistency, double-dealing, and deceit of the Church of Rome, as found in Protestant writings, and in particular in the Lectures and other publications here immediately under consideration" (p. xliii.).

In various portions of his Preface, F. Newman applies this masterly general view to an indefinite number of individual particulars. We cannot give more than a specimen of these applications; but there are one or two which certainly claim to be placed before our readers. And chiefly of all, as to the general charge of practical idolatrousness and superstition, which non-Catholic writers—Mr. Newman inclusively—have ever brought against the Catholic Church. Take one instance, which may represent millions. "A poor Neapolitan crone, who chatters to the crucifix, refers that crucifix in her deep mental consciousness to an Original, who once hung upon a cross in flesh and blood; but is nevertheless puzzle-headed enough to assign virtue to it in itself" (p. lxviii.). Church authorities, forsooth, are chargeable with misprision of heresy, because they rejoice unspeakably in her love of her Saviour, and make no account whatever of what the Protestant calls her "superstition." Why, on such a principle, no one who does not possess sustained logical habits—that is, only an infinitesimal fragment of mankind—can rightly indulge in warm and tender emotion at all towards the image of the crucified Saviour.* The

* We have perhaps even understated our case. Suppose the most logical man alive to have been a tenderly affectionate son, and to be now con-

Church's "formal teaching" then is practically inoperative, unless it be supplemented by a large and rich practical development. In the great majority of cases, we verily believe, those who protest against "superstitions" of this particular kind,* really detest a fundamental principle of religion; they detest the principle, that the heart's warmest and tenderest emotions should be lavished on the great Objects of faith.

On this head F. Newman makes one of those brilliant and suggestive remarks, which are so characteristic of his writings. "In His new Law," he says, Christ "was opening the meaning of the word 'idolatry,' and applying it to various sins; the adoration paid to rich men, the thirst after gain, ambition, and the pride of life: idolatries worse in His judgment than the idolatry of ignorance, but not commonly startling or shocking to educated minds" (p. lxviii.). The argument here implied might be wrought out into a long essay, and bears thinking of again and again. Take some respectable Catholic, regular in his religious duties, and most careful to guard against mortal sin, who is still in greater or less degree a slave to worldliness. He holds with the firmness of faith, that one additional grade of sanctifying grace is indefinitely more precious than any temporal advantage. Yet let us enter into his mind, while he is projecting plans for his daughter's marriage or his son's advancement in life. We shall find there a whole continuous stream of thoughts, which are directly contradictory to the great principle of faith held by him speculatively and abstractedly: thoughts which, if taken by themselves and put down in black and white, are directly heretical. In fact, the Neapolitan crone, whom he probably despises for her "superstition," is far more conformed to the Gospel standard in her habitual judgments than he is himself.

F. Newman justly lays very great stress on the history, related by three different evangelists, of the woman who touched the hem of our Lord's garment. With *her* faith there was mixed real superstition—which we cannot admit concerning the "Neapolitan crone"—because she deliberately expected that "virtue" might "go out" of our Lord without His knowing it. Yet He said to her that it was *her* faith itself—alloyed though it were by superstition—which had made her whole. And then F. Newman thus proceeds:—

"Men talk of our double aspect now; has not the first age a double aspect? Do not such incidents in the Gospel as this, and the miracle on the swine, the pool of Bethesda, the restoration of the servant's ear, the changing water into wine, the coin in the fish's mouth, and the like, form an aspect of Apostolic Christianity very different from that presented by St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle General of St. John? Need men wait for the Mediæval Church in order to make their complaint that the theology of Christianity [is by no means coextensive with] its religious manifestations?"† (p. lxvii.).

templating with many tears the picture of his deceased mother. Will his logic really save him from frequently imagining that the beloved object is herself before his eyes? We do not think so badly of logic.

* We say "of this particular kind." Of course there *are* superstitions, against which the Church is bound earnestly to warn her children.

† F. Newman's words are "*does not accord with its religious manifestations.*" But this expression might be understood to mean, that there is

F. Newman sums up his treatment of the subject in a very vigorous and noteworthy comment :-

"And may I not add that this aspect of our Lord's teaching is quite in keeping with the general drift of His discourses? Again and again He insists on the necessity of faith; but where does He insist on the danger of superstition, an infirmity, which, taking human nature as it is, is the sure companion of faith, when vivid and earnest? Taking human nature as it is, we may surely concede a little superstition, as not the worst of evils, if it be the price of making sure of faith. Of course it need not be the price, and the Church, in her teaching function, will ever be vigilant against the inroad of what is a degradation both of faith and reason: but considering, as Anglicans will allow, how intimately the sacramental system is connected with Christianity, and how feeble and confused is at present the ethical intelligence of the world at large, it is a distant day, at which the Church will find it easy, in her oversight of her populations, to make her Sacerdotal office keep step with her Prophetic. Just now I should be disposed to doubt whether that nation really had the Faith, which is free in all its ranks and classes from all kinds and degrees of what is commonly considered superstition" (pp. lxviii., lxix.).

Closely connected with this question of "superstition," is that which concerns the Catholic cultus of Saints; and F. Newman treats this with characteristic power from p. lxix. to p. lxxiv. It is of momentous importance towards the acquisition of a truly unworldly and mortified spirit, that Christians be carefully trained to vent their religious emotions, not on the Infinite only, but also on finite objects of veneration and supplication. Moreover this belief in finite objects of worship (as F. Newman points out) is most congenial to the human mind; and "polytheism" itself is but "a natural sentiment corrupted" (p. lxxi.).

Another point, to which F. Newman has adverted, has a special interest for ourselves; because during many years we have been in one shape or other dwelling on it. He points out, that the very issuing of an infallible definition often largely depends on questions of expediency. There are of course obvious limits to this statement. Let it be supposed e.g. that some tenet springs up within the Church of such a character, that the mass of Catholics at once recognize it as contradictory to what they have been always taught as a dogma of the Catholic Faith. It becomes the Pope's peremptory and indispensable duty to condemn such a tenet *ex cathedra*; and Honorius was anathematized for no other reason, than his having violated that duty. In all these cases the defined dogma had been in its essence *de fide Catholicâ*, even before its definition. But many defined dogmata are differently circumstanced: e.g. the Immaculate Conception, or Papal Infallibility, or certain truths declared at Orange against the Semi-Pelagians. And very many other doctrines are from time to time infallibly defined, which are not dogmata of the Faith at all, though intimately bound up with the Faith and necessary to its secure protection. As

some *inconsistency* between its theology and its religious manifestations: which of course F. Newman does not for a moment admit. In one or two other passages we have observed a similar ambiguity of expression, which might possibly perhaps engender grave misconception.

regards each of these two latter classes, questions of expediency have largely to be considered by the Pope antecedently to his definition : because Popes are not *teachers* only of Christendom, but also its "head rulers ; and their first duty as such" is "that of securing its peace, union, and consolidation" (p. lxxxii.-iii.). What then is to be done on those occasions, not very unfrequent, "when either a schism is to be encountered or an opportune truth left undecided"? (p. xlii.). No *general* answer can be given, we suppose, to this question, beyond the obvious remark, that whenever the Pope *does* define, assuredly and infallibly his definition is beneficial to the Church and not the reverse.

Another matter treated by F. Newman, on which we have before now more than once written, is the case of Galileo. In pp. lv., lvi., F. Newman admirably explains "the disorder and dismay" which that astronomer's hypothesis must have spread among good Catholics. And F. Newman seems to hold, as we hold ourselves, that even had Galileo's theory been scientifically verified, the Pope might laudably have for a time prohibited its promulgation.*

In treating Galileo's case, F. Newman makes an incidental remark which is both true and important ; viz., that "a proposition may be ever so true, yet at a particular time and place may be 'temerarious,' 'offensive to pious ears' and 'scandalous'" (p. lvi.). There is an entirely different question however, which F. Newman does not consider ; viz., whether a true proposition can possibly be *condemned ex cathedrâ*, as temerarious, offensive to pious ears, and scandalous. We believe the great majority of theologians answer this question in the negative ; because they consider an *ex cathedrâ* censure to imply, that the propositions are *in themselves* deserving of the censure pronounced, and not merely "at a particular time and place." (See Murray de Ecclesiâ, dis. xvii., n. 31.)

Space obliges us here to desist from further examples of F. Newman's argument. We admit that occasionally we find incidental statements, with which we cannot concur ; and there is one passage of which we confess ourselves unable to conjecture the sense. The passage is so remarkable, that we feel bound to place it before our readers, in the hope that more competent judges may pronounce both on its meaning and on its truth.

"It is so ordered on high" [says F. Newman] "that in our day Holy Church should present just that aspect to my countrymen, which is most consonant with their ingrained prejudices against her, most unpromising for their conversion ; and what can one writer do to counteract this misfortune?" (p. xxxvii.).

On the whole, however, we heartily admire this most interesting and powerful Preface. We may doubt indeed, whether the particular objection, to which F. Newman therein replies, either possesses so much apparent argumentative force or exercises so much practical influence

* We have more than once pointed out that, instead of being scientifically verified, Galileo's alleged discovery was hardly more than what is vulgarly called a "fluke."

as he supposes. But it has given him the occasion of setting forth, with characteristic power and eloquence, a number of profoundly important Catholic truths.

The Life and Times of Thomas Becket. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Parts I. to IV. (*The Nineteenth Century*, June to September, 1877.)
The Murder of Thomas Becket. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. (*The Nineteenth Century*, October, 1877.)

ON November 16th, 1538, after the formality of a posthumous trial at Westminster, King Henry VIII. issued a proclamation stating that "Forasmuch as it now clearly appeared that Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot excited by his own obstinacy and intemperate language, and had afterwards been canonized by the Bishop of Rome as the champion of his usurped authority, the king's majesty thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects that he was no saint, but rather a rebel and traitor to his prince; and therefore strictly charged and commanded that he should not be esteemed or called a saint, that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed, the festivals in his honour be abolished, and his name and remembrance be erased out of all books, under pain of his majesty's indignation and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure."* Mr. James Anthony Froude might very well have made this proclamation the text or key-note of his five articles in the *Nineteenth Century*. The thesis he maintains is identical with that set forth by Henry VIII. in his proclamation against the memory of S. Thomas of Canterbury.

Those who have read Mr. Froude's strange narrative of the history of England under Henry VIII. and his three children will not be surprised to find that, in treating of the struggle between S. Thomas and Henry II., he has set himself to vilify the archbishop and justify the king at any cost. A more thoroughly prejudiced "historical" essay we have seldom if ever seen. It professes to be founded on the valuable "Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket"† published by the Master of the Rolls as one of the Record Office Series. It is really based upon Mr. Froude's own preconceived notions of the times of S. Thomas, of the man's character, and of the principles for which he contended. Given as the subject an historical character whose career was a stormy one, and whose name has become the watchword of a cause; given as the writer an "historian" who invariably writes with much greater attention to the moral he intends to point than to the facts he details, and who is noted for his prejudices both in the sphere of religion and of politics; and given as this writer's method the collection of all that will tell against the man of whom he writes, whether it be the admissions of friends or the invectives

* Lingard, v. 110, edition of 1849.

† "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury" (canonized by Pope Alexander III. A.D. 1173), edited by James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 2 vols. London: 1875-76.

of enemies, and the disregard of nearly all that will tell in the opposite direction, and the result will certainly be something very like these articles on "Thomas Becket." This may be very clever, but it is not history, and no parade of historical impartiality and scientific method will make it history.

We cannot here criticise Mr. Froude in detail. To reply fully to these five articles would require at least a long article in our pages, and it is very doubtful whether Mr. Froude's attack deserves so elaborate an answer. We shall therefore content ourselves with pointing out some of the fallacies and misstatements which to our mind make it quite worthless as an historical study. Mr. Froude begins by making an attempt to excite prejudice against the Church and Churchmen generally of the twelfth century, in order that some part of this prejudice may attach to Becket, and the name of a reformer of discipline and morals may be claimed for Henry as opposed to the Church. There were doubtless many evils and many abuses in the twelfth century, for it was a period when the German emperors were striving to force unfit men into the supreme government of the Church by setting up antipopes, and when lesser sovereigns were imitating them by compelling the chapters to accept at their hands worldly-minded bishops, and knights and nobles again followed their kings by thrusting their dissolute dependents into benefices. The satire and the remonstrance of Nigellus, on which Mr. Froude mainly relies for evidence, is a protest against this state of things, i.e. against lay interference and tate interference with the Church, which was the real source of these evils. It was precisely against this that S. Thomas fought, and it is remarkable that among the worldly-minded prelates denounced by Nigellus as having been improperly thrust into a see, we find S. Thomas's great opponent, Roger of York; and that the corrupt, licentious abbot of Canterbury, alluded to by Mr. Froude at page 551, was, as he himself informs us, the host who received the four knights when they came to Canterbury to take the archbishop's life. There were evils and terrible evils in the twelfth century, no doubt, but there were men like S. Bernard, S. Bruno, and S. Thomas to struggle against them.

Mr. Froude then endeavours to show that Becket's life, as archdeacon of Canterbury and chancellor of the kingdom, before he became priest and archbishop, was a very unsaintly one. He speaks of him as a cruel, overbearing man, and in support of the charge he makes Grim say: "The persons that he slew, the persons that he robbed of their property, no one can enumerate. Attended by a large company of knights, he would assail whole communities, destroy cities and towns, villages and farms, and, without remorse or pity, give them to devouring flames" (p. 560). But Grim does not say this—it is a mistranslation. "*Quantis rerum proscscriptionem intulerit?*" says Grim, which does not mean "how many he robbed," but "on how many he inflicted legal confiscation." Again, Grim uses the words "*aggressus est*," "*delevit*," &c., which mean, "he attacked," "he destroyed"; not "he would attack," "he would destroy." Grim evidently refers to Becket's acts on a single occasion as the king's lieutenant in France, —ruthless acts it may be, but strictly legal and according to the custom

of the time. Mr. Froude admits as much in the second article, where he says (p. 844), "Grim perhaps, when accusing him of rapine and murder, was referring to a suppression of a disturbance in Aquitaine." Even here there is another fallacy: if Grim referred to the suppression of a rebellion, there was no murder; but Mr. Froude is anxious to make S. Thomas a man of blood, and so he twists his own meaning out of the passage, and makes it appear to have been a record of S. Thomas's general habit as chancellor, only hinting, much further on, that it "perhaps" referred to a special occasion.

It is certain that, as a public man, S. Thomas was popular while chancellor, and it would be easy to show that Mr. Froude's attacks upon his character at this period are simple calumny. His biographers very clearly indicate that Becket, notwithstanding the king's efforts to ensnare him, was uncorrupted in the midst of a dissolute court; and, quite incidentally, we learn from more than one passage in contemporary writers, that even then he practised in secret those austerities which became his constant custom in his later life.* Then Mr. Froude would have us believe that when Henry proposed to secure the promotion of the chancellor to the see of Canterbury, in order to carry his ecclesiastical policy into effect, Becket allowed him to believe that, as archbishop, he would be found pliant. "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Froude, "that he must have allowed the king to form his plans without having cautioned him that from himself there was to be looked for nothing but opposition." To our mind, on this point it is better to believe the distinct statement of two at least of his contemporary biographers, than the scientific deductions of Mr. Froude; and if they are right, Henry had distinct warning from Becket's own mouth, and yet persisted in offering the bishopric to him, until his friends persuaded him to accept it. And this persistence was quite of a part with Henry's character and subsequent action. Becket had done him good service as chancellor, and if he could make him archbishop, and then secure his assent to his policy, Church and State would be united in his hands. For such a proceeding he had a living example before him. "Barbarossa," says Mr. Froude, "was finding the value of such a combination in Germany, where, with the Archbishop of Cologne for chancellor of the empire, he was carrying out an ecclesiastical revolution." Barbarossa, in fact, with his primate-chancellor had plunged into schism, and set up a national Church. Becket, having had the primacy forced upon him, foiled Henry's project of setting up a national Church in England.

Then being made archbishop, Becket, if we are to adopt Mr. Froude's theory, played the part of a consummate hypocrite in order to gain influence over the clergy and the people by a false reputation for sanctity.

* Richard Hurrell Froude, whose estimate of S. Thomas is very different from Mr. J. A. Froude's, very justly remarks that we may rely upon what the biographers of S. Thomas tell us of his virtues as chancellor, and points out that, if anything, they would be naturally inclined to depreciate his life in the world in order to heighten the contrast to his life as an ecclesiastic.—"Remains of R. H. Froude," part ii. vol. ii. p. 574.

Now, had this been Becket's policy, he could have found no better means of obtaining his object than by affecting an austere life, yet he kept a rich table, and his severe penances were unknown except to one man, his chaplain, until, on the terrible night after his martyrdom, the monks found the hair shirt under his robes, and the marks of the discipline upon his shoulders. Here, at least, there was neither pretence, ostentation, nor hypocrisy. This charge of playing a part made so recklessly against S. Thomas is enough to show the prejudice that runs through the whole narrative of Mr. Froude. S. Thomas's first act as bishop was to resign the chancellorship. This, says Mr. Froude, was the first step in his ambitious policy of concentrating all the power in the kingdom in his hands,—a very singular step indeed, if this were his object. Had he been the scheming ambitious man he is represented by Mr. Froude to have been, he would have held both the primacy and the chancellorship, and, like Reginald of Cologne, he would have had at once the highest civil and ecclesiastical power in his hands.

Then came the dispute with the king. We cannot enter in detail into Mr. Froude's treatment of it, but we must touch upon some points in order to show the unsoundness of his method. The actual incident which immediately gave rise to it was the homicide or manslaughter committed by the Canon de Brois. With the consent of the spiritual courts, de Brois had paid a fine to the relatives of the deceased; they had declared themselves satisfied, and the matter was at an end. Henry, with an affected zeal for justice, insisted on de Brois being given up to the lay tribunals for punishment. S. Thomas rightly resisted this claim: first because it was his duty to uphold the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts (the only courts, let us remark in passing, which had fixed laws and principles and a regular procedure); secondly, because de Brois had already fully satisfied justice. Mr. Froude, looking at the affair with the eyes of a modern jurist, holds that de Brois had not given any real satisfaction for his crime. He thinks, apparently, that de Brois should have been hanged; he might insist with equally good reason that he should have been tried by a jury at the Central Criminal Court. We must look at the matter, not from our standpoint, but from that of the twelfth century. De Brois, by paying the sum fixed by the relatives of the deceased, had fully satisfied the traditional law of the day, a law at least as old as Alfred's times. So little were our modern ideas on homicide in force in the twelfth century, that in this very reign of Henry II. no man could prosecute another for a homicide unless the prosecutor were connected with the deceased by ties of blood, vassalage, or suzerainty. The affair of de Brois is a test case. Mr. Froude's method of treating it is to judge it by our existing laws and ideas. Is this history?

Mr. Froude endeavours to show that the conflict was one in which the king was from the first anxious for reconciliation, the Pope averse to any resistance, and Becket alone the cause of troubles and dissensions which he wilfully prolonged after any motive for them was at an end. Now, it is abundantly clear, that although at times his desire for peace made him hesitate to push matters to extremities, the Pope never accepted the cus-

toma, and was on Becket's side to the end. "Alexander," says Mr. Froude, "had no liking for Becket. He had known him long, and had no belief in the lately-assumed airs of sanctity" (p. 847). How does Mr. Froude know this? Can he quote a single line from any authority in support of either assumption? Again, he speaks of Alexander as "harassed on both sides, knowing perfectly well on which side justice lay, yet not daring to accept what, after all that had passed, would be construed into a defeat of the Church" (p. 223). Here there is a perfectly gratuitous assumption that the Pope acted against his conscience. The Pope knew perfectly well that Henry was in the wrong. S. Thomas had written to him from his exile, "Be pleased to read over the Bill of those reprobate usages which he claims against the Church, and on account of which I am banished, and your Holiness will see clearly that before I made any stand he had stopped the mouths of all who would appeal to your court, prohibited all ecclesiastical persons from crossing the sea till an oath had been exacted from them; suffocated the rights of elections; drawn all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, before his own courts; and run his dagger into every liberty of the Church."* As for Henry's desire for reconciliation, it was really a desire to obtain the archbishop's submission. In all the earlier attempts at closing the dispute Henry insisted on the acceptance of the Constitutions of Clarendon. "The 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12 of these constitutions violated the liberties of the Church in the immunity of the clergy and of its goods, the freedom of its tribunals, elections, and appeals."† The archbishop, therefore, could accept no peace of which their acceptance was a condition. In the conference at Montmartre, brought about by the mediation of King Louis, the Constitutions were not mentioned; S. Thomas, therefore, was ready to come to an agreement with the king, and return to England. He asked Henry for the kiss of peace which would seal the reconciliation, but the king refused it. "Becket knew," says Mr. Froude, "that the kiss must be withheld till he had given proofs that he meant to carry out his engagements" (p. 225). But why should the kiss be withheld? Was this the reason that Henry alleged? No, he told S. Thomas plainly that he had made an oath never to give it to him and could not break it. This wretched pretext was certainly not reassuring, and King Louis had already warned Becket not to return to England without the kiss of peace. The attempt at conciliation failed. Another attempt at Freteval was successful. What were the exact terms of the agreement we do not know. There was a new subject of dispute to be arranged in the violation of the rights of the see of Canterbury by Roger of York having crowned the young king. One would think, from Mr. Froude's narrative, that the Bull allowing Henry to have his son, the young king, crowned by any bishop he might select, was a recent one, but it was really nine years old, and had been issued after the death of Theobald, while the see of Canterbury was vacant. Alexander had sent the bishops an order not to officiate at the coronation, which, however, pro-

* "Vita S. Thomæ," ed. Gilles, tom. iii. p. 53.

† Card. Manning's "Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 272.

bably failed to reach them. The violation of the rights of his see must have seemed a serious matter to S. Thomas, when he saw one of his chief rights transferred to the servile prelate who from the outset had sided with the king against the liberties of the Church. He had with him letters of excommunication from the Pope, against Roger of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, who had assisted him. Mr. Froude says that at Freteval S. Thomas must have agreed not to publish these bulls : the real question is, not whether he *must have done* it, but whether he *did*. We have no proof that he did ; we have S. Thomas's own direct assertion that the king had consented to this excommunication, and we have the assertions of his biographers that Henry had promised that all who had sown enmity between him and the see of Canterbury should be punished. It seems to us probable that the truth is that Henry at Freteval had consented to the excommunications being issued in the event of Roger and the two bishops refusing satisfaction to the see of Canterbury. On landing in England, however, S. Thomas found the three bishops leagued with Ranulf de Broc, who in his absence had held and despoiled the lands of his see. He had information that they were waiting to search him and seize any bulls of excommunication that he held. Even Mr. Froude allows that this was their design. He at once excommunicated Roger, Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and Ranulf de Broc. The step may have been a hasty one, perhaps it was imprudent, but they had given him ample provocation, and his act was fully justified. A new storm immediately burst out, which ended in the martyrdom at Canterbury.

The joy of the people and the greater portion of the nobles and clergy at the return of S. Thomas is a strong testimony in his favour. They felt that he was their champion against the unlimited power of the Crown. Mr. Froude insinuates that he was plotting rebellion ; he gives no proof, and had there been an atom of it, Henry or the four knights would certainly have made the charge. Of the last days of S. Thomas's life we need say little. Even in Mr. Froude's hostile pages the figure of the martyred prelate stands out like that of a giant. It is easy to laugh at his complaints, in his sermon on Christmas Day, that Ranulf de Broc had seized his wine, and cut off the tail of his sumpter mule ; but these were only the latest insults of the man who, as Mr. Froude himself tells us, had swept the harvest off his lands, and left the Palace of Canterbury half empty and desolate. The last scene of all is in itself enough to vindicate the memory of S. Thomas. He was no sensual, worldly-minded, ambitious man, who fell under the swords of Fitzurse and his comrades, saying with his last breath, " In the name of Christ and in the defence of His Church I am ready to die." And we have a further defence of his conduct in the public document by which Henry, in the following words, revoked his claim :—" We, Henry, by the grace of God King of England, &c., publicly and openly revoke, abdicate, renounce, and resign all those evil 'customs' at variance with the ancient liberties of the Church in England, sinfully introduced by us, and we altogether renounce for ourselves and for our heirs, all and every one of them, for which blessed Thomas, late Archbishop of Canterbury, contended even unto death ; and we grant, for our-

selves and our heirs that the church of Canterbury and all other churches in England be free, and have all liberties inviolate as they were used before our coronation." *

We are not surprised at seeing Mr. Froude assailing the memory of the man who asserted these principles and won this victory for the Church, nor, bearing in mind some of Mr. Froude's former performances, are we surprised to find that his narrative is singularly one-sided, and his reasoning most transparently fallacious.

Hours of Thought on Sacred Things. By JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D.
Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1877.

"TO possess God, a man must first of all be something which can possess God." This is the epigraph which Mr. Martineau has set on the title-page of his new volume. The words are happily chosen, not only because they contain pregnant and powerful thought, but still more because they so distinctly point out to us the aim which Mr. Martineau has kept in view. He may count upon winning the interest of persons whose attachment to religion never has, and probably never will be shaken: but these "hours of thought" were meant in the first place, we imagine, for another and, it must be feared, a larger class. How many are there not, who still partake in the services of this or that church, and would shrink from abjuring the system in which they were bred up, but who, just as instinctively, will suffer no interference from their so-called creed in any matter which affects their conduct or their genuine thought and temper? Such men as these are plentiful; and the audience which they make up requires, in the pulpit, a style of eloquence, formerly almost unknown, and at this moment much seldomer to be heard than any one, who should dwell only upon the need there is of it, could conjecture.

For, we suppose, the difficulty of preaching effectively lies not so much in the remoteness of the objects treated from our customary experience, as in their want of affinity with the ideals which we reverence without knowing it. If our ideal world were the same with that which a Christian preacher delineates, surely there would not need such torrents of eloquence to carry us on into the corresponding action. We should admit the truth and force of his presentment; and the coldest logic, arguing from premisses which were to us their own evidence, and have become even a part of our nature, would kindle the imagination as soon as it had convinced the reason. But those who frequent non-Catholic churches on Sunday are far from being all enthusiastic believers; no name can suit them less than that of "the faithful." The scientific method, held in boundless veneration by those who have little skill in it or none at all, has quenched the old enthusiasms, and solemnly refuses to approve whatsoever things it can neither express in a formula, nor derive from material premisses by any calculus. Science has indoctrinated

* "Vita S. Thomæ," vol. ii. p. 267, ed. Giles.

the world with its proper prejudice against the inexplicable: "How shall we allow that to rule over us which declares itself of too high, or too subtle, or too sacred a nature to be exhausted in our definitions?" And the long hours spent in dividing and combining molecules render those whom the scientific method has already biassed incapable of feeling respect—to say nothing of devout adoration—for those things which are even less tangible than matter in its ultimate elements. How, then, may the preacher hope to dwell profitably upon themes which no longer appeal to a dominant sense in his hearers? It is true that the modern critic, when at his best, feels disposed to treat all faiths with gentle impartiality, neither hating nor scorning them. But we cannot live religiously, unless, in the presence of divine objects, our critical humour gives place to the simple child-like sense which makes us loving and trustful, and lays every suspicion to sleep. Now this is the very temper—implying as it does an ingenuous belief in goodness—which physical sciences tend to depreciate as the fruit of idle poetry. "This is the misgiving which weakens the present age for great enterprises, and fills it with a certain tolerant sadness, patient of human trusts, but uninspired by them." The age has no heart, or thinks that the heart cannot be, in any sense, a source of knowledge.

Not all who live in a century are of the century—some because they have passed in thought beyond it to a higher world than the world of time; some because its movements have never touched upon their lives. But there must be many now, suffering under the temptations of the critical spirit, who cannot escape moods in which melancholy and cynicism blend together; and how is such a malady to be cured? A demonstration is needed, not that faith in Christ and in the divine goodness is "sweet"—for this every one knows—but that it is "reasonable" as well. The spiritual, however, is not a fiction because physical science cannot reveal it; and if we hold that the lower experiences are true, how is it that we so lightly call the higher in question? Some things we come to know "by observation from without"; but those which alone we can love must be learned "by affection taking up its abode within." "He who has only the ocular perception prides himself on seeing the plain reality just as it is He to whom the eye is but the spirit's instrument feels sure there is no falsehood in his vision, and answers, 'Thou dull mortal, thy lens and retina are good; but there is something opaque which the optician cannot reach.'" The soul's communion with God takes place in such depths of the human and divine life as material science can assuredly never sound, and the existence of which, therefore, it must be incompetent to deny. But that the cynic who has missed the greatness which belongs to humanity,—who can only grow pale and wrathful because love has so wide an influence in the world, and because genius defies explanation, and poetry is ever more attractive to mankind than the cleverest satirical prose—that he should not find a justification for religion is rather to be expected than wondered at. His temper must undergo conversion, before any truths of Christian theology can affect him, or seem worthy that he should take notice of them. Revelation is given to those who feel how much they need it; but now there are very

many educated Protestants, whose training has blunted their religious sensibilities; and it is imperatively required that some potent, and, if such a thing can be, some irresistibly-working agent should render them once more capable of receiving spiritual impressions. They must be taught to appreciate not only science but life, and to read in all things the divine significance which lower and meaner interpretations have so pitifully marred.

Teachers coming from various schools of thought—and we need only mention the names of Emerson, Matthew Arnold, Newman, and George Eliot, to show how various the schools are—have essayed to deal with this unpromising class. The chief effort in all who make the essay must be to convince their audience that the invisible should rule the visible, and that the spiritual life is the noblest which man can pursue. Having to urge elementary principles like these, a teacher, even when he believes in Christianity as a revelation beyond nature, and as containing Divine and super-rational mysteries, will not think it his duty to enlarge upon them. How far Mr. Martineau believes in the supernatural we have no means of guessing; on all such points his words, in this volume, are ambiguous. Occasionally, he falls into serious mistakes, not only as regards the explanations of Holy Scripture which he offers us, but in his view of our Divine Lord. He has uttered some few thoughts which a Catholic will be pained at reading. Moreover, he has now and then strained the general arguments which lead him to enforce the highest motives of religion, so as to deny that lower motives are at all permissible. He will attribute all to love, nothing to fear; and does not enough consider those who are weak, morally inconsistent, of mixed conduct and motive, but yet not to be called vicious-minded. And his language is not so guarded as would seem to be required when making much of God's presence and power in the universe: for the danger of recommending pantheism as the cure of scientific disbelief in God is greater than people are generally apt to imagine. And now we have alluded to nearly all the defects of Mr. Martineau's teaching which we have observed. He shows that he has studied the modern books well and thoroughly; his merits and his shortcomings remind us of Emerson, but we catch in his writings certain tones which Emerson always carefully suppressed in his own, the tones of a very loving and warm heart, much tried, but ever-earnest and faithful.

The book is full of knowledge of life, and of keen metaphysical and ethical reflections. It deserves to be read over and over again, and its argument to be laid to heart. Its main teaching does not admit of refutation, and we are strongly drawn to think there is no subject which is of more importance at present than that of the claims of religion when contrasted with science. Mr. Martineau has given us an admirable treatment of it, for which we cannot but feel deeply grateful. One remark we will add: the principles and the temper of mind, which he takes to be so indispensable for the acquisition of religion, are those which Catholics rest upon to justify their belief that our Lord is the Consubstantial Son of God, and that the Roman Church is the Living Voice of the Holy Ghost.

The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions. By the Rev. ALFRED WELD, of the Society of Jesus. Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE fathers of the Society of Jesus have so often been accused of an undue leaning to the interests of their own body, that we think it well to remark that the twenty-second volume of the "Quarterly Series" issued under their direction has been reached before the momentous subject of their suppression has been opened. It is true, as F. Weld says in his admirable introduction to this, the first instalment of the shameful tale, "that it is a subject on which a member of the order would for many reasons wish to be silent"; for those who possess the most complete knowledge of its details are bound to present them the most dispassionately to the world, while it is yet a story so full of cruelty, of craft, of malignant hatred to the Church, and we are bound to add of guilt and weakness in its dignitaries, that it is difficult to restrain the overwhelming feelings of indignation which it excites. It has been well done to entrust the telling of this story to F. Weld, and his readers will not fail to appreciate the painstaking research and clear unravelling of thread after thread of the vast conspiracy, which is laid bare to view in its fulness, though with the dignity of historic calm. F. Weld does not either affect to shrink from bringing forward full evidence of the true causes of the hatred borne to the order, which chiefly lay in its being from its earliest beginning a sword against heresy and a bulwark to the Church. He instances the well-known words of Pope Clement XIII. in 1762 to the King of France. "We come once more, Sire, to implore the powerful protection of your Majesty, but it is no longer in favour of the religious of the Society of Jesus alone, or in their interest, that we implore your powerful protection, it is for the sake of religion itself whose cause is intimately bound up with theirs." From the very beginning to its temporary destruction the Society has enjoyed this great testimony, that the destroyers of religion have hated it, and sought its removal as the most vexatious obstacle to their plans. They could neither win it nor overcome; therefore the weapons whetted against its Lord and Head must be fleshed first upon His faithful body-guard. Its fruitfulness, again, F. Weld observes, was another source of the hatred borne to the Society. Wonderful to say, in 1599, the French fathers were able to declare to Henri Quatre that they had educated four hundred thousand boys whose faith and conduct were a living witness to the Church in a very corrupt age. But bad as was that age, there were still worse evils to come, and when Jansenism had spread itself throughout France as the network of tares will spread its roots over a springing field of grain, the Society was sold to the Jansenists by Madame de Pompadour. About the time when this infamous alliance between profligacy and religious error was sealed, the vital blow was given to the order in Portugal by the notorious minister the Marquis de Pombal. Of this remarkable man, Sebastian Joseph Carvalho, no pleasant picture is drawn even by those who conspired with him for their own ends. Gigantic in height, singularly handsome, yet repulsive and coarse in his manners, his associates

found him a rude if not a brutal comrade, overbearing and presumptuous in council, and irrationally violent and headstrong if opposed. When his secret cruelties came to light after his fall, it was found that he had put to death or condemned to cruel imprisonment above nine thousand persons, of whom more than a third part were wholly innocent of crime. Yet for twenty years this violent and vindictive minister, by his boundless audacity and seeming zeal for justice, had been able to give the law to Europe, and to bend even men like the French minister, Choiseul, to his will. The ever-memorable story of the destruction of the Jesuits' work in Paraguay by Pombal's craft is well unfolded in this volume; and it seems impossible that Portugal should not suffer heavily for the wanton cruelties then exercised on those faithful Christian populations, who were driven from their peaceful villages and life of Paradise through the vilest spirit of greed. The representations of the Jesuits at that time, and their imploring petitions for their innocent and defenceless flocks, were of course, largely made use of by Pombal as weapons for the destruction of the Society. Branded as seditious excitors of rebellion to the Portuguese governors, absurdly accused of entering into unhallowed and forbidden commerce, of amassing wealth by the plunder of their flocks, while inciting those flocks to the lowest vices,—even the extraordinary holiness and self-sacrifice of the Jesuits' lives failed to bear them harmless at the Portuguese court. It might be thought that the very absurdity of such charges should have sheltered them from condemnation at Rome; but unhappily there also the jealousy of other orders, and the threats and vast professions of zeal of Pombal, either blinded or terrified those appointed to examine the matter. Pombal finally succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Cardinal Saldanha as Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon; when, having forced him into the league against the Jesuits, their colleges were closed, their classes broken up, and house after house was forcibly entered, and the inmates driven into exile. The record of the brutal cruelty accompanying this wholesale expulsion of grey-haired men, worn and aged by their devoted service in foreign missions, is excellently summed up by F. Weld in his clear, unvarnished, but most touching narrative, which should surely move even the enemies of the Society to tears. After enduring a storm of persecution and sufferings in a Catholic country, and from cardinals and prelates of the Church, which could scarcely be surpassed if they had been undergone for the Faith in a pagan land, the Portuguese Jesuit Fathers received their fitting reward. When the disgraced minister, Pombal, had been finally unmasked, dismissed, and, after his death deprived, by some strange chance, of burial for fifty years, the first act of the restored Society in Portugal was to celebrate Mass for the soul of their deadly persecutor and enemy. For, by one of those cycles of events which touch us so marvellously in the history of the Church, Pombal was the first place in which the Jesuits were received again after the Society had been driven from Portugal. It has been well done, therefore, to prefix to this most instructive record these words, "*Maledicimus et benedicimus, persecutionem patimur et sustinemus, blasphemamur et obsecramus.*"

Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Historic Facts illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By HENRY FOLEY, S. J. Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE two bulky volumes forming the first, second, third, and fourth series of these records, have been sent out from the Manresa or Jesuits' press at Roehampton, with all the care and accuracy of detail for which Mr. Foley is known. The division of series follows the division of the English Province of the Society into "Colleges," as the various Jesuit districts are termed; thus the Colleges of St. Ignatius, St. Aloysius, St. Chad, the Immaculate Conception, the Holy Apostles, and St. Dominic or St. Hugh, represent the London, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire districts, in all of which the Jesuit Fathers have faithfully toiled and suffered, and which they have hallowed with their blood. At first sight of these two somewhat ponderous and unwieldy volumes, the reader might perhaps feel inclined to think it a needless labour to follow the record of so many lives which must necessarily have a great sameness, and in many cases the same poverty of detail. But in going through the roll, drawn up with such unwearied and loving patience by B. Foley, of these Colleges, especially where the dearth of Catholics is now most lamentable, and where there are whole districts in which scarcely a single altar is raised for the sacrifice of the Mass, we cannot but be struck with wonder at the number of missions opened and served by the Jesuits in the midst of peril, as well as at their persistent courage and dauntless labours in keeping them up. In the Suffolk college, for instance, we read the names of forty missions or stations under their care, in some of which, as has been over and over again their lot, others have entered into their harvest. Thus, among others, Cossey, Ingatestone, Kelvedon, Sawston, and Thorndon still bear the fruits springing from the seed sown and cherished in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Fathers. The first volume and series of these records contains several very interesting lives; such as those of F. Southwell, F. Morse, and F. Page. The letters of F. Rivers, and the account of F. Campian's seizure at the curious old manor-house of Lyford in Berkshire, part of which is still remaining, must not be passed over, and both these ample volumes lend their clear undoubted testimony to the "cloud of witnesses" who thus, in the Society alone, hallowed their calling by the most laborious apostleship under every circumstance of ignominy and death. We rejoice to find, among the abundant memorials of the English Jesuits, a full account of the death of F. Arrowsmith, and some of the miracles worked by the "Holy Hand." Those who have ever lived in the neighbourhood of Garswood can bear full witness to the numberless cures which the hand of F. Arrowsmith, and the linen which touches it, work from year to year.

Life of Saint Willibrord, Archbishop of Utrecht, and Apostle of Holland.
London : Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE story of the life of the Saxon Saint is founded upon the accounts given by Bede and Alcuin. Willibrord was still living in the time of Bede, and Alcuin wrote only fifty years after the death of the saint, whom he describes as frank and kindly, with a "beaming countenance and a merry heart." During his fifty years of missionary labour, he preached the faith, establishing monasteries, and baptizing the heathen of the fierce northern race, over almost all the wide district of country between the Mæse, the Moselle, and the Rhine. He also passed into "further Friesland, Oldenburg, Hanover, and Holstein, visiting the isle of Heligoland, and perhaps Denmark proper." He came immediately before the time of St. Boniface, and partly contemporary with his labours; and before leaving England he had been brought up from his early boyhood at Ripon, where the great Saint Wilfred was building his new monastery of hewn stone. All this is beautifully told in the narrative before us. It abounds in little graphic life-touches, which make it very pleasant reading. For instance, the incident of Rāthbod's unfinished baptism enlightens us more than many words as to the nature of the men with whom Willibrord had to deal. It was at a late period of his ministry that he entered the dominions of Rāthbod; but before he had set out on his labours, another apostle, Wūlfram, had once almost won over to Christianity the fierce monarch of the Frisons. Already the king had placed one foot in the water, when, stopping suddenly, he asked, "Where, O stranger, do you say that the greater part of my chiefs, my free and noble Frisons are, in the heaven which as a Christian you promise me, or in the hell to which you say all the unchristened must go?" Wūlfram, not concealing the truth, answered that "none but christened men were in heaven"; then said the wild king in anger and scorn, "I would rather, if it be so, go and live for ever with my Frison nobles in hell, than go to heaven in company with a few outcast strangers."

The life of St. Willibrord is followed by a life of St. Lioba or Love, a kinswoman of St. Boniface, who after spending the first years of her life in the nunnery of Wimburn, in Dorsetshire, was called by him to come with some of the sisters and aid him in his labours in Germany. The picture given here of the history of the Saxon virgin is detailed and replete with life, notwithstanding the great distance the world has rolled on since her time. Here we see her, simple and guileless, a nun almost from her childhood, fascinating all who came across her bright path, by the kindness of her loving nature, and winning unsought admiration by her wisdom and learning. There is a great charm about the glimpse of the convent of Wimburn, ruled by the Abbess Tetta, and sheltering no less than five hundred maidens consecrated to God, many of them being princesses and daughters of Danes. It is not surprising to learn that their time was divided between labour, manuscript copying, psalmody, and prayer; but it will surprise some to hear that Lioba learned there the rules of verse, read unceasingly, and composed Latin poetry.

This little volume was written thirty-three years ago, and is only now published with its original frontispiece, a beautiful design of mediæval character by Welby Pugin. All through the book there is easy-flowing pleasant reading, because of the appropriate, simple, Saxon English.

Life-sketch of Sister Clare Boylan, Superior of the Sisters of Charity in Drogheda. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1877.

A NEAR view of a noble character—the briefly given sketch of a life of arduous labour and great holiness, which closed only so lately as the summer of 1876. Sister Clare Boylan was not only distinguished by those hidden merits which proved her a true daughter of St. Vincent; but also by qualities which caused her to be appreciated, even from a worldly point of view, wherever she went. Strength of mind, untiring energy, prudence and tact, were hers in no ordinary degree; and thus she was well fitted for her place in an order whose work compels it constantly to mingle with the world. Her labours were not in one but in many lands, but everywhere she was the same, whole-hearted in her work, winning universal love and respect, and succeeding in every undertaking, as if some special blessing attended her steps. During the Crimean War she was in the hospitals of Constantinople. Then, at the age of twenty-four, she was placed in charge of a convent at Smyrna. Next we find her in England, first in the London house at Carlisle-place, where she was engaged in the difficult mission of visiting the poor in their own homes, and inducing them to return to the practice of religion. Only she and another sister were employed in this branch of zealous charity. After two years, Sister Clare was removed to Little Crosby, near Liverpool, a quiet Lancashire village that never let go its faith, and that holds it still, while it lies outside the stir of the world, a Catholic community, with its church, its old stone wayside cross, and its “great house.” From thence, despite the protests and pleadings of priest and people, Sister Clare Boylan was removed to a more active scene, that stood more in need of such help as hers; and, once again in her own country, she became Superior of the convent at Drogheda, where in the midst of her labours she was suddenly called to her rest.

In the sketch of her work during the Crimean war, we are told that about two hundred Sisters of Charity assisted in ambulance and hospital duties, working when the fearful scourge of the cholera came, from four o’clock in the morning till nine at night. In the case of about one-sixth of these heroines of charity, life itself was sacrificed. At Scutari, at Gallipoli, Athens, and Varna, their chief labours went on. Besides the work in the hospitals, they were accustomed to meet the boats coming in from the Crimea with a “dismal freight of sick and wounded.” Many a soldier’s life was rescued by their timely aid, when, the moment a vessel was moored, they “precipitated themselves into the scene of misery below,” where many had already expired during the voyage.

It is sufficient to say that these few pages are the chronicle of the work and virtues of a Sister of Charity, to imply that they are also the record of unremitting self-sacrifice and unconscious heroism.

Miniature Lives of the Saints for Every Day in the Year. Edited by HENRY SEBASTIAN BOWDEN, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1877. (In two volumes.)

THIS publication is a happy thought so happily carried out, that the most exacting of readers or critics could not find anything in it that does not merit praise. For many obvious reasons it is a great boon to have at hand the "Lives of the Saints for Every Day in the Year" compressed into two small volumes, written with literary ability that is conspicuous, and "in which great care has been taken to insure historical accuracy." Valuable, however, as the "Lives" are in their collected form, the chief purpose of their publication is to furnish loose leaves for distribution, having on one side a short account of the Saint, and on the other a characteristic virtue, a brief exhortation, a maxim usually of the Saint, and an appropriate text from Scripture. The practice of drawing by lot the name of a Saint, and choosing him as a special patron for a certain time, is a popular devotion; and the Fathers of the Oratory, with whom the custom has prevailed from the time of S. Philip, have compiled the present series with a view of encouraging and extending it. In the preface to the "Lives" we have some interesting examples of the antiquity of the pious exercise. Surius relates in his life of S. Elizabeth of Hungary, that she prayed that she might receive for her patron the virgin Apostle S. John, and that she straightway drew his name three successive times. S. Philip adopted the custom, which was prevalent in his time, and prescribed it for the brothers of the Oratory. S. Francis Borgia, who as Duke of Gandia had practised the devotion in his household, introduced it into the Society of Jesus. We find also that the learned Papebroke, whose talents found adequate scope in the vast *Acta Sanctorum*, compiled a series of lives, with the same intention as that which inspires the series before us. We cannot name another work in the English language which has received so large a contribution of the highest Catholic intelligence as the "Miniature Lives of the Saints." His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, Bishop Hedley, Dr. Newman and other Fathers of the Oratory, Dr. Northcote, Dr. Todd, F. Bridgett, and a host of well-known Catholic writers, have compiled the little work, and have chosen their particular subjects for personal reasons, that have made their contributions offerings of love. Under such circumstances we have nothing to do, but to commend the volumes to our readers, with an earnestness even beyond that which usually accompanies a notice of the best work.

The Paradise of the Christian Soul. Translated from the Latin.
London : Burns & Oates. 1877.

THERE is no prayer-book that could more justly claim to be called *Catholic* than the beautiful compilation of James Merlo Horstius. In every tongue there is some manual, like our own "Garden of the Soul," having a prescriptive and quasi-official authority, which gives it pre-eminence ; but there are none, as far as we know, that have such widespread popularity as the "*Paradisus Animæ*" of Horstius. It has been in use for two centuries and a half, and has gone into all languages. The reason why the book is so highly and widely prized is before us plainly as we turn from page to page : there is no such abundant treasury of devotions to be found elsewhere. We linger over the Instructions on Prayer, the Incomparable Meditations on the Divine Perfections, paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer and of the Psalms, Litanies in verse, and Hymns that are worthy of the Angelic Doctor,—beautiful prayers from all sources and on all subjects. We turn to it again and again, always finding, as in an encyclopedia, something new, and, better still, something edifying ; and while we are surprised at the wonderful book, we are not surprised at its great popularity. There is well-nigh everything in it that is found in other prayer-books, and an immensity of devotional exercises that are found in none except itself. It is probable that many who use the "*Paradise of the Christian Soul*" prize it chiefly for the copiousness and beauty of its prayers, and hymns, and considerations, and some perhaps for the depth of theological thought underlying them ; but it is well to observe that the author wishes those who use his work to understand the carefully-arranged plan, which he fully explains in the introduction. This edition is a new and complete translation, and reflects credit upon the publishers.

Daily Exercises for Devout Christians. By the Rev. T. V. Monx, of the Order of S. Benedict. Edited by a Carmelite Father. Thirteenth Edition. Dublin : W. B. Kelly, 8, Grafton Street. 1877.

THIS is an excellent prayer-book, and its popularity is shown by the fact that it has reached a thirteenth edition. It is unlike the manuals of devotion with which we are most familiar, such as the "Garden of the Soul," the "Key of Heaven," or the "Path to Paradise" ; for, although it has the usual devotions for Mass, Vespers, and other public services, as well as the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and festivals, complete calendars of feasts and fasting-days, &c., it contains also a very comprehensive collection of *daily exercises* intended for private devotion. We suspect that such prayer-books are very valuable. Many persons of limited time, or means, or education, seldom take into their hands a pious work, or work of any kind, except their prayer-book, and it must be an advantage if, in their chance or scanty readings, excellent instructions

and considerations come before them, such as they would not otherwise find unless in professed works of meditation and spiritual reading. If we had space, we would quote the whole of the instruction given under the title "In Confession" (p. 124), which not only gives admirable advice—in fact, the sum of Gury or Scavini on the five conditions—for a good confession, but also touches off admirably the ordinary faults of penitents. But the whole of the work is very well done, and the publisher has not failed to present it in a form worthy of its excellence.

Association of Prayers for the Return of the Separated Portions of Christendom to Catholic Unity. London: R. WASHBOURNE, 18, Paternoster-row. 1877.

THE papers containing the programme and explaining the purpose of the Association of Prayers will be gladly welcomed by all, whose devotion prompts them to pray for the conversion of those nations that have fallen away from the unity of faith. The Association was originally established by F. Schouvaloff, of the Barnabite Order, for the Conversion of the Oriental schismatics, but it has been widened by F. Tondini, of the same Order, and now comprehends within the scope of its charity all the separated portions of Christendom, particularly the Anglican and other denominations of this country. Such a work we have been long expecting, and for a reason that we shall give. Looking back at the numerous conversions to the faith that have taken place in the last thirty years, it seems to us that the chief factor—plain, though not often pointed out in records of the movement—was prayer. Various reasons have been pointed out as the visible causes of a movement, that was for a time astounding to friend and foe: the influence of some distinguished men, devotion to historic studies, and better acquaintance with Catholics; and without doubt they had their influence. But we cannot say the combination of circumstances which resulted in such a marvellous blessing was fortuitous, and, though below all our investigation will lie the "*altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei*," we think the deepest of fathomable causes is not touched until we have reached prayer. What is commonly known as the Oxford movement was preceded by a sustained and widespread effort of prayer for the conversion of England. The Association of Prayers for the Conversion of England, established by F. Ignatius (Spencer) cannot be altogether forgotten in the land which witnessed its beginning, and was blessed by its fruits. It was started in 1838, and it seems more than a coincidence, that so soon after, the startling events of the Oxford movement came well in sight; and within a few years the number of conversions were so great, that the saintly founder of the Association could incidentally write in a letter to a friend (1846), that he had twelve who had been Anglican clergymen assisting at his mass one day in Oscott. For ten or fifteen years the movement continued "in leaps and bounds," and a reference to the Life of F. Ignatius will show,

with what unflagging energy and singular success, he was preaching on his favourite theme not only at home, but also in France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. Since 1864, the year of his death, the Association of Prayer has disappeared from our view, and (is it merely a coincidence?), although we are glad to say conversions have not been rare since that time, there has been nothing like that movement, which startled England, and made us think hopefully of a nation's conversion.

The thoughts we have briefly declared, have been in the present writer's mind for some time, and we gladly take the opportunity, that F. Tondini gives us, of welcoming with them the Association of Prayers. Our readers will expend a penny wisely in purchasing the little collection of documents which relate to the Association, or, if they feel an interest in it, in writing to F. Tondini, St. Etheldreda's, 14, Ely-place, Holborn.

Augustin Cochin. By COUNT DE FALLoux, of the French Academy. Translated from the French by AUGUSTUS CRAVEN. London: Chapman & Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1877.

THE appearance of this book brings up sad thoughts. It reminds us that death has taken away the best part of one conspicuous school of Christian men, whose genius and labours have illumined the past forty years of the Church in France. Montalembert, Lacordaire, Perreyve and Ozanam are gone; their lives are before the world; "but this group of warriors in the noble cause of faith and freedom would be incomplete without the figure of Augustin Cochin"; and this work is the carefully executed portrait of the man. M. de Falloux successfully claims our sympathy in the first line, as he reveals the close ties that bound him, not only to the subject of his biography, but to the other members of the brilliant school to which he and Augustin Cochin belonged. "The greatest trial of old age is not to grow old, but to outlive others; not to feel our strength decaying, or our infirmities increasing, but to perceive solitude and indifference gradually encircling our minds and hearts . . . Although M. Cochin was not of my own age, he had made himself my contemporary so early in life by his activity and his ardent co-operation in the same pursuits as myself, that his loss is to me a wound which no time can heal—a void which nothing can fill up." But besides sympathy, we soon find that we must give the writer the highest praise, and we feel, as we read with unflagging interest to the end, that he has given us, worthily written, the life of a man of rare goodness. "The only excess with which I can reproach Augustin, is being too good," writes his father of him when young, and the child was father of the man.

Augustin Cochin (1823–1872) sprung from one of those ancient families of burgesses which constitute the most solid part of French life. His family has given distinguished names to the magistracy, the bar, and the ecclesiastical order; among which may be mentioned—nearer to our own time than the remote epoch to which M. de Falloux traces the family

stream—two especially, whose gifts seem to have been transmitted to Augustin Cochin. To Henry Cochin, who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century, is due the credit of having made a revolution in the art of public speaking, by introducing improvisation, at the bar : after his death he was *officially* praised as “the greatest man” the French Bar ever produced. There is also a pleasing sketch of Jean Denys Cochin (1726–1782), Curé of the parish of St. Jacques du Haut Pas. He was a man of intense charity and labours for the poor and infirm. The Cochins were all citizens of the French capital ; and Augustin, like his ancestors, was a true Parisian. Without being quite an idolater, he was an ardent lover of that strange city, lived the greater part of his life in it, had a share in its chequered history during the past half-century, and died in it. He was a mere child when his mother died, yet he always retained a vivid recollection of her, and never perfectly reconciled himself to her loss. A few years after her death he was found in tears, looking fixedly at a rose-bush : “That rose reminds me,” he said, “of my mother ; the sight of anything beautiful makes me think of her” ; and as late as the year 1869 he writes to a friend, “I never, during my whole life, had but one unconquerable desire—the happiness of having a mother.” The death of his father was a terrible grief to him, for rarely has an equal love existed between a father and a son ; but we must leave the record of it to those who read the life. We can hardly point out a period when there was a transition from youth to manhood. At seventeen he is launched into active life, like a ship let go from the stocks, in the main complete, intent on one great aim—the welfare of the poor and the working class. Love of the poor seems to have been an hereditary grace in the Cochins, and to Augustin it descended in the fullest measure. At eighteen years of age he was elected President of the Conference of St. Vincent of Paul in the Faubourg St. Jacques, and also of a society of mutual aid for working men, which he had founded, and he remained faithful to the duties of his office until the end of his life. Such humble and practical work was a forecast of his whole future life. Of course, as time went on, circumstances wove into his short career many incidental purposes and acts that could not be foreseen at the age of eighteen ; but they never changed, and, comparatively speaking, modified very lightly, the pattern of life he contemplated from the beginning. His great and varied gifts naturally found occasions of exercise as he advanced in life ; the intellectual, moral, and even physical conflicts that were around, drew him into the most unlikely situations for a man of his temperament ;—he essayed political life several times, was before the barricades in 1848, sat on Railway Boards, took an active part in Universal Exhibitions, was a contributor to the *Correspondant*, made his mark as a speaker at the Catholic Congress of Malines (1863), and took part in the National Defence (1871),—yet these were mere incidents of his career : the *life* of the man was devotion to the welfare of the poor. His first literary labour speaks for itself : it was a treatise on “The Critical Examination of Pestalozzi’s System of Instruction and Education, in its Relations with the Welfare and Morality of the Poorer Classes.” In 1849 an event of

importance—his marriage with his cousin, Mademoiselle Adeline Benoist d'Azy—kept him away for a short time from his native city, but as soon as he returned he places himself at the disposal of the Superintendent of the Conferences of St. Vincent of Paul, M. Bandon, who was slowly and uncertainly recovering from a dangerous wound received at the Barricades. M. Cochin thus writes:—

“Believe me, I shall never forget St. Vincent de Paul, St. Jacques, and the workmen. I return full of splendid projects, which I lay before you that you may have a right to remind me of them. What I hold most dear on earth, is being a Catholic, and when I ask myself to whom I am indebted for that blessing, I cannot but reply that it is chiefly to St. Vincent de Paul. Your Society was the asylum of my youth. There I found examples, friends, blessings which I shall never forget” (p. 49).

The working of the same predominant spirit carried him heart and soul into the business of the great Exhibition in the Champs Elysées (1855), and it was by his influence that a special jury was appointed to examine what degree of excellence the manufacture of cheap articles had attained. In his report he writes,* “The wretched and unwholesome state of the dwellings of the greater number of the operatives and peasantry is one of the primary causes of misery, of sickness, of abandonment of the family, of vice, of crimes; of this there can be no doubt”; and with great insight, evidently the result of much experience, he shows the bearing of his work on the home-comfort of the poor. His health suffered from labours which extended not only to his special work as president of a jury, but to much self-sacrificing attentions paid to many strangers who were in Paris at the time. He writes to Madame Cochin:—

“I have fed my Dutchmen as decently as possible, and taken them about; they are excellent souls, and Heaven will learn their names, although below it is impossible to pronounce them. People from all countries arrive daily, and most of them fall to my lot: pastors from Geneva, counsellors from Vienna, delegates from Belgium; my door-bell resembles the devil's tail in a famine, there is always some one pulling at it” (p. 94).†

About the same time we find him engaged in other charitable work, which proved to be of the most embarrassing kind. The Little Sisters of the Poor had established an asylum for old men in the Rue du Regard, but they had scarcely settled themselves and their helpless charge, when they received notice to quit. They had given up hope of finding a new asylum, when M. Cochin put his hand to the work. By one of those fortunate events which are not unknown in the records of Catholic charity, although not very usual in the every-day life of the world, funds came in sufficient to purchase another site. M. Cochin opened a subscription for a new house, superintended the building, and on the great day of success inaugurated the new foundation with a discourse

* “Rapport de M. Cochin au jury de la 31e classe.”

† In allusion to the French saying: *Tirer le diable par la queue*, “To have a hard matter to make both ends meet.”

that drew tears from a numerous and brilliant assembly. But the work of Christian charity was his vocation. It inspired him to efforts that were wide-spread and fruitful for the abolition of slavery in the different colonies of European nations. When he visited London at the time of the Universal Exhibition, "the splendour of the Crystal Palace charmed, but did not satisfy him; he determined to inquire beyond. The works and reports he read, the garrets he visited, afforded him matter for the serious study of pauperism in England" (p. 117). It would be necessary to transcribe the life in our pages if we aimed at giving an adequate view of his thought and labour for the poor, and therefore we shall be content with one more fact. "The poor continued to have a day of reception (Friday) at his own house; and from the age of eighteen until the day of his death he never failed, when in Paris, to attend what was to him a sacred rendezvous" (p. 98). It is easy to understand the feelings that were touched by a chance expression of the good Sister who nursed him in his last illness. He gently reproached her for the constant attendance she was giving him: "You owe yourself to your five hundred sick, and you must not abandon them for me alone." The nun answered, "Our founder St. Vincent de Paul commanded us also to attend the benefactors of the poor." "Oh!" replied M. Cochin, "benefactor of the poor! What a glorious title! *the only one after which I ever aspired*" (p. 389).

We cannot be far wrong if we find in that death-bed confession why M. Cochin failed to reach the zenith of success in public life, although his gifts were splendid. M. de Falloux says that opportunity and time failed him, for "no one ever heard him speak in public without recognizing in him the promise of a brilliant future." We are not inclined to agree with that view. The revolutions of French political life in the last thirty years have done more than present opportunities to men of real ability for attaining success; and, as a rule, the man that has not made his mark before the fiftieth year of his age is not likely to do so afterwards. Nearer the truth is the inference, we are glad to state, of a Protestant writer in a highly appreciative notice of the life of M. Cochin. He writes, "Augustin Cochin, had he lived an indefinite time, would never have achieved greatness; but had the most conspicuous position been found for him at five-and-thirty, or even earlier, he would have acquitted himself with credit and distinction. Perhaps he was too scrupulous, too honourable, too much of a practical Christian to force his way to the front, and certainly the times were against him."* The Protestant critic seems to be keener than the writer of the life in perceiving the bearing of M. Cochin's character on his public career: he was "too much of a practical Christian." We have strong evidence of his happy incapacity for success—meaning by success what is commonly meant—in the revelation of the "only" title after which he ever aspired; and even in that he does himself some injustice, for he never sought that title save from the declaration of his own conscience. Even his wife was left in ignorance of his good works unless she had a share in them; and if by chance any one

* *Standard*, Sept. 11, 1877.

spoke of any good he had done, he used to remark, "Ah! that's lost for heaven." Our readers can understand why we have dwelt on one view of the man: that one gives his *life*. But there are incidents and episodes varied and interesting enough for the most exacting readers. The names of Montalembert, Dupanloup, Prince Albert de Broglie, Thiers, and other well-known contemporaries of M. Cochin, give interest to the pages of the work. His acquaintance with M. Thiers is well worthy of attention at the present time. They met on the Commission formed in 1850 by M. de Falloux, then Minister of Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs, for the presentation of a law on the Liberty of Public Instruction. The two men, who were so much alike in their mental gifts that M. Cochin was styled "the Catholic Thiers," formed a lasting friendship. From day to day their friendship grew in the *Salon* of the Rue St. George, and Cochin "introduced questions on religious subjects with a conviction so sincere and penetrating that the discussions which ensued between them often lasted till past midnight" (p. 47). We pass to the last page of Augustin Cochin's life for a proof of the deep earnestness with which he strove for the conversion of the remarkable man who has lately died. On his death-bed he dictated a letter beginning "My Dear President and Friend," which was placed unfinished in the hands of M. Thiers, when the writer was dead. In the first part of the letter M. Cochin writes:—

"You may readily receive it (the truth) from me, for you know that I never belonged to any party, either Republican or Monarchical, but to Jesus Christ alone; whom sooner or later your powerful mind will not fail to acknowledge as the true God, sent down from Heaven to plant the germ of intellectual order and moral regeneration in the world. This is the eternal truth: now here is the truth of the moment such as I see it. You are sufficiently powerful and sufficiently listened to by the country and throughout Europe, to have it in your power to dispose of the destinies of France, and to launch that fair bark into the current of the Republic or into that of the Monarchy for years to come according to your will."

Having earnestly entreated M. Thiers to restore the Monarchy, and quickly, if he wishes "to avoid the disgraceful return of the Empire," the dying man concludes abruptly,—

"You cannot resuscitate the dead; the Republic has been murdered by its own offspring; the horrors of 1793, the imbecility of 1848, and the crimes of 1870 have buried it for ever. It was first stabbed to the heart by Robespierre and Marat, then by that tribe of scribblers, of plotters, of contractors, and of fools, who have thrice attempted to wield the power of the State" (p. 391).

A life of Augustin Cochin must necessarily allude to the exceptional views which brought the party to which he belonged into conflict with those who represent the accepted views of Catholic thought. The work before us will help the reader to judge generously of men who were more "liberal" in their watchwords and principles than in their practical relations to the teaching authority of the Church. Conflicts too often repel those who are opposed, and make their separation seem wider than it is

in reality. And one excuse that is always to be remembered for men like Cochin, Lacordaire, and Ozanam, is the state of slavery in which, as Catholics, they lived. Whatever form the civil power assumed in its endless changes, it never swerved from its purpose of domineering over the Church and thwarting her work. "Shall we never," M. Cochin writes in the *Correspondant* on the suppression of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, "see in France ten men assembled in the name of God, without believing that they are conspiring? Will this cruel folly never end?" It was no wonder that they panted for a breath of liberty. Their aims in many things were just enough, but unfortunately, in their very struggle for the rights of the Church, they chose as their battle-cry principles which the Church condemns. More we shall not say; but we leave to the reader of this beautiful book the pleasure of finding out for himself how great was Augustin Cochin's love of the Catholic Church, and how enthusiastic his admiration of Pius IX.

The Nature-Myth Theory Untenable from the Scriptural Point of View.
By LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

THIS very short pamphlet is a criticism on certain points in two articles on "Modern Views on Mythology," by Mr. W. H. Lucas, which appeared in June and July in the pages of our contemporary "The Month." It is a temperate protest against any incautious use of theories which ultimately tend to subvert the inspired narrative of the origin and early history of our race. Those who have read Lord Arundell of Wardour's book on "Tradition with Reference to Mythology" will not need to be told that he shows himself a most competent critic. The general drift of his argument will be gathered from a portion of his preface:—

"If there were no mythic period in the infancy of the human race, or if the facts recorded in Genesis are the facts with which we must commence the inquiry, then the probabilities must be entirely in favour of the Scriptural or historical interpretation of the myths, whereas the whole strength of the 'nature-myth theory' lies in the assumption of the contrary.

"If we cannot, either through revelation or the scientific proof of a mythic era, get grounds to determine what myths are primary, and what are not, then it will be possible at will, after the manner of Dr. Goldhizer, to resolve all history, commencing with the Old Testament, into myth, or else to convert solar mythology into history without check, as Mr. Lucas seems to agree with Mr. Cox in thinking Homer has done in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but this is a matter which I must leave them to discuss with Mr. Gladstone, who, it must be conceded, has on the other side accumulated a large amount of historical research.

"That a mythic tendency at some time arose in the human mind need not be denied, and that it influenced historical traditions seems to be established by Mr. Lucas's argument; indeed, in some instances he brings valuable attestation; but then this mythic period is not Mr. Max Muller's or Mr. Cox's Mythic period; and before it is possible to argue the points more precisely upon Mr. Lucas's lines, he must fix his mythic period within probable historical limits."

Comets and Meteors ; a Lecture. By the Very Rev. J. B. KAVANAGH, D.D., President of Carlow College. Dublin : Joseph Dollard, Printer, 13 & 14, Dame Street. 1877.

DR. KAVANAGH in this interesting and able lecture gives a *résumé* of the recent history of cometary astronomy, to which he has added observations and criticisms of his own. After some brief introductory remarks on the general arrangement of the stellar universe,—each system being surrounded by an immense void,—he proceeds to discuss the origin of comets. They were not, he is of opinion, formed from the primordial nebula from which our own system arose, for had they been so formed, they would have moved approximately in the plane of the ecliptic, and with a direct, not a retrograde motion. “They approach our system from these depths, which the telescope declares empty, but which are strewn with that rare nebulous matter of which comets and meteors are formed. I hope to show you that comets and meteors are nebulous matter in different states of condensation ; and that comets at each perihelion passage must dissipate their matter, which condenses into a meteoric stream, and is finally elongated into a ring of meteors, which are carried around the cometary orbit by their initial velocity ” (p. 9). He consequently accepts the cometary theory of meteors.

Turning to the interior constitution of comets, Dr. Kavanagh gives an account of the spectroscopic investigations by which it has apparently been proved that they are at least in great part masses of glowing vapours in particular, of the vapour of carbon, and, if meteoric stones are formed from them, of iron, nickel, and other metals which exist in these stones. This would account for the carbonaceous matter which has been found in meteors. But there is, it seems to us, some difficulty in assigning a reason why small bodies such as comets should have retained their intense heat up to the present period, when much larger masses, such as the Earth and Mars, have become almost cold in comparison. Possibly, however, it might be suggested that the heat of the nebulous matter was the result of condensation, and that the condensation of the comets, formed as they were in the interstellar spaces where the attractive forces in operation would be much less energetic, took place at a relatively recent period.

The manner in which the tails of comets are formed is also discussed, the theory adopted being that of MM. Roche and Faye, which attributes them to the threefold influence of gravitation, solar tides, and a repulsive force exercised by the sun. Of the existence and activity of the first two causes there can be no doubt ; the third is of a much more problematical character ; but, nevertheless, Dr. Kavanagh prefers the explanation which is partially based on it to that given by Dr. Tyndall, on the ground that the hypotheses involved in the latter are too numerous, and that it is attended by difficulties of which no reasonable solution has been offered.

These and a variety of correlated and subsidiary points are worked out in Dr. Kavanagh's full and interesting lecture, to which we are glad to draw the attention of our readers.

A Guide to St. Chad's Cathedral Church, Birmingham, compiled by the Rev. WILLIAM GREANEY. Birmingham: E. M. & E. Canning, Snow-hill. 1877.

A VERY interesting little book, which, beside the description of the Cathedral, contains "a short account of the Catholicity of the town before and since the Reformation, and the history of St. Chad's relics." We read here of the building of the first Catholic church in Birmingham, when Protestants generously contributed, as well as the few Catholic families, and the building was given exteriorly the appearance of a factory, lest it might attract too much notice, for this was not long after the famous "Birmingham riots" of 1780. At the close of the last century we have the following account of the state of religion as to Church services in the prosperous town which has been regarded as the capital of the midland district. "In those days the one Mass on Sunday was all the congregation could expect, with an occasional week-day 'Prayers.' Benediction was exceedingly rare, perhaps four or five times a year, and High Mass a thing quite unknown. Once in every three or four years the Bishop came to confirm the few that were prepared. This was an important event." Contrast with this the present state of the same town, with its eight churches, and its magnificent cathedral, and we shall see that Birmingham is no barren soil, but that it was in most fruitful ground that the Franciscans long ago kept alive the faith after the days of persecution. The progress of Catholicity in a great manufacturing centre is briefly but grandly marked in this short record. The description of the Cathedral, which was built only thirty-six years ago, shows it to have been erected and adorned by those who loved the beauty of God's house. It contains many art-treasures in the way of carvings, stained glass, and precious objects for the altar. Amongst these is the statue of the Blessed Virgin, an ancient oak carving from Germany. It has been painted to suit modern taste, and was presented to the Church by A. W. Pugin, Esq. But its chief interest arises from the fact that it is believed to have been the first image of the Blessed Virgin publicly venerated in England since the Reformation. We leave untold for those who will read the book the story of the relics of S. Chad, hidden during the time of persecution, removed from place to place, outraged by soldiers making search, and, at last, in our own days brought to light, and now enshrined for veneration above the high altar of the Cathedral.

Four illustrations add greatly to the interest of the book.

Correspondence.

LIFE OF MARIE LATASTE.

To the Editor of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,—While thanking you sincerely for what it is a pleasure to me to regard as a truly appreciative notice of the “*Life of Marie Lataste*,” in your July number, I would wish to direct your attention to a misstatement which I feel to be of importance as affecting the general character of the series. You speak of me, in laudatory terms, as the “translator” of the *Life*; but, in the first place, I claim only to be the “editor” of the series; and, in the second place—and this is the point which I consider important—the *Life* is not a translation but an original work, drawn from the materials referred to in the Advertisement to the volume. In the original prospectus of the series it was distinctly announced that no translation would be admitted, and this announcement has been strictly adhered to; indeed, translations by most competent hands have on more than one occasion been declined. It is the more necessary to make this correction because the error seems to prevail in more than one quarter; probably because a series of “*Select Translations for Spiritual Reading*” was commenced by me almost contemporaneously with the biographical series, several volumes of which have been issued from time to time.

Yours very faithfully,

EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON.

CHELTENHAM, *August 1, 1877.*

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